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ANNOUNCEMENT FOR HAJ 1418 (H) - 1998

The Haj Committee is pleased to announce the Programme for Haj 1418 (H) - 1998 AD. The Haj quota for the pilgrims going under the auspices of Haj Committee will remain 56000.

2. The application forms prescribed for Haj 1998 and the relevant literature is made available to all the State Haj Committees. The pilgrims may collect the same free of cost. If any individual or organisation is found charging money, this may be immediately reported to the Executive Officer, Haj Committee, Bombay.
3. All the intending pilgrims are informed that Haj Committee has no administrative relations with any person, or association to conduct the Haj affairs except the State Haj Committees constituted by their respective State Governments.
4. The application form should be submitted through the STATE HAJ COMMITTEE OF YOUR STATE OF RESIDENCE ONLY AND YOUR EMBARKATION POINT FOR TRAVELLING TO JEDDAH WILL ALSO BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SAME STRICTLY.
5. Each application form is required to be accompanied by a bank draft of the amount indicated below drawn in favour of concerned State Haj Committee:-

A. PAYMENTS:

Rs.5,280/- as an Advance Accommodation Charges and towards Registration fee etc.

The draft of advance passage fare will be paid by each pilgrim directly to the Haj Committee, Bombay later on positively by 15.12.1997 along with the remaining amount of foreign exchange. Last year for Haj 1997 the total passage fare was fixed at Rs.12,000/-. For Haj 1998, it will be informed separately.

B. UNDER WITHOUT EXCHANGE CATEGORY:

i) Indian Rupees 12,280/- drawn in favour of HAJ COMMITTEE, BOMBAY as registration fee and advance air fare.
ii) Saudi Riyals 2,000/- drawn in favour of the Consulate General of India, Jeddah towards advance accommodation rentals.
iii) Saudi Riyals 849/- drawn in favour of MAKTABUL WUKULA AL-MUWAHEED, JEDDAH.
iv) A draft of Saudi Riyals 2,500/- in favour of pilgrim (only after selection) payable at Jeddah.

6. ACCOMMODATION:

The Haj Committee has decided to have following two categories of accommodation in Makkah for Haj 1998.

Category-I	Upto 600 meters from the outer periphery of the Haram Sharief (only new buildings with lift facilities).	Saudi Riyals 1,800/- (per unit estimated).
Category-II	Upto 850 meters from the outer periphery of the Haram Sharief.	Saudi Riyals 1,235/- (per unit estimated).
	MADINAH	Around Saudi Riyals 200/- (per unit estimated).

In case more applications are received than the units available in a particular category then the allotment shall be made on first come first serve basis.

7. The application forms should be filled strictly in accordance with the guidelines formulated for Haj 1418(H) - 1998.
8. The other instructions will remain as mentioned on the cover page of the Haj application forms.
9. The complete application forms in all respects should reach the Secretary of the concerned State Haj Committee on or before July 15, 1997 positively.

For any further enquiry:
Phones: 2670183/2618862/2612989/2613110/2652393
Fax: 2620920

Sd/-
Executive Officer
Haj Committee

Azaan: A Serene Call to Worship, Not a Noise or Cacophony, Not a Pollution

At the height of the insurgency in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the PA Systems installed in Masjids were confiscated, not on grounds of environmental pollution but of misuse for political propaganda. Throughout the country, during communal disturbances the police shut off the PA Systems in Masjids or turns the horns inside or by executive fiat bans the use of the PA System for Azaan, and even for Namaz, sometimes even confiscates it, partly because Masjids and PA Systems were used for sheltering the besieged or rallying them against mob-attacks or police raids, organising the defence of the locality. The chant of Allah-o-Akbar serves to boost the morale of the terrorised people but this is often perceived as a war-cry! PA System was banned in Meerut in 1987 and in Bombay in 1993. I am not sure whether the confiscated PA Systems once confiscated have been restored to the Masjids in various cities.

Here and there, in this vast land of our, wherever Muslims are economically weak or religiously not very particular or culturally assimilated, at the slightest frown on the face of the majority community - the authorities prohibit the Azaan for congregational Namaaz, certainly the use of a PA System for the purpose. All this without any administrative restriction on the regular recitation of mantras or ringing of the bells in the local temple, broadcast for miles through serial amplifiers, what to speak of night-long performance of jagrans, bhajans and kirtans, specially during festivals. Neither did the administration ever, anywhere, take notice of public meetings stretching far into the night, scattering pearls of political wisdom towards every house within the target area, nor of processions, religious or political, which, at times, frenziedly shout abusive and provocative slogans. Of course, who ever cares or takes notice of "No Horn Zones" even in the vicinity of schools and hospitals?

No, these are normal activities of a religious-minded, politically conscious, people. How does it matter? The Indian people tend to be loud and boisterous and how can anyone forcibly interfere with their religious and cultural rights, even if both religious rites and cultural events are blatantly multiplied through innovations? How can you interfere with political activity in a democracy?

But the axe must fall on Azaan - even though it takes not more than 2-3 minutes, before every Namaz, and about 10-15 minutes in all in 24 hours, even though it can hardly add to the noise level in municipal areas during the day or disturb the people, except the late-risers in the case of the Azaan for the Fajr (dawn) prayers, when its sound penetrates through the serene ambience. In the same early hours, in many temples the priests wake up the installed deity and service the devout, rather loudly.

In a Muslim locality no one objects to the Azaan, not even those who do not perform Namaz. Normally Azaan for the night ('Isha) prayers takes place almost 2 hours after sunset when the cities and towns are still teeming with life. **So the dimensions of the problem are reduced to one pre-dawn Azaan of 2-3 minutes duration, in a non-Muslim locality.**

Many non-Muslims do not know the exact significance of the Azaan. An eminent journalist once argued against Azaan on the ground that the Almighty was not deaf! H thought that the Azaan was a call to Allah!! I took pains to explain to him that it was a call to the Faithful to remind them of the hour of the Namaz and to invite them to join the congregation in the local Masjid or to perform the Namaz in their homes. For congregational Namaaz, the PA System can be so adjusted as to transmit the voice of the Khatib (we call him Imam or Pesh-i-Imam in India) to the congregation. Normally the sound need not reach out, except on Fridays and the 'Ids when the congregation itself extends beyond the four walls of the Masjid to the open spaces, adjacently available.

An Azaan, emanating from a mosque is not intended for the whole city but for the people living in its neighbourhood, say, within 200 meters. A Namaaz is not a public meeting or a mass rally. Therefore for the outside and for the inside of the Masjid appropriate low levels can be prescribed.

A multi-religious society lives by practising tolerance and balance and not by the Executive and Judiciary adopting an anti-religious approach, atheistically denigrating religion or limiting the essentials rites of a particular religion, to the annoyance, inconvenience, nay, humiliation of the community concerned.

Theoretically, the ban applies to all but the Muslim Indians known well how partisanly the police and the magistracy behave; how they discriminate in practice between one community and the other. So, in practice, night long Jagrans and late-long Jagrans and Pujas would be permitted, on request, in the same localities where the 2-3 minute Azaan has been castigated as a threat to public health! The golden rule of legislation is not to enact laws and regulation which cannot be enforced and which are enforceable only at the discretion of the authorities.

One therefore, fails to understand or appreciate the Order of the Calcutta High Court of 1.4.1996 confirmed on 21 November 1996, which totally bans the use of the PA System for religious purposes including the Azaan from 9 PM to 6 AM and authorises the State Pollution Board to set noise standards in terms of decibels and the police to seize the PA Systems or penalise the Imams and the Muezzins and, by implication, the Mutawallis or the Managing Committees of the Masjids.

Initially some Imams of important Masjids in Calcutta were inclined to abide by the Order of the High Court in order to avoid a confrontation with the State. However, Muslim representatives placed their views before the Government of West Bengal which, finding the request reasonable, asked the High Court to exempt the Azaan. on 7.3.1997 this request was refused on the constitutional ground that there can be no discrimination on the ground of religion.

The Hon'ble High Court has failed to distinguish between the nature and extent of continuous noise pollution for hours at a stretch in political meetings, religious functions, publicity campaign, Jagrans, Kirtans, and musical events during festivals like Durga Puja and even social events, like birth and marriage, and in the intermittent Azaan which does not take more than 2-3 minutes at a time. **The Hon'ble High Court has also failed to recognize that Azaan is serene and does not constitute noise or cacophony or misuse.** What is important for policy makers is to realise that the order is bound to be interpreted, at least by a section of the Muslim community, as a curtailment of religious freedom and an interference in religious matters, which will add to its persecution complex and to its alienation from the State, throughout the country. The orders of a High Court, unless reversed by a bigger Bench or by the Supreme Court, constitutes the law of the land.

On 12.7.1989, the Madras High Court (CWP 9112 of 1989. Valliammal vs State) had dismissed the petition of the hereditary trustee of a temple in Madras and had declined to stop use of the PA System from a mosque in its vicinity. The High Court had said, inter alia, "the reason given by the petitioners that the PA System ... causes nuisance to the public is not convincing... **In matters of this kind, certain amount of tolerance is needed especially in a country like ours... the Court has a duty to strike a balance".** The Court had, however, added that the authorities should see that "everybody uses the PA System only according to law".

One wishes that the Calcutta High Court had shown the same degree of balance and tolerance. The matter has now come to boil because several eminent Imams of Calcutta including the Imam of Nakhoda Masjid were hauled up before the High Court in June, 1997 by the State Pollution Board. The Imams have taken the stand that nowhere in the country the State Pollution Boards have tried to terrorise the Imams in this manner. Eminent jurist Sidharatha Shankar Ray has challenged the jurisdiction of the State Pollution Board to enforce a Central Act which dos not authorise it or the State Government.

There are conflicting views in the Muslim community on the subject. Some say that the Muslim should unconditionally give up the use of PA Systems for Azaan and even for Namaaz; others see no objection in the ban as it applies to the all religions; some others feel that the order is partial as well as unbalanced since the High Court has not taken notice of much more serious noise pollution caused by transport vehicles including aircrafts, specially when taking off and landing, factories, fire-tenders, ambulances, generators, Static publicity in shops etc.

In its original order, the High Court has based itself on the constitutional position that Freedom of Religion and of Conscience are not absolute but subject to public order, public health and morality and that Freedom of Speech and Expression includes freedom not to listen and to remain silent. P.A. Systems infringe these rights of an individual. A citizen cannot be coerced to hear anything which he does not like or which he does not need to; he cannot be made a captive listener. The Hon'ble Court has also dilated on the harmful effects of exposure to sound on health and called the PA Systems "a serious threat to life and health". One wishes the Hon'ble High Court had applied this logic to all forms of noise pollution which is indeed a bane of modern life and a gift of modern technology and saved the people of India from physical, mental and emotional injury.

While dealing with the State Government's petition one Hon'ble judge of the High Court asked which religious book had made the use of the PA Syst for Azaan compulsory. Perhaps he assumed that the PA system existed in the 7th Century, in the time of the Holy Prophet! Why not ban all forms of modern transport on the ground of noise pollution because no law or law-giver, religious or secular, ever decreed that mankind must use power-driven vehicles! It is obvious that the PA System is a modern invention and did not exist in the age of the Holy Prophet. But from this premise to argue that the PA System should not be used in Masjids is to deny the Muslims the right to modern technology - which is a common heritage of all mankind.

The attitude of a section of the mass media has blatantly reflected the inbuilt communal bias and its blissful innocence about matters religions.

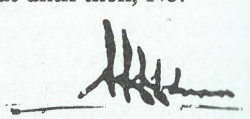
The Muslim Indians should be ever prepared for just accommodation, for a fair compromise, for reasonable adjustment, but they should not be forced into the dock or treated with disdain and partiality or pushed to the wall.

Many years ago, in the 80's, local pressures against Azaan had led to communal violence in Pune. I had cautioned the Rajya Sabha, I was then a Member, that religious rites are a highly sensitive matter. **For a Muslim Indian, India is his mother land but Islamically it is not Dar-ul-Islam, but it is Dar-ul-Ahad and Dar-ul-Aman (Land of Covenant and of Peace) so long as there is religious freedom. Any interference with religious freedom turns it into a Dar-ul-Harb.**

To sum up, Azaan is not performance of religion; it is the announcement and a public call to a prescribed religious duty. Azaan is not worship; it is a call to worship. Azaan is brief and intermittent and takes only 2-3 minutes; Azaan is serene and sonorous; it is not a noise or Cacophony. Even the Fajr Azaan is a wake-up call which may be beneficial to health of all, irrespective of religion. No religious group can and should be asked to abjure utilisation of science and technology which is the gift of Allah to Man.

The objection to Azaan is not rational but communal; it is nothing but assertion of superiority and dominance, of the majority over the minority. It is widely believed that the Hindu deities do not like Azaan and shun the localities in which Azaan is performed!

Let there be a total, absolute and unconditional ban on all noise pollution caused by religious practices or otherwise, and the Muslim Indians shall voluntary stop us of the PA Systems for the Azaan. But until then, No!



New Delhi,
1 July, 1997

(SYED SHAHABUDDIN)

Government : Views of Prime Minister Inder Kumar Gujral

On Communalism

Look at the root of communal tendencies and you will find social injustice. Caste and other divise platforms are adopted when people feel they are not being treated fairly. In this 50th year of Independence, we must pay attention to social justice. Seventy per cent of our population are outside the glow of prosperity. We can't focus only on the remaining 30 per cent or else we'll be sitting on a power keg.

On Philosophy of Government

The philosophy behind my government is a vision of India, the vision of our founding fathers who gave us the Directive Principles of the Constitution. In this 50th year of Independence, we must seek to realise their goal of social justice and gender equality. India is now on the threshold of greatness, provided we realise that the country belongs not just to 30 percent of its people, but to the entire one billion. I want to see a modern India, but modernisation is not synonymous with westernisation. I draw a distinction between the two. I want to help realise Ghandiji's vision of India.

(Source : The Times of India, 27 April, 1997)

Shahabuddin's Letter of 7 March,97 to NMC On Revision of Muslim Concentration Districts

I have analysed the list with reference to 1981 list of Muslim Concentration Districts. The methodology adopted leaves out districts with high Muslim concentration (say 15%), if the total of <u>all</u> minority communities does not reach 20% cut-off limit, while low Muslim concentration districts (say 5%) are included if total of <u>all</u> exceeds 20%. This would apply for all communities but the Muslims most as others like Sikhs and Christians are must less dispensed than Muslims. That is why I had suggested that all districts in which the population of Muslims (or any other community) exceeds 1% of its total national population should be included.

Reply of Chairman, NMC,19 March, 1997

... I do agree with every point which you have made in your letter. I have myself recommended to the Government that the criterion for identifying Minority Concentration Districts be lowered. The present criterion of 20 per cent population was fixed long ago and the circumstances have since entirely changed. I will do my best towards securing necessary action in this regard.

Important Recommendations Made at the 4th Meeting of NCM

The National Commission for Minorities, reconstituted in November 1996, held its Fourth General Meeting today, presided over by the Chairman, Professor Tahir Mahmood.

Though not included in the pre-set Agenda, the Commission discussed suo moto the situation resulting from the recent Delhi High Court decision relating to reserved seats for admission in Jamia Millia Islamia and recommended to the Central Government a proper amendment of the Jamia Millia Islamia Act 1988 to ensure and strengthen the Minority of the institution.

Other noteable recommendations made by the Commission to the Government at this meeting include:

(i) Enactment of a comprehensive law by Parliament formulating details of the Minorities Educational and Cultural Rights guaranteed by Articles 29-30 if the Constitution in the original spirit of these provisions so as to dispel doubts arising in this regard from time to time.

(ii) Exemption of candidates belonging to minority communities, for at least 15 years, from UGC's NET requirement for appointment as teachers in universities and colleges.

(iii)Constitution of Standing Committees on Minorities Welfare by State Governments in all districts-specially those falling in Minority Concentration regions.

(iv) Enactment of central legislation for Hydrabad's Dairat-ul-Ma'arif and Dargah Syed Salar Masood Ghazi of Bahraich to ensure their proper management and utilization of funds.

The Chairman also moved a Resolution expressing grief on loss of life to the recent Mina fire tragedy and recommending to the Government proper amendment of the Haj Committee Act 1959 and the Rules framed thereunder to prevent recurrence of such tragedies.

The Commission also decided to constitute a new High Power Committee under the convenorship of Dr. James Massy to revise and update Gopal Singh Committee Report on the basis of a fresh study of the problems of all minorities.

The main issue of Commission's new Newsletter "Minorities India" was formally releases.

More 1991 Census Reports Published

Based on the 1991 census data the following volumes have been published:

(iv) Census of India 1991, Series-I, India, Paper-I of 1992, Vols. I & II, Final Population Totals.

Census of India, 1991, Seris-I India, Paper-I of 1995, Religion

Census of India 1991, Series-I, India, Part -IV(ii). Religion **(Source:MHA : Annual Report 1996-97)**

Patna High Court
On Commission of Inquiry

Lal Krishna Advani (L.K. Advani) and others, Petitioners v. State of Bihar and others, Respondents.

N. PANDEY AND RAVI NANDAN SAHAY, JJ.

Constitution of India, Articles 226, 227 - Powers of High Court - Commission of inquiry appointed under Commissions of Inquiries Act - Is only a fact finding body - Report of Commission not binding on Government - Correctness or otherwise of such report is thus beyond scope of Articles 226, 227.

High Court can issue writ of mandamus forbearing Government from taking action against person concerned, on basis of findings in report - Expunction of irrelevant remarks from report of Tribunal or judgement of Court - Does not amount to alteration or amendment of report or judgement though it affects judgement or report to some extent - High Court, however, has to exercise such power of expunction for securing ends of justice.

Commissions of Inquiry Act (60 of 1952), Section 8-B - Conduct or reputation of person - Is part of fundamental right as guaranteed under Article 21 - Conduct sought to be enquired into or reputation likely to be prejudicially affected by report of Commission - Commission bound to give reasonable opportunity of hearing to such person and should also give option to produce evidence, cross-examine witnesses and furnish explanations in defence - Materials forming basis for opinion of Commission must also be furnished to him.

... Recourse to procedure under Section 8-B has to be taken i.e. notice should be given to person prejudicially affected - Fact whether Government has or has not yet taken action on basis of finding - Immaterial.

Orissa High Court
On Right to Health Care

Mahendra Pratap Singh, Petitioner v. State of Orissa and others, Respondents.

S. CHATTERJI, Actg. C.J. AND DIPAK MISRA, J.

Constitution of India, Article 226 - Primary Health Centre - Establishment of - Prescribed conditions - substantial compliance by Gram Panchayat - Reasons given by authorities for not starting Health Centre found to be not genuine or sanguine - High Court directed authorities to carry out details as to compliance with formalities with pragmatic objectivity and mutual cooperation.

(Source: AIR 1997 Orissa 37)

WITH BEST COMPLIMENTS

FROM

KALEEM KAWAJA

THE ASSOCIATION OF INDIAN MUSLIMS OF AMERICA

THE ORGANIZATION FOR UNIVERSAL COMMUNAL HARMONY

WASHINGTON DC USA

CPI Leader Satyapal Dang on Formation of Secular Front

... A coalition should be based on a programme agreed upon by all partners including those who may give support from outside.

The coalition Government's troubles arose out of strong inhibitions of some parties about having the Congress inside the Government. Left parties have been particularly opposed to the idea of a coalition with the Congress. The main reason for this inhibition of the Left and regional parties is that in their respective stronghold States, they have to compete with the Congress for power.

If all the parties are motivated by national interests, it should not be difficult to cooperate at the national level even while competing in States. Regional parties are finding it possible to move in this direction. Left should also try to overcome inhibitions on this score.

... In the heart of their hearts, the Left parties make a distinction between the Congress and the BJP. There are valid reasons for not treating the two as equal evils. The Congress may have made many compromises with communalism of various hues but it is not a communal party.

The Sangh Parivar stands fora Hindu theocratic state. This is a vital difference which must not be overlooked apart from the fact that the BJP is a rightist party.

Despite this, a coalition with the Congress is neither simple nor easy. A good coalition will be the result of a front based on a common minimum programme on the basis of which it must seek the mandate of the people. To have electoral alliances not based on any programme, but only to get seats, is gross opportunism which Communist parties have practised vis-a-vis Janata Dal and some other non-Left parties. It has cost them heavily in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh...

In view of the sharp differences between the Left and the Congress over economic policies, is a common minimum programme acceptable to both possible? The differences between the JD and the Left are just as big. One may recall the Left criticism of budgets presented by the V.P. Singh Government... If the Left can have a minimum agreement with the Dal, it should be easier with the Congress.

... Much rethinking is going on in the non-campradore bourgeoisie as well as in the Congress, and an agreement on economic policies may not therefore prove impossible.

My inhibitions on having a coalition with the Congress comes from its culture. The Congress today is no longer the Congress of Gandhi and Nehru. Its culture now is based on corruption and criminalisation... The Janata Dal after ruling for a much shorter period than the Congress, will be worse than the latter in these respects.

Is there no way-out? I think, there is. The minimum programme must contain clauses for making the CBI an autonomous agency answerable only to the Supreme Court and also clauses committing all partners not to try to influence police investigations. Effective lokpals must also be there.

It is necessary to point out that coalitions of the above type even with agreed minimum programmes arrived at before seeking a mandate are essentially electoral alliances. They may be indispensable for some time to come.

Communist unity is a precondition for the Left to grow stronger... Capitalism cannot solve the problems facing humanity. Struggle for a just and genuinely democratic and socialist society has to go on. The fight now must be to ensure that **a Left, democratic and secular front comes to power to bring about far-reaching democratic reforms in India's economic and social life, which will pave the way for socialism...** All progressive forces (should) work for such a front.

(Source: The Pioneer, 15 May, 1997)

Congress(I): Pawar's Manifesto (Extracts)

1. Conscious efforts should be made to see that Party's uncompromising policy approach against Economic Exploitation, Social Exploitation, **Communalism**, and Casteism is reflected at every level.
2. To redeem our pledge for Secularism after the AICC elections, we must assemble at Ayodhya to denounce once again what had happened on 6.12.1992. ...
5. To submit a comprehensive proposal to protect the dignity, honour and security of women in India, specially the Dalit, Tribals, Backwards and **Minorities** to overcome the shortcomings of present laws. ...

Ganesh Swaminath on Presidential Election

The three major political forces - United Front, Bharatiya Janata Party and the Congress - are in no position to get a candidate of their choice elected for the coveted office of the President. ...

Of the total votes of 10,98,919 for the presidential elections, the United Front has 4,01,121 votes, followed by the BJP and its allies who have 3,07,080 votes. The Congress is the poor third with 2,79,420 votes. The Bahujan Samaj Party has 26,161 votes while the independents and smaller party representatives account for 57,265 votes. ...

Indications at present are that the UF would project Vice-President K.R. Narayanan as its presidential candidate, which is likely to be supported by the Congress. In return for supporting the UF's presidential candidate, the Congress would expect the Front to back its candidate for the Vice-President, elections to which are also due immediately after the presidential polls.

... BJP sources (do) not ... rule out the option of propping up a rival candidate to the UF-Congress candidate.

(Source: The Pioneer, 30 May, 1997)

M.N. Buch on the 'Secular' Character of the BJP

... Under the Representation of the People Act, 1951 a political party desirous of registration with the Election Commission is required to submit its memorandum of association and rules and regulations, which must contain a specific provision that the party will bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution and to the principles of socialism, secularism and democracy. By law a party which does not believe in secularism cannot be registered as a political party and is debarred from contesting elections. The memorandum of association of BJP does state that it believes in the Constitution and its guiding principles and the party has not only been registered by the Election Commission but has also not been debarred from contesting elections.

Despite the fact that the law and the Constitution recognise BJP to be a political party, the BJP is reviled by the Congress, the Left Front and the United Front as representing the forces of communalism. Therefore, keeping the BJP out of power by fair means or foul has become an article of faith with these parties.

The attempt is to isolate BJP as an extreme right-wing, militantly Hindu organisation, whose very existence is repugnant. The allegation is that the BJP has its foundations in RSS, a rank communal organisation, whose leaders have always fomented anti-Muslim feelings and encouraged riots against the Muslims. It is further alleged that the party has a blatantly communal platform on such issues as the Ram Mandir at Ayodhya, the Kashi Vishwanath Temple at Varanasi and the Krishna Janmabhoomi Temple at Mathura, together with the mosques associated with these temples.

These have become issues central to the politics of the party, which appeal directly to the religious sentiments of the Hindus, exacerbate Hindu-Muslim feelings and generally create at atmosphere of unrest which is politically exploited by the party. The party and its policies are blamed for almost every communal riot in India.

... If there is a strict interpretation of communalism, promoting the interests of one's own community should not be taken as evidence of communal bias. Promoting such interests at the cost of anyone else amounts to communal bias.

Presumably, because somewhere hidden in the sub-conscious lies the above definition of communalism, we do not refer to parochial parties as communal. The Indian Union Muslim League pleads the case of Muslims and is not considered communal. The Shiromani Akali Dal speaks out for the Sikhs, but is not considered communal. The Bahujan Samaj Party tries to protect the interests of the Scheduled Castes and is not considered communal. The ... Janata Dal speaks only of the rights of the backward classes and is not considered communal. The DMK has a strong anti-Brahmin stance but is not considered communal. The Republican Party speaks for the neo-Buddhists and there are interest group on behalf of the Christians, Jains, etc. None of these are considered communal.

It is only the BJP, which has coined the term "Hindutva" and tries to remind the people of India that there are Hindus living here who also have interests, which is labelled as communal. Is it a sin to speak out on behalf of Hindus? Or are we still suffering from the hangover of the Sultanate and Mughal rule, or the Christian rule of the British, where Hindus were equated to pagans and considered an inferior race and religion? ...

The so-called secular parties have never had any qualms about appealing to religious or caste sentiments in order to win votes. The entire politics of the Janata Dal and the Samajwadi Party is based on casteism. Every party does its own mathematics about which candidate of which caste in which constituency will get it the most votes. Is this not communalism?

The constituents of the United Front and its erstwhile supporter, the Congress, have had no hesitation in ganging up with parochial parties whenever it suits them. The IUML has been a partner of both the UDF and LDF in Kerala at different times. Failing to win Akali support in the Punjab, the Congress has used the Nirankaris. How can the Congress make a claim to secularism when its leaders shamelessly resort to swamis, shankaracharyas, tantriks, soothsayers, astrologers and worse?

I do not hold with the BJP on its stand about the temples at Ayodhya, Mathura and Varanasi... I believe that the electorate, in not giving a clear mandate to BJP after the demolition of the Babari Masjid, had sent a clear message to the party that Hindu sentiments cannot be exploited for political purpose. ...

The BJP is not a communal party in the sense that it is being made out by its opponents and certainly no more communal than the other so-called secular parties. The only ground on which it an be faulted is that it has not completely educated its followers that the Muslims, who make India the second largest Islamic country after Indonesia, are as truly Indian as a Maratha from Satara, a Jat from Amritsar, a Kanyakubja from Kannauj or a Yadav from Arrah. It has not fully convinced the Muslims that their interests are as safe in its hands as they would be in the hands of a Muslim League government. In other words, the party has still to grow out of its image of parochialism...

(Source: The Hindustan Times, 12 May, 1997)

Shahabuddin's Reply to M.N. Buch, 7 June, 1997

Shri Buch certifies BJP as a secular party on the basis of registration and recognition by the E.C. He should know better. The EC has no authority to look beyond the record - the Memorandum of Association and Rules and Regulations. Obviously the Constitution of the BJP does not limit membership to the Hindus only. For that matter even the IUML's does not, to Muslims only or the Akali Dal's, to the Sikhs only. But any political analyst must go behind the facade to assess the reality. What proportion Muslims, Christians and Sikhs form of the membership of the BJP and that of its state and national committees or its offices? What proportion do they form in the list of BJP's candidates in general election to the Lok Sabha or the Assemblies? One Sikander Bakht (even Baig has parted company) does not make it a secular party just as one swallow does not make it a summer!

BJP has indeed its foundation in the RSS. Its leadership does not conceal their mother-child relationship and in any crisis, like any child, the BJP runs to its mother for comfort and counsel and is often advised to subordinate its political strategy and tactics to the ideological mission of the RSS which is nothing short of Hinduisation of the Indian Polity and Culture. RSS may not have "encouraged" riots against Muslim but its training and propaganda have crated the "Hindu mindset" which sees India, Indian people, Indian history and Indian culture as synonymous with "Hinduism" and which, therefore, wants to establish a Hindu state in India which need not imply a theocracy but a stat in which the Hindus are the dominant group and the non-Hindus have secondary status. The writings of the RSS leaders, past and present, are quite clear in this regard. And I am not aware of the BJP or any BJP leader disowning the tutelage of the RSS, far less its ideology and policies, or even the writings of the Gurus.

This is why the Babari Masjid, the Shahi Idgah and the Gyan Vapi Masjid questions ar not religious but political questions - their demolition and substitution by Hindu structures would be symbolic of political assertion over the non-Hindu Indians.

Communalism indeed covers all inter-community relation and even inter-caste and inter-sub-caste relations but given history, communalism or secularism is largely concerned with defining Hindu-Muslim relations and the status of Muslims in a Hindu majority state. That is why BJP matters and not the IUML, SAD, BSP, SP, JD, DMF or RP, though each of them nurses and speaks for a deprived social constituency. BJP also matters because views of other parties as inter-group relations can be contained within the secular order, BJP's views on religious minorities, specially those belonging to "extra-territorial religions" cannot be. BJP is thus forced to denounce the secular order as "pseudo-secular" or as "appeasement of the Muslims" or even as "injustice to the Hindus"! The secular order, or the parties believing in secularism, are not anti-Hindu nor are they for special status for religious minorities but only for the recognition and protection of the constitutional, human and group, rights of the religious minorities and for equidistance and neutrality of thee State in conflict situation. Secularism is positive, not negative.

BJP's theoretical critique of secularism cannot be justified, as Mr. Buch has tried to do, by references to other parties departures in practice because politics, in India's context, demands occasional compromises and acceptance of "flaws" which hit the eyes of the observers.

Indeed I am relieved to note that Mr. Buch does not hold with BJP's stand on the "temples" in Ayodhya, Mathura and Varanasi. Yet his very words indicate a pro-BJP mindset. There was no "Ram Mandir" in Ayodhya from 1528 to 1992 on the disputed site. The dispute in Varanasi and Mathura is not on temples but on standing Masjids. If RSS and BJP are not to be condemned on their role on these questions, then what else shall they be judged by? They have become the litmus test not only of secularism but of democracy, based on justice and equality and of the rule of law and of the dignity of the Judiciary, the Executive and the Legislature.

On the track-record of the BJP government, Mr. Buch is only repeating the current propaganda line of the BJP. Their relative control on communal violence is not surprising and falls into its logical place but the administration has been so communalised that the Muslims (and Christians and the tribals) feel alienated, suffocated, humiliated and threatened at every step. Education and the mass media have been used to propagate their gospel of Hindutva and the RSS philosophy in order to indoctrinate the young.

Even the BJP realises that with its narrow vision of our great country, with its longing for the past, with its alliance with Hindu militancy, with its rejection of the composite character of our culture, with its rejection of our religious, linguistic and racial diversity, with its mistaken equation between unity and uniformity or between majoritarian power and stability, it cannot go any further. Today, it is engaged in manufacturing a new Persona - by changing its "Chehra, Chal and Charitra". But can a new mask change the mind and the soul? Can a leopard change his spots?.

(Curtsy: Hindustan Times, 7 June, 1997)

Rakesh Sinha on Sangh Parivar's Moves to win over Dalits

The coming together of those important political forces with different social bases is expected to have a far-reaching impact. At present, the BJP well understands the value of symbolic relationships and the cocomitant need for political extremity and durably of alignments. This has been demonstrated by its ties with the Akalis, the Samata Party and the Haryana Vikas Manch.

The social base of the BSP comprises basically marginalised groups like Bhangis, Doms, Dhangars, Chamars, Balmikis, Pasis, Ramdasis, etc. who were once the target groups of Ambdkar's Republican Party. However, Ambedkar remained the hero of the Mahars only during his lifetime although he had listed 429 social groups who were treated as "untouchables". Unlike Ambedkar, Kanshi Ram emphasises political consolidation of these groups as an aggressive political unit. He believes that political upgradation would also bring socio-economic transformation in its wake. And he has been successful in his approach to a great extent.

The RSS was formed in 1925 in Maharashtra in the midst of emerging socio-cultural dichotomies...The first founding principle of the Sangh Parivar was repudiating caste identity and to prepare the Sangh minded Hindus to act as a uncleus to bring about socio-cultural changes...the Sangh parivar has been successful in its operation among the tribals. There are almost four thousand service projects run in the tribal belt by the RSS through its operating wing, the Vanvasi Kalyan Kendra.

As far the Dalits are concerned, the RSS has been virtually implementing Ambedkar's agenda. All religious heads were brought on one platform in 1964 when the Vishwa Hindu Parishad was formed and all of them agreed to fight the evil of untouchability. In 1989 the Sangh formed another unit 'Seva Bharti' to bring all - round changes amongst the Dalits and slumdwellers. Moreover, the RSS has been training and appointing Dalits as priests in areas dominated by the orthodox elements. Unfortunately, similar social dynamism has not been demonstrated by other operating wings of the Sangh parivar like the ABVP, and above all, the BJP in their respective fields. Despite the support of the RSS, the BJP as a political party could not do much beyond the limits of 'club functions'... Its own Harijan leaders are turned into Liliputs while the Kanshi Rams are used as 'show boys'. The party has to utilise the ground prepared by the RSS to make inroads amongst these social groups by demonstrating dynamism. Only then can it expand its social base and accommodate the Dalits in its rank and file.

(Source: The Hindustan Times, April 17, 1997)

Ram Gopal on BJP and Muslim Factor

... A close scrutiny ... reveals that the present anti-Muslim "image" of the BJP has been diligently carved out by the mass media, including the silver screen, which has been largely in the hands of the anti-Hindu Marxist ideologues and the pacifist Congressites. Though the Marxists have never held power at the Centre, they have since the days of Jawaharlal Nehru had the greatest influence in framing the policies of the Indian government and the Congress party. In their ideological war against Hindus and Hinduism, they are ready to collaborate with anybody or everybody. That is why the Communists and the Congress have been lining up with the Muslim League and other Muslim outfits whenever an opportunity comes up.... The Muslim masses form a distinct class. Traditionally, they have been captives of their mosque-based mullahs and moulvis. By and large, they go by word of mouth... The Hindu wave after the Shah Bano case of 1985 has brought the Marxists and the Congress closer to Islamic fundamentalists and the casteist forces. Through its rath yatras, the BJP has made an appreciable impact on the caste factor, but the Muslims have remained almost unaffected. So long as the Muslims do not get out of the clutches of their mullahs and moulvis, the BJP will have to manage without, or even in spite of them... Today's Muslim leadership ... can never be expected to support a party which does not grant Muslims a superior political status and an upper hand in their Shariat law; all the more so because the Congress and the (parties) of the National Front, individually and collectively, are providing all moral and material support to the carriers of Islamic fundamentalism and their Shariat law through various Government and non-Government channels. **(Source: The Organiser, 8 June, 1997)**

Another Yatra

Seven years ago after his Ram rath swept the BJP to unscaled heights, Mr. Lal Krishna Advani has set off again...Thematically,too, this yatra is a departure from the past, the party taking a break from marketing religion to advocating patriotism...Mr. Advani's goal seems equally in tune with the changing times-to win friends and influence voters South of the Vindhyas.. His timid is right and his slogan looks right too... Even on the image front,the BJP is better off today than it was at the time of the last elections, most of its leaders having got off the hook in the hawala cases. the party now promises freedom from bhook, bhay aur bharashtachar

It is not clear if a rath yatra by itself can dispel previously formed notions about the party's anti-minority orientation. This is a crucial factor because secularism is more firmly entranced in the South than in the Hndi belt... **(Source : The Times of India, 20 May, 1997)**

Lajpat Rai on BJP and the RSS

...The Indian capitalist class also began to patronise the BJP as an alternative to the Congress, and this has weakened the grip of the RSS over it. The BJP took money from big business houses and decided to work for them instead of for the traders and small business community that formed the core of its strength.

This was admitted by L.K. Advani in his speech (quoted in the Indian Express) before the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) in 1993. He said: "Let me confess that even my party needs large sums to contest elections. And most contributions come in the shape of black money. If the BJP decides to accept only white money, I would be the happiest person, but it is not possible without the cooperation of the industry".

It is with this black money that the BJP was able to contest over 600 parliamentary seats in the last elections... Even at places where changes of winning were almost zero. There is no shortage of funds for the BJP. Can it now break its alliance with the capitalist class and follow the dictates of the RSS?

Advani has tried to assert the BJP's independence from the RSS, saying that unlike the RSS, the BJP is a political party which seeks to come to government. In an interview to a local daily some months ago Advani also said: "No one (read RSS) can dictate to us".

The RSS leadership finds itself helpless, unable to discipline the BJP. After having tasted the fruits of power and corruption, the BJP's political activists refuse to accept the "high-handedness" of ... the RSS....

(Source: The New Age, 26 January - 1 February, 1997)

Bhaskar Roy on BJP-VHP Identity

... The BJP national executive and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad's "dharam sansad" started the same day, for the same duration and more or less with the same agenda. ...

The common strand linking the two platforms is the search for an effective strategy to capture the future - a practical, down-to-earth action plan to seize power in a snap poll that the Sangh Parivar believes is due sometime next year.

The two faces of the Parivar seem to be speaking the language of aggression and even revenge. ... Despite ... seeming resentment and acrimony, the two fronts of the RSS family are looking for issues to launch new campaigns and seize the political initiative before the next general election. While the BJP is getting ready for a new offensive against the United Front parties and the Congress, the VHP is set to blaze the temple trail again by starting a new agitation to "liberate" the two disputed shrines in Mathura and Varanasi.

"This conference urges the Government of India to withdraw the Religious Places Act which challenges the Hindu's birth right to Shri Krishna's birthplace in Mathura and Kashi Vishwanath temple in Varanasi", the resolution adopted at the dharam sansad (religious parliament) on 16 November. ...

According to Sangh sources, the two campaigns - the BJP's political propaganda against its adversaries and the VHP's temple stir - are intended to complement each other...

(Source: The Times of India, 17 November, 1996)

Rakesh Sinha on BJP and RSS

The concern within the RSS for the BJP's organisational problems is not surprising since the steps taken by the latter to grapple with factional politics and indiscipline are inadequate considering the enormity of the problem. Additionally, the BJP's existence as a political party would be meaningless unless it genuinely accepts and works within the ideological framework and organisational culture of the RSS. Both the BJP and its predecessor, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS), were formed after serious deliberations inside the RSS with a specific purpose... So the BJP has to be amenable to the advice of the parent body.

The BJP's phenomenal growth is a direct outcome of the acceptance of the cultural agenda of the RSS by a large section of the Hindu population. This was evident during Advani's rath yatra and in course of the Ram Janmabhoomi movement. However, the party committed two mistakes. One was to enroll everybody and every fund donor and the second was to give the upper hand to the governing elites (in the BJP-ruled states) over the organisation... While turning the party from being cadre-based into a mass-based one, ... the party did not evolve any mechanism to control the governing elites.

The crisis (in BJP) forced the RSS leadership to go once again into detailed deliberations with the BJP leadership in order to undo the damage and assert the RSS culture. The RSS intervention in politics is not a recent phenomenon. In its worldview, culture is a broader framework of civil society, comprising both economics and politics. Politics must be, according to the RSS philosophy, run on the basis of cultural traditions and should be value-based. It believes that cultural values should play a substantial role in the success of any ideology. Thus, in the organisational framework the "karya paddhati" (modus operandi) and "samskar" (inherited and evolved characteristics) are important.

There are two ways of its intervention - functional and selective. While the former is often done, the latter is occasional. Through functional intervention the RSS tries to correct distortions in the organisational culture and any dilution of the ideology.

As a part of its policy the (RSS) kept the organisation aloof from the Hindu Mahasabha... However, it continued to support selective programmes of the Mahasabha... Similarly, the RSS supported the Congress and Gandhian programmes ever since the Congress pledged for complete independence in December, 1929...

(Source: The Hindustan Times, 4 March, 1997)

Anirudh Deshpande on the Prospects of Gujral Government

... Facts related to Mr. Gujral's ascent will be remembered long after he retires; and these facts narrate the sad story of the custodians of contemporary Indian secularism... Either the UF had no leader capable of commanding mass support across castes and classes, or its existing caste-based leadership could not be trusted with high office. Either factor does not augur well for the future of centrist politics in India because if popular leaders cannot become prime ministers in a secular coalition, something is seriously wrong with the Centre-Left anti-communal platform.

This is so because ultimately the battle against communalism and fascism is a popular one. But if issues cannot be forced despite the intention of retaining power, unfortunate compromises must be made... Mr. Gujral is the most desirable of the lot at present but we cannot ignore the fact that his zenith is founded on the machinations of an undesirable company... The only way Mr. Gujral can lead us into the next century is by developing an independent constituency capable of sustaining his premiership in the vicissitudes of future... From the viewpoint of Indian secularism, the question of keeping the BJP and Co. out of power and equating this with the triumph of secularism remains unanswered... The possibility of a BJP-led coalition capturing the Centre after the next Lok Sabha election cannot be ruled out.

... Why a committed secularist might ask for instance, don't the Indian social democrats stop playing games with the bourgeois parties and do something at the base to annihilate the communal threat? Why are the Left parties wasting time in keeping the coalition afloat? Why don't they withdraw from the scene and allow the Congress to join the UF so that it becomes a totally Centrist outfit?...

This is not because the Leftists do not consider the Congress secular but simply because the Congress is their main enemy in West Bengal and Kerala. On the other hand, if significant sections in the CPI(M) feel that the Congress is non-secular then why do they continue to accept its support to the UF... Like the BJP-BSP alliance this too amounts to opportunism because ... if the UF collapses, the Left will be marginalised at the Centre. If the Congress joins the coalition the Centre-Left UF will become a purely centrist affair and, in future, if a Right-wing coalition led by the BJP comes to power in New Delhi the Left will have no option but to align itself with the Centrists once again against the BJP & Co. Hence, either with the containment of the Congress or the BJP, the Leftist strategy of overcoming communalism will run around in circles.

... If the Congress decides to join the Government for several reasons, the UF will start shaking and Mr. Gujral might become a casualty of history sooner than necessary. Pushed to the wall once again, the Congress may not give the UF another chance from outside in future.... The way to expose and effectively counter (BJP) lies neither in prostrating the coalition before the Congress nor conducting a supposedly principled marriage of convenience between the Centre and the Left Front...

(Source: The Pioneer, June, 1997)

JD:Laloo Seeks Blessing to get Top Job on April, 1997

Laloo Prasad Yadav flew to Gopalganj, his home town, and offered prayers at the famous Thabel shrine of goddess Kali apparently to propitiate and set his star right to become successful in his race of the UF leadership and country's premiership.

...The Chief Minister flew back to Patna and went to the Garadaninagh Thakurbari, where pujas were being performed... The Chief Minister, last evening also offered puja at the Shitla Mata Temple at Agankuan where sacrifices were also offered.

(Source: The Hindustan Times, April 16,1997)

JD: Seventh Poll Defeat in Karnataka

The warning bells have sounded for the ruling Janata Dal in Karnataka, which registered its seventh defeat in Assembly bye-elections at Molakalmuru. ...

The usual reaction to a byelection defeat from the ruling party has been that these elections are based on localised issues and the results are largely against the ruling party.

But Molakalmuru is not a lone development. It is the culmination of a series of upsets for the Dal. Partymen are also concerned that even the four victories as 11 assembly by-elections were a result of extraneous factors, and not because of the popularity of the party.

They are also restive because four of the byelection defeats - Molakalmuru, Ramanagaram, Chikkanayakanahalli and K.R. Pet - are in Old Mysore ... the stronghold of former Prime Minister H.D. Deve Gowda. There is another warning note: Molakalmuru is dominated by the backward classes, which the party considers its vote-banks.

Many in the Congress, which won at Molakalmuru, tend to interpret the result as a wave ... in favour of the party. Others point out that the ... results have been more anti-Dal than pro-Congress. But there is no doubt that the Congress can cash in on the victories.

(Source: The Times of India, 3 June, 1997)

Sultan Shahin on 'Milli Parliament'

... A new and more dangerous element has grown and apparently taken some roots. Calling themselves Islamic radicals and working for a few years under the banner of Milli Parliament, a group of Muslims belonging to the Jamaat-e-Islami parivar, have decided to launch a Muslim political party to strive for an "unfinished Islamic agenda" to establish Khilafat (Caliphate) or Islamic rule in India. This bunch of moronic obscurantists has released a Muslim Manifesto which regards the last 50 years as "lost years" for the Muslims.

If all this is not provocative enough for the majority community, it refers to them as Kuffar (infidels) and Mushrekeen (religious deviants). It virtually issues a fatwa to Muslims telling them that it is completely haram (prohibited) for them to join any political party which does not share the Islamic agenda of Khilafat or works for the establishment of a secular society. It is incumbent on all Muslims, it says, that they sever all links with the existing non-Muslim political groups as these are "in open violation of Koranic dictates".

If this is not creating disaffection between communities, I don't know what else is. But if our past experience of official apathy in such matters is any guide, it would be futile to expect the government to take any action. The responsibility for maintaining communal amity, in the face of grave provocations, thus falls on the people themselves. If it is for the Hindus to beware of the machinations of various offshoots of the sangh parivar, it is for the Muslims to confront the menace of the expanding Jamaat parivar. ...

After Partition, any far-sighted leadership would have advised the Muslims to try and rebuild ... trust and goodwill... It is not too late for the Muslims to direct their energies in that direction even now. The first requirement, however, is to fight and defeat the lunatic fringe...

(Source: The Indian Express, 13 March, 1997)

Vijay Simha on A.R. Antulay, MP

Even by today's standards in politics this should rank as a somersault of Olympic proportions. Just over two years ago Abdul Rehman Antulay's single point programme was to get Sharad Pawar arrested under the infamous TADA.

Today, Antulay is Pawar's spokesperson who sees Congress Lok Sabha leader as the party's saviour...

In 1994, Antulay said:

"Pawar was squeezing the common people to fill his coffers. He believes in gold and diamonds... TADA is meant for the most dangerous criminals and terrorists. And the most dangerous criminal of them all is Sharad Pawar. Why should he be above TADA... Pawar symbolises a total lack of values and the bestial behaviour of the police. Everybody knows this.

"Under Pawar, Bombay is not only unsafe, it is violent and dangerous. you never know when bullets will be sprayed all around. Varsha (Pawar's residence in Mumbai while he was the Maharashtra Chief Minister) is full of anti-social elements. I don't know how many are hiding there".

And there's more on Pawar's political ambitions and his place in the Congress. "Why should Pawar be equated with the Congress. Who is Pawar? He became Chief Minister for the first time by stabbing Dada (Vasantdada Patil) in the back. He was CM the next time because Rajiv Gandhi made him...

...Antulay ... filed his papers as a dummy for Pawar... Once Pawar threw his hat in the ring, Antulay quickly embraced him and the ... duo is practically inseparable today and have joined hands in the fight against Sitaram Kesri.

...Antulay hovers around Pawar almost all the time and sees the one-time defence minister as a messiah of the minority community, who can revive the Congress from the current mess...

(Source: The Indian Express, 30 May, 1997)

Jamiat Ulema-i-Hind: Tahaffuz Khatham Nubuwat Conference, Delhi, 14 June, 1997 Resolutions (Extracts)

This Conference strongly demands from the Government that the Qadiyanis should be distinguished from the Muslims and declared a non-Muslim community and they should be restrained from reciting Kalima Taiyiba and other Islamic terms and from building places of worships resembling Masjids and naming them as Masjid.

This Conference clarifies to the Muslims that the Qadiyanis are not only "Murtid" **but "Zindiq" and "Kafir". It is against the faith to have contacts and maintain friendship with such people. Therefore, all Muslims, acting on the ordinance of the Shariat, should totally boycott them.**

The Conference appeals to Islamic madrasas and Muslim organisations to keep a strict watch on Qadiyanis places of worship and activities and expose them before the Muslim community.

Ex-Editor `Organiser'V.P. Bhatia

On Roots of Muslim Separatism

Muslim insistence on Pakistan is the culmination of the atavistic fear of the Hindu Raj in the Muslim psyche, according to Madhu Limaye. Perhaps they were afraid that in free India, the Hindu would do to them what the Muslim rulers, ruling elite and the Mullah-Maulvis had been doing to the Hindus during 700 years of the Muslim Raj in northern India. For, the Muslim Raj for all practical purposes a military rule based on colonial exploitation. The Muslim elite, mostly the Iranis and Turanis, the high-caste Ashrafs imported from Arabia Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asian countries by the successive Sultans and Shehanshahs dominated the military and the landed interests during the Muslim rule. There was more loot and loss of Indian wealth during the Mughal Raj than during the British period, according to a recent study. It was a parasitic system in every sense.

This was over and above the religious persecution. No wonder, after the Marathas and the Sikhs smashed the backbone of the Muslim Raj. the Hindus welcomed even the British rule in its initial stages because it provided them the religious and intellectual freedom after a long time. They took full advantage of the western education also for a full-fledged Hindu Renaissance. All this prepared them to give a final battle to the British imperialism as well, to destroy all vestiges of the foreign rule ultimately. It is a pity that the war remained unfinished vis-a-vis the Islamic imperialism by the creation of Pakistan.

The Muslim elite, however, left behind in the race for modernisation, forged a loyal coalition with the British, firstly to delay freedom as long as possible and secondly to secure separate electorates, reservations and weightages at every level of democratic institutions, administration and services on the plea that otherwise the Hindu majority would dominate and assimilate the minority and thereby destroy its identity. The fear of the Hindus was based not merely on their overwhelming numerical strength but also on their intellectual superiority and commercial acumen. In fact, the Muslim elite felt handicapped in every field not because of any conscious Hindu attempt to keep them down, but because of their own religious obscurantism, passion for outmoded madarsa system of education and Shariat laws which prevented them from taking part in industry and trade.

In fact, ever since the weakening of the Mughal Raj under Aurangzeb, the Muslim elite's cry was Hindu domination and exploitation. An ingrained Muslim inferiority complex and atavistic fear of the future was exploited by their leadership to wage a relentless struggle for more and more out-of-turn loaves and fishes under British patronage and ultimately a violent civil war to carve out a separate country free of Hindu competition. They won the day as the Hindus were unprepared for it because of their preoccupation with the anti-British struggle as well as the complete Hindu subservience to the Gandhian creed of non-violence.

However, actually, their problem was Hindu resilience, flexibility and remarkable adaptability which attuned the Hindus to come to the top in any open system, despite centuries of oppression and depression...

K.F. Rustamji on Black Americans and Muslim Indians

An astonishing similarity exists between the Black problem in America and the Muslim problem in India. In both cases the mass-movement phase has ended. In America the unity and elan of the civil rights era is not there any more. The Muslim League which fought for a separate Pakistan is almost out of the picture of national politics in India. In both countries there is a desire to move away from the traditional road and strike out on a new path which would lead them to the sanctuary that they seek.

> Blacks are beginning to question whether race is the root of all their problems. A few are daring to vote Republican, oppose affirmative action, raise doubts about welfare. **(Toronto Star, August 18, 1996)**

The American Black movement is splintered. Will the Blacks now go to Louis Farrakhan, who seems to have pan-Islamic illusions, or move away from confrontation to moderate leaders and seek shelter in a system which tends to help them? In the same way some Muslims are turning to the BJP in its new avatar as the saviour of the Muslims.

That does not mean that the 33 million Blacks do not resent the daily snubs in buses and restaurants, or feel outraged at the sight of 30 Black churches being burnt in the last 18 months, or that discrimination in education and jobs does not hurt the Indian Muslims. The average Black man has a better chance of going to jail than to a university, almost half the number of Black women are single mothers. Race is a factor which is the easiest to mark out and the easiest to raise tempers about both in India and America. It will be opportunities for education, a fair share in jobs, a gradual unwinding of the long tape of hatred that will make the 33 million Blacks and the 110 million Muslims partners in the two big democracies.

(Source: The Mainstream, 8 March, 1997)

Views of P.M. Gujral On Secularism

Secularism is not a matter of policy. Indian unity is not a matter of policy. They are matters of faith and basic commitments by the Indian nation. So you can't discuss these. You can discuss the CTBT, you can discuss SAARC, you can discuss petroleum prices. But not secularism. How can you discuss it... The paramount principles of India are the foundation of the nation. I can't start building the entire nation from the first brick now.

That is why I am not discussing secularism. That is where our sharp differences with the Opposition continue. But democracies in the world survive when in policies you are able to evolve a high percentage of consensus. On basic premises parties differ. On ideologies parties differ...

The principles of the Indian nation state are not negotiable. I have said it time and again. I have said that on record in Parliament. That secularism, integrity of the nation are non-negotiable. After that everything is possible...

(Source: The Hindu, 1 June, 1997)

CPI(M): On Synchronized Movement against Communalism

... Neither communalism or casteism is the biggest menace. It is economic crisis from which other menaces have sprung... If economic crisis is tackled then war against communalism and casteism becomes comparatively easy...

The Congress is not a communal force. Though its authoritarian character has now become extinct it still can't be called democratic. Despite such lacunae we feel, particularly after the Ayodhya incident, that there is a need for a Synchronized movement against communalism in which Left forces and the Congress can take part from separate platforms....

(Source: The Week, 9 March, 1997)

Temple-Hopper Gowda

... Before Deve Gowda begins on the next phase of its political career, he plans to visit Kathmandu, along with his family, and seek the blessings of Lord Pashupati at the magnificent temple-where the chief pujari incidentally is an Indian...

(Source: The Times of India, 4 May, 1997)

On Minorities Rights

Editorial, The Hindustan Times, 8 Feb., 1997

... The Constitution accorded the right to the minorities to run their own educational institutions and the "right to conserve" their "language, script or culture" It cannot be denied that this wise step helped India to blossom as an ideal multi-cultural State... What the ... Constitution did not envisage, however, was that, in course of time, these rights and privileges would become virtual playthings in the hands of politicians and used more to set apart the various communities than to integrate them.

... In determining the question of which group constitutes a minority by setting up a large bench, the Supreme Court obviously wants to clear all confusions in this respect. The step is all the more necessary because the privileges enjoyed by minority institutions persuaded a respectable organisation like the Ramakrishna Mission to claim that its followers were not Hindus, so that it could also enjoy such rights. Clarifications are necessary because religious and linguistic minorities in one State may be in the majority in another and vice versa. Even as the judicial verdict is required to ensure that Articles 29 and 30 are not misused by crafty politicians and "educationists", it has to be ensured that no citizen, of whatever caste or creed, feels aggrieved because of the special rights enjoyed by a certain group. The rights of religion, culture, language, etc., have to be preserved, of course, but they must blend harmoniously with the overall citizenship rights.

Dawn of Secularism

The auspicious dawn of secularism has just set in. I refer to the news 'Hindu Priests Pay homage to Haj Pilgrims' (April 21). This is really admirable. The news brings a true secular outlook for the crores of Indians who feel separated from one another by the fences of religions. It is high time national dailies brought such pariseworthy news to light. These are very constructive and helpful for national solidarity and, above all, for the integrity of the nation.

(Rajkishore Barik, Chandbal, Orissa)

The President, Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma on May 30 inaugurated the 'veda mandir', constructed at the Sri Ganapathi Sachidananda Ashram.

The former President, Mr. R. Venkataraman, also participated in the function...

Mohammad Nejatullah Siddiqi
On Indian Muslims in the Twenty First Century-I

... There will be Muslims and there will be India as a single political entity...

Poverty amidst increasing prosperity will be the most visible problem ... in the early twenty first century...

Among the one fifth very poor Indians will be about half of the Muslim population in India...

... Slightly over fifty percent of adult Indians are illiterate. No separate count of Muslim illiteracy is available. But it will be reasonable to assume that it is higher, maybe around sixty percent. This is the average for the adult Muslim population, men as well as women...

... For countries like India which have a variety of ethnic, linguistic and religious groups this will mean that every group will have to mobilise its own resources to preserve its identity and promote its culture etc. That will need resources... People in a group may have all the resources but may not have commitment to their identity and culture, no vision of what they would like to become and how. Such a group will sure disintegrate... What about a community which has commitment and vision but no resources?.. Muslim community needs individuals with money to spare so that the community can do all that is needed to preserve its identity, promote its culture and safeguard its interests.

Mobilizing the necessary resources in money and manpower ... will test the ingenuity of Indian Muslim intellectuals in the coming days. The important thing is to realise that the only way to success is through competition. The more productive you are the more competitive advantage you have. Productivity in our post-capitalist, post-modern society depends on, above all things, knowledge... The lesson is clear. The community must attend to the twin ills of poverty and illiteracy in order to be strong enough to face the forthcoming challenges...

As the twentieth century comes to an end the greatest threat to Muslim identity and culture comes from the recent rise of Hindutva symbolized by the BJP's brief stint with power in New Delhi...

... Hindutva has no future, how so ever great its nuisance value. It is not unusual in human history, however, for a failed vision to consume half a century or more before people get rid of it... Hindutva ultimately must fail as it has little to offer...

Hindutva has no future because it is in violation one of the basic tenets of humanity in twenty first century - social equality...

Muslims will be ill advised to wait it out till the wave ot aggressive Hindutva passes over. They must act to prevent its rise as the devastation it would otherwise effect may be too much for them to bear.

Whatever the prognosis, Muslims in India can not and should not go it alone insofar as facing/preventing Hindutva is concerned. They can adopt a three pronged approach...

The first programme, to be launched by Muslims alone, especially by the religious organisations like Jamaat-e-Islami, should focus on introducing Islam and removing the misunderstandings about Islam and Muslims. The second should be a political strategy directed at ... preventing (the BJP) from reaching the seats of power at local, state and national level. The third is a socio-economic campaign serving the masses through literacy drives ... economic uplift and self-employment programmes, etc... Indians especially Hindus ... so designed as to wean away those sections of the Hindu society (e.g. the youth) who have been attracted by the social services and fitness oriented programmes of the RSS.

... If BJP was to assume power in Delhi ... it will not be the end of the world for Muslims in India. For one thing, the above programme itself will have prepared them to face that situation far better than now... Muslims (then) will have to mobilize all their strength to focus on education and cultural orientation of their youth and the very young... Political confrontation ... should be avoided... Once a party comes to power through ... democratic means it must be allowed to rule. Trying to pull it down by street action or horse trading is anti-democratic as well as immoral...

The BJP (may or may not) rule India for a full term, on its own or in coalition with like minded groups, during the next two or three decades... But it is not impossible. Prudence requires us to be prepared with a strategy and to spell out a Muslim agenda under Hindutva dominated India. ...

... The narrow chauvinism of Hindutva runs counter to the current wave of globalization and knowledge-based competition... Muslims have to accelerate that process ... spearheading the process of adopting universal humanistic stances on all issues, rejecting narrow nationalistic stances. Let the choice be forced on every Indian, whether he or she would rather belong to a cosmopolitan community of nations sharing all but what is naturally tied to geography, or would they insist on an identity that is wholly defined in local terms.

Playing by the rules of the game in a democracy ... needs a whole range of legal, political, social watchdog

organisations, lobbying outfits, public relations outposts, etc... This is missing from the current Muslim situation in India... It is time we mend the fences and study ... the history of minorities in other democracies especially in the United States. Vigilance on part of minorities is necessary to prevent encroachment on their rights and secure ... fair treatment...

... Power will shift ... to various social groups/ minorities as well as to the supra national agencies (or international organisations)... Being a distinct group present in every state, they are in a better position than ethnic or linguistic minorities confined to only one region. The trick is not to compete with other groups in seeking government funding but to go all out to create resources for themselves on their own. Increasingly the State will have little to offer, so there will not be much to fight for. Better to ignore that source and, with spirit of entrepreneurship, exploit the vast resources - land, labour and capital, lying under your feet. Above all ... that infinite resource, knowledge, flowing all round you. Utilise all these to create additional wealth...

Entrepreneurship (is needed by) Muslims in India... Entrepreneurship is innovation, leadership, taking bold and courageous initiatives. It presumes hope, self-confidence and trust. Pessimism, fatalism, siege mentality, a pervading sense of being persecuted, are its arch enemies. Only some scattered groups among Muslims in India bear these entrepreneurial qualities... Neither the madrasa nor the college and schools have anything to offer in this connection. There is a need to project the role models for the younger generation of Indian Muslims... We must wean away our youth from the ghetto and the street and show them the way to gainful self-employment and to acquire skills that make them employable... The energies ... should be focused more and more on making the future generation of Muslims less dependent on publicly funded educational and health facilities or the public sector for a job...

... Let the Muslim activists, philanthropic institutions and social service groups break the vicious circle by stepping in... There is a need to learn from the successful anti-poverty and self-help programmes in South East Asia as well as in ... South India.

Will the Muslim activists in India, especially those with religious inspiration e.g. Jamaat-e-Islami, Tableeghi Jamaat, Ahl Hadeeth and Barelvi group ever learn the primary of economic strength for the survival and progress of Muslims and Islam in India? Will they readjust their focus from exhortations and warnings and ordainments to helping people on to their feet and putting them on the road to self-respect and hope?

I have no sure answers, but we must try. It is very difficult to imagine an uplifted Muslim community in India without change in the approach of their religious mentors. The more crucial thing is to make them realise that modern society after the industrial revolution superimposed by the communication and information revolution is so different from the one reflected in most of their intellectual heritage that they must think afresh.

... The religiously oriented ... think that priority must attach to moral and spiritual matters (or) include the intellectual dimension, related to thought (fikr). But economics about doing things more efficiently... Eradication of poverty, removal of illiteracy and inculcation of entrepreneurial qualities are necessary... This is not to deny the need for moral and spiritual reorientation. There is no contradiction between the two drives, the one for educational and economic uplift and the other for moral, spiritual and intellectual regeneration. Some economic means are necessary for sheer survival, for Muslims coming together, warding off aggressive designs towards them and, broadly, for adherence to Islamic teachings. Islamic scholars as well as activists should call upon Muslims to work hard for economic betterment for the sake of their religion. They should tell Muslims they have to make enough money to have something to spare for jihad in its board sense of mobilising all energies for the cause of Allah. Spirituality in Islam is not to suppress material quest but to give it the right direction...

Economics in recent days has been overtaken by a revolution in the science of management - the discovery that it is not only material resources, land, labour and capital that matter, but also the way you manage their use (and) deal with people... These ... lessons need to be learnt by us not only in managing business but also in managing the madrasa and the waqf.

Ambedkar on Consttitution & Politician

"However good a Constitution may be, it is sure to turn out bad because those who are called to work it happen to be a bad lot. However, bad a Constitution may be it may turn out to be good, if those who are called to work it happen to be a good lot. The working of the Constitution does not depend wholly upon the nature of the Constitution. It can provide only the organs of the State such as the legislature, the executive and the judiciary. The factors on which the working of these organs of the State depend are the people and the political parties they will set up as their instruments to carry out their wishes and their policies. Who can say how the people of India and their parties will behave? It is futile to pass any judgement on the Constitution without reference to the part which the people and their parties are likely to play"

(Source:Constitutent Assembly Debates)

Justice Mohd. Munir on Muslim Complexes

"After some 700 years of Muslim rule in India, signs of decay of the Moghul Empire had appeared after Aurangzeb. Earlier efforts of the union of Muslims and Hindus had been tried and failed. Akbar the Great's 'Din-i-Ilahi' had died with his death. Guru Nanak's idea of the unity of God and his effort to bring Hindus and Muslims together had merely produced a militant class opposed to Muslim Rule. Earlier Kabir's teachings in the time of Sikandar Lodhi that outer symbols of religion meant nothing and that God is one whether you call him Allah or Rama makes no difference, and that idolatry and caste are only symbols and that truth lies in the heart and reveals itself in love, did not bring Hindus and Muslims together. But Budhan, a Brahman, who like Kabir was the member of Bhakati (cult) and followed Kabir's teachings had died because the Ulama giving him the choice of embracing Islam or death, he preferred to die than become a Muslim.

"After Akbar , with the exception of Jehangir, Shahajahan and Aurangzeb, the Moghul dynasty had produced mere nin-compoops. The peacock throne was there but it was merely a symbol of past majesty and grandeur. Sikhs and Marathas had raised their ugly heads and were a constant source of trouble and anxiety. And then came the Mutiny of 1857, of which the British considered Bahadur Shah Zafar as the head, though he was no more than a puppet in others' hands.

"After the Mutiny of 1857, the British crown took the government of the country in its own hands in 1858 and the British statesmen began to think of the ultimate destiny of India. One school, consisting principally of retired British bureaucrats, thought that India, the brightest jewel in the British Crown, should be held permanently and governed firmly and strictly. The second school was of a completely opposite view. The statesmen belonging to this group thought that Britain's finest day in India would be when power was peacefully transferred to a free India. Th third school which was in a majority was of the view that changes in administration were unavoidable, but they should be introduced gradually and with caution. A few years before 1854 John Bright had asked:

> "How long does England propose to govern India, but be it 50 or 100 or 500 years, does any man with the smallest glimmering of common sense believe that so great a country, with its 20 different languages, can ever be bound up and consolidated into one compact and enduring empire? I believe such a thing utterly impossible". (Speeches of John Bright).

"After the banishment of Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last Moghal Emperor, the Muslims felt a sense of loss. They retained their superiority complex and could not accept what had happened with an easy conscience nor could they find themselves willing to adapt themselves to the change that had come about. They had been rulers and soldiers and very few of them had taken to trade or professions. As against this, the Hindus welcomed the change which had put an end to 700 years of foreign rule. They did not mind if one foreign rule was replaced by another alien rule. The memory of 700 years rule by Muslims was rankling in their heart. The Muslims who consisted one fourth of the population were still untouchable, to be despised and hated. The Hindu, despite his caste system, has a remarkable capacity for adaptability. In the Moghal times they had learnt Persian and there were still some families among them who could till quite recently write, read and understand Persian. But when Persian was replaced by English as the official language and three Presidency Colleges were founded they learnt English as avidly as they had learnt Persian, with the result that they easily found posts of clerks and higher posts in the new administration. But the Muslims could not get over their superiority complex, meaningless though it had become, and the English language and Western civilization continued to be an anathema for them. They found their mosques and their religion which by now had been filled with superstitions, matters of pride, with the results that their economic and material position consistently continued to decline... Their position had become in fact pitiable". (pp. 2-4).

(Courtcy: The Organiser)

A.A. Engineer on Gujral as Prime Minister

... The election of Mr. Inder Kumar Gujral as the UF leader is the best thing that could have happened after Mr. Gowda lost the confidence vote.

Mr. Gujral's choice ... has been welcomed by the whole country. A soft-spoken politician, he believes in consensual politics...

After a long time, India has a Prime Minister who believes in rising above partisan politics and carrying all with him. The country is riven by all sorts of conflicts - caste, communal and ethnic, posing a serious challenge to its integrity. Every party is trying to mobilise a particular caste or community or region and is depending exclusively on it.

Today, no single party can hope to form the Government at the Centre and only coalitions can come to power in the foreseeable future. In such conditions, it is only a person who strongly believes in consensual politics can be effective as the Prime Minister, Mr. Gujral fits the bill.

(Source: The Hindu, 29 April, 1997)

Haj, 1997: Government Fact Finding Team Report on Mina Fire

(Relevant Extracts)

On April 15, 1997 a devastating fire that took place in Mina, Saudi Arabia, has sent shock waves throughout the country as hundreds of Indian pilgrims were burnt, large numbers were missing and thousands sustained injuries... On April 23, 1997, the Prime Minister decided to send a ... Fact Finding Team consisting of 3 sitting Members of Lok Sabha and a former Member of Rajya Sabha...

... On 29th April, the Team ...returned to India.

... The fire at Mina broke out on 15th April at 1130 hours local time. Some pilgrims in Indian camp No. 59 ...undergoing treatment in the hospitals told the Team that when they saw fire in the Pakistan camp across the road ... they were told ... that (the fire) would be extinguished then and there. But ... the fire devastated the Pakistani camps and on account of the direction of the wind, went across and destroyed at first 2 Indian camps Nos. 59 and 60. As the (fencing) of the camps are made of tin sheets ... majority of the pilgrims could somehow manage to escape successfully. But some of them could not escape as the back side of Camp 59 was surrounded by steep slope of a hillock... Some pilgrims tried to climb, but many were unable to do so...

... The Saudi officials ... gave the total number of the dead in the fire as 343. There is no other source to verify this figure. But the Indian officials feel that the number of Indians who died may be within the range of 150-200. Identification of the dead was an impossible task, since majority of the victims have been charred beyond recognition...

All injured persons are given the best possible medical treatment in the Saudi hospitals...

... The Moallim is the nodal point in the Government arrangements for the Haj and is appointed by the Moassasah which is an apex body approved by the Saudi Government...

The Team could see irresponsibility on the part of private tour operators in the matter of dealing the situation and attending to the treatment of the injured or in search operation of the missing and even completing the formalities for the dead, from among the pilgrims they sponsored... These private tour operators are not under the control of the Haj Committee or the Mission...

Alleged Locking of Gate 59

There was some controversy about the alleged locking of the gate of Camp 59 by the gateman at the time of fire, which is reported to have resulted in more casualties of Indian Hajees. Reported press statement of the Consul General created consternation in the Saudi echelon... However, the explanation given by the External Affairs Minister had helped to dispel the misunderstanding.... The Team also discussed the matter with Indian Ambassador and the Consul General himself. The Team hereby quote the reply by the Ambassador to our query, which is as follows:

"Some of the pilgrims, interviewed several days after the fire, have stated that the door keeper at the gate Camp 59 locked the door when the fire was first noticed (in camps on the other side of the road). It is to be noted that the boundaries of the camps in Mina are made of tin sheets which are held together loosely. In addition, there are clearly marked fire exists on these tin sheet boundaries. The locking of the gate by the door keeper in question could have impeded or delayed escape of some pilgrims through this point. Others, however found the emergency exists or pushed down the tin barriers to create an exist. It is to be noted that the great majority of pilgrims int his camp did manage to escape successfully. The locked door, therefore, was not an absolute impediment. As stated by the Ministry of External Affairs, in its Press Release of April 24, "no broad generalisation" can be drawn on the basis of information provided by a few of the injured relating to the conduct of an individual gate keeper".

After visiting the scene of occurrence and interacting with some of the pilgrims in Camp 59, the Team is of the view that **the alleged locking of the front gate will (sic) not impede the escape process.** In view of this and the bilateral relationship with Saudi Arabia, **it is always desirable to avoid making such statement. Unfortunately, the statement of Consul-General has been used by some people to find fault with the Saudi officials.**..

Observations/Recommendations

The Team would like to recommend to the Government to convey to the Saudi authorities that preparations of food in camps by pilgrims in Mina should be banned. Instead, food packets ... should be made available tot hem either by the Moallims or the respective Haj Committees or the diplomatic missions... Under no circumstances, any pilgrim should be allowed to use stove, cooking gas or any other hazardous material...

The Team also urges the Government of India to appeal to Saudi authorities to implement their earlier decision ... to erect tents with fire-resistant materials...

The Team places on record its deep sense of appreciation of the medical facilities made available to the injured Haj pilgrims from India by the Saudi authorities.

(Cntd. on page 308)

Haj: Maqbool Ahmed Siraj on Mina Tragedy

The Saudi Government's quota policy for Hajj is currently indispensable. But it seems the repeat performances do make it difficult to contain the size. Introduction of fingerprinting of pilgrims would help eliminate such performances.

Some restrictions on age or physical conditions of the pilgrim too may be advisable but not all that facile to implement or to even find approval. Hajj bodies all over the world must cooperate with Saudi authorities in downsizing pilgrims.

...During the April 15 fire the camp number 59 was the scene of the worst disaster with a toll of almost 100 casualties. The unfortunate camp was ringed from hills on three sides while the fire entered the camp from the fourth side. Only those who could climb the hill could save their lives.

Fire-prone tents are an invitation to such tragedies. Insistence on tents is perhaps borne out to their spiritual significance reminding one to the temporary nature of the worldly life. But the suggestion to develop fire-proof tents remain far from materialization. It will be therefore advisable to think of replacing with minimum damage to the historic landscape of the pilgrim town.

Orientation of the Pilgrims

An aware and cooperative pilgrim could be the best guarantee in making the Hajj less uncomfortable and averting the avoidable catastrophes. Unfortunately, this aspect has received the least attention everywhere. The ignorant pilgrims who are suddenly launched into a pilgrim path studded with escalators, automatic dispensing machines, carphones, and easy-t-use facilities are often incapable of following any kind of written language leading to abuse of facilities and rendering the Hajj uncomfortable for fellow-pilgirms. Consequently lakhs of squatters block the easy passage to Jamarat (the stone symbolising the Satan), thousands of others choose tonsuring of heads within tents, thereby clogging the water closets and commodes, and perhaps none feels any qualms in flinging the plastic rubbish at will on the public pathways...More horrendously , hundreds of pilgrims from the subcontinent and Indonesia carry gas stoves to the tent town least aware of the hazards. Mina presented the scene of the serial blast soon after the fire engulfed the arena as stoves and gas cylinders exploded frequently...The pile was a tell-tale picture of the pilgrims liberty with the safety regulations n the tent town. No amount of policing would perhaps bar the pilgrims from being so careless. It is time the Central Hajj Committee in India and Hajj bodies elsewhere took up orientation programmes for pilgrims with lessons it topography of holy places, a little Arabic, road signs, travel procedures, health precautions, currency exchanges, etc.

Right Priorities

Plagiarism need to be trained more thoroughly with rites and rituals in correlation with the ground realities such as crowd, climatic conditions, topography. Often catastrophes happen when pilgrims insist on carrying out rites that may be merely afzal (preferable) but may not be obligatory, if it deprives others from even discharging a Farz (obligatory). Thus much of the jostling for Hajr-e-aswad or Jamarat could be avoided.

(Source : The Islamic Voice, May 1997)

(Contd. from page307)

The Team recommends ... that the compensation announced by the Prime Minister as Rs. 1,00,000/- to the next-of-kin of the dead should also be made available to those permanently disabled... The same should also be given to the next-of-kin of the persons missing.

The Team is of the view that the injured ... who have returned to India or are undergoing treatment in private hospitals should be given free medical treatment by the Central and State Governments.

The Team recommends that the injured ... who are still in Saudi Arabia ... be given a part of compensation announced by the Prime Minister at the earliest..

The Team recommends ... creating a Relief Fund for Hajees ... by collecting a specific amount from pilgrims with an equal amount by the Government for such exigencies.

Relief measures by the voluntary association of the Indian community in Jeddah and Makkah should be encouraged for which the Indian Mission should constitute a consultative body...

... The Team recommends ... urgent measures to restrict and regulate private operators, sponsoring the Haj pilgrims and to make it mandatory on the party of every Indian passport holder to register his or her name with the Indian Diplomatic Mission in Jeddah once they reach Saudi Arabia to perform the Haj other than through the Haj Committees...

The Team recommends that Government should make arrangements with the help of electronic media and other channels to educate the prospective Haj pilgrims about the details of topography of Makkah, Mina, Arafat and Muzdalifa and ... the situation likely to arise during Haj period, atleast two months before Haj though the Haj Committees as well as by other voluntary organisations.

... The Team recommends to the Government to restructure the Mission in Jeddah with more efficient staff in order to have transparency and to meet the requirements in Jeddah, Makkah and Madina.

Haj: GOI Goodwill Delegation, 1997

(1996 in brackets)

Number of Members 31(14)
Number of Accompanying Dependents 29(17)
Number of Officers 4(NA)

Expenditure	1997 Estimated	1996 (Actual) in Saudi Riyals
Accommodation (including Boading)	1750,713	860,606
Transport	93,900	97,900
D.A.	185,000	44,590
Telephone	30,000	N.A.
Misc.	N.A.	2,249

(S.R. 1 = Rs.9.00)

Date of Arrival		Date of Departure	
31 March	1	22.4.97	4
9 April	1	26.4.97	1
10 April	17	29.4.97	15
14 April	12	1.5.97	1
		2.5.97	2
		3.5.97	5
		6.5.97	1
		Not known	2

D.A. (excluding Lodging & Boarding) S.R. 270 per diem i.e. Rs. 2430

Average Stay18 days(Min9 Max24)

Haj Goodwill Delegation, 1997

1. Mohd. Maqbool Dar
2. Mohd.Abdul Ali
3. Qamrul Islam
4. Shafiqur Rahman Barq
5. K.M. Saifullah
6. Sharifuddin Shariq
7. P.M. Sayeed
8. Ghulam Rasool Kar
9. Abdus Samad Samadani
10. Habibur Rehman Nomani
11. Mohd. Shamim
12. B.A. Mohideen
13. Ishaque Karikal
14. Nasru Khan
15. Bashiruddin Babu Khan
16. M.A. Ibrahim
17. Siraj Paracha
18. Syed Vicaruddin
19. Ahmed Saeed Malihabadi
20. A.P. Aboobacker Musliyar
21. Hameed Kandak
22. Moosa Raza
23. Ayub Khan
24. Haroonur Rashid
25. Anwar Ahmed
26. Ayub Ali Khan
27. Shoib Iqbal
28. S.M. Yahya
29. Mohd. Zameer Abbas
30. Mohd. Sayeed Malik
31. S. Ishtiaque Abidi

On Chauvinistic Archaeology

(Among) archaeological strata ... attempts to privilege one stratum over others are predicated on a belief both that one stratum is "superior" or unique, and that the past can be manipulated to affect the present by "proving" this superiority. Thus, if one stratum of a city can be privileged, if one set of names derived from it can be given pride of place over all others below or above it, then a certain contemporary reality claiming roots in the past can be imposed on the present...

(Source: The Islamic Horizons, November-December, 1996)

Haj Committee: Deputation to Saudi Arabia for Haj 1997

Renting and Building Selection Delegation

I-A: Haj Committee Bombay

Members 11 E.O.1(S. Ahmad)

Salamatullah,B.M.Patel,R.B. Harris,S.M. Hadi,Javed Khan, P.M. Sayeed, Q. Islam, S. Lokhandwala, Anees M.Ahmad, O.K. Azmi, Hafiz mohd Siddique

Period: July 1996-March 1997
Total Period- 256 days
Minimum 8 days (Md. Siddique)
Maximum 35 days(Salamatullah)
Average 20 days

I-B: State Haj Committees
Member 14
Period September 1996-March 1997
Total Period-317 days
Minimum -6 days ((A Raoof)
Maximum-30 days(S. Fazlullah)
Average-22.6 days
Expenditure- Air Ticket
DA-S.R. 270 per day

II- Haj Delegation
Members 7
Salamatullah,Md. Siddiwue,Javed Khan,B.M. Patel,A.M. Ahmed, S.Z. Qasim, Y. Abrahimi
E.O. 1 (S. Ahmed)
Staff 10
No. of Depudates 23(only members; staff not available
Minimum 1
Maximum 5
Average 3

Date of Arrival Date	/Members,	/E.O./Staff
9.4.97	6	7
11.4.97	1	3
15.4.97	1	-

Period of stay
Members Total 162 days
Minimum 11 days(B.M.Patel)
Maximum 31 days(Md. siddique
Average 20.3 days
Staff
Each 32 days.
Expenditure
Air Ticket
Lumpsum granted SR 5600
i.e.Rs 56,000 nearly each

Shahabiddin's Letter to Salman Khurshid On Babari Masjid Dispute, 7 June, 1997

I am much concerned about your reiteration of your suggestion to resolve the Babari Masjid Question by referendum. I had written to you briefly on it when it was first reported in the press. I did not hear from you as I expected. And it is impossible to get through to you through your protective screens!

My first point is that conflicts of interest which can be or have been translated into legal currency can only be resolved by recourse to the rule of law. A referendum cannot decide a question of fact or of law.

Secondly, I am not aware of any precedent, internal or international.

But what is more important is that the terms of the proposed referendum s stated by you indicate that the crux of the problem has not been grasped. The issue is not, has never been, **whether** a Ram temple and/or a Masjid should be built in Ayodhya. The question is **where** they should be built and, to be more precious, whether a masjid or a mandir or something else should stand on the Babari Masjid site. Once the problem is transparently stated, I am afraid that the Hindutva forces by playing upon the religious sentiments shall have the upper hand. I am not sure if the Congress or other secular parties shall advise the people to vote for Masjid! Sangh Parivar shall openly advise everyone to vote for Mandir. Secular forces shall remain silent. If political parties do not have the courage to speak out, if a 'secular' government's nerves fail, as they have in the past, how do you expect the people to make a morally and legally correct choice?

Civil Services etc. Examinations, 1996 List of Successful Candidates

I -Candidates from Hamdard Study Circle, New Delhi

S.No.	Name	Position	Category	State
1.	Ahmad Nadeem	47	Gen	UP 1
2.	Suhail Ejaz Khan	53	Gen	MP 1
3.	M. Qaiser Khalid	115	Gen	Bihar 1
4.	Shahid Farid Shapoo	173	Gen	J&K 1
5.	Mohd. Ali	244	Gen	UP 2
6.	Muzaffaruddin Abdali	253	Gen	Bihar 2
7.	Adnan Ahmad	266	Gen	W.Bengal 1
8.	Mohd. Saquib	315	Gen	UP 3
9.	Abdur Rahman	385	Gen	Bihar 3
10.	A.S. Bindhu	391	OBC	Kerala 1
11.	Zahid Mahood	405	Gen	W.Bengal 2
12.	Shaukat Ali	451	Gen	UP 4
13.	Mohd. Altaf	457	OBC	AP 1
14.	Abdur Rauf Ansari	514	OBC	UP 5
15.	Zafar Azam	567	OBC	Bihar 4

(In addition 2 Genral, 3 OBC, 2 SC & 1 ST, 8 in all also qualified).

II - Other Candidates:

1. Shaheena Husain
2. Hoveyda Abbad
3. Mohd. Irshad Haider
4. Irfan Ahmad
5. Ghulam Mustafa
6. Nafis Ahmad
7. Khurshid Ahmad
8. A.N. Safeena
9. Mohd. Ali Ashraf
10. Shamim A. Tamanna
11. P.K. Mohammad Yusuf

Muslim Leaders' Joint Letter to Advani, 23 August, 1990

We have read with considerable interest your statement in the 14th August, 1990 issue of the Times of India (Delhi edition). We assume that it should be possible to ensure that once the matter relating to the above dispute is settled the status of all places of worship as on August 15, 1947 will hold good and no attempt will be made to change it. It seem to us that your suggestion holds the promise of an amicable settlement. ... a lot of groundwork will have to be done on either side to create public opinion in favour of a just and proper agreed settlement.... an issue in which emotions are deeply evolved should not be tackled in the spirit of scoring a point.

In the larger national interest, it is essential that a settlement satisfactory to both the communities is arrived at amicably. We understand that prolonged discussions in the past proved abortive. But that should not deter us. Now that you have personally taken the initiative ... in case it suits you, we shall be happy to call and have an exploratory discussion.... On the basis of our preliminary discussion, it should be possible to muster broad-based support...

Badruddin Tyabji Saiyid Hamid Col. B.H. Zaidi

(Note- According to S. Hamid reply was recieved -Editor)

"Elections and their corruption, injustice and life power and tyranny of wealth and inefficiency of administration will make hell of life as soon as freedom is given to us. Men would look regretfully back to the old regime of comparative justice and efficient, peaceful, more or less honest administration."-**C. Rajagopalachari**

Vibhuti Narayan RaiIPS (Retd) on Communal Face of Indian Police

... Communal riots play a vital role in fanning communalism. Aided by my field experiences in the police department, I can say that whenever a riot breaks out in a city, its adjoining areas get vitiated by a unique kind of communal thinking. During such a trying time, even an ordinary person loses his poise and begins to view things from communal standpoint and all talks of secularism appear meaningless. Communal riots thus contribute in a big way to tear asunder the secular fabric of the society.

... For my study, I selected 10 major riots and wrote a book on my findings. This ... book sums up my encounter with the riots....

First of all, I think even a communal incident of a; very big magnitude with widespread cases of violence and loot can be effectively controlled within 24 hours of its occurrence. If it continues even after that period, it means the state government wants to perpetrate it or there is collusion between the rioters and the police administration. In most of the riots, the police could not remain neutral and took sides. Its actions are anti-Muslim and favourable to the Hindus. It is because of a peculiar attitude in the police force. They have been told that the Muslims are the oppressors, violent, unreliable and dirty while the Hindus religiously inclined, liberal and tolerant. It is because of this wrong pre-conceived notions that the policemen are prone to think that a riot is always started by the Muslims and therefore the Muslims suffer the maximum of the casualties as well as arrest and search operations in any of the big communal riots and the police force, taking undue advantage of the under representation of the Muslims in the police force, support and favour the Hindus without fear. This is the reason why the Hindu riot victims take the police as their friends while the Muslims their enemies as I found after I talked to hundreds of the persons affected by the riots. I think besides conceding the Muslim demand to increase their percentage in the police, the society itself has to be rid of the baseless rumours circulated about the Muslims. To meet this objective, there should be proper arrangement for the right kind of training for the policemen... Since the police are a part of the state government, the Muslims' lack of confidence in the police force may in the coming days mean the same for the state government.

It is indisputably true that compared to the police, the role of the para-military forces has been better in this regard, ... because of two reasons. Firstly, the personnel in the security agencies are drawn from almost every state which give it an all-India image. Then even a small detachment of the security forces is led by a man of officer rank while in the police it is done by an S.H.O., a Havaldar or an Inspector. The added advantage of such a posting is that it is effected only for a brief period. (But) the Muslim riot victims take the army as their friend.

Though ... the political parties and the criminal elements do play roles in the most of the riots yet one should not infer from it that the common folks have no part in the same. Suresh Khaparde, a responsible police officer in the Mumbai police, has studied the Bhiwandi riots and has found that in Bhiwandi the rioters were mostly those who had no previous criminal records...

... We have no direct, simple and readymade solution to the problem. As for bringing about a radical change in peoples' very way of thinking and perceiving realities, no less that the adoption of a long-term policy will work. Yet what can be done under the present circumstances is to make the police and the administration accountable for the riots. Bhagalpur, Meerut (Hashimpura) and Mumbai riots in the wake of the demolition of the Babari Mosque have brought forth some shocking revelations. In Meerut riots, PAC jawans herded together 40-50 Muslim youths, brought them to Ghaziabad, shot them dead and threw their bodies into the river. Similarly in Bhagalpur during the riots, the rioters first killed over 100 Muslims in presence of the policemen, hid their bodies first in a pond and then in a well and after some days buried their bodies in the fields and grew cabbages over it. This happened barely 20-22 kilometers away from the district headquarters. That the police did not know about it ... was nothing but a blatant lie. The entire city came to know of it while the police feigned ignorance when was just unbelievable, impossible. During the riot there, police wireless sets were used to issue the directives to kill the Muslims. I think the District Magistrate and the Senior Superintendent of Police; of the city where a riot takes place should not only be immediately placed under suspension but punished also. This system of accountability can be effective to a great extent in the prevention of the riots.

(Source: The News from India)

MUSLIM INDIA BOUND VOLUMES 1983 - 1996

YEAR	Rs.	YEAR	Rs.
1996	125	1989	300
1995	150	1988	325
1994	175	1987	350
1993	200	1986	375
1992	225	1985	400
1991	250	1984	425
1990	275	1983	450

Asghar Ali Engineer On Status of Woman in Islam

The primary duty of a conservative Muslim woman, according to the orthodox ulema, is to look after her husband and children. She is not allowed to venture outside her home except with the permission of her husband or father and accompanied by a close male relative...

These are not Koranic requirements. At best, this prescription could have been enforced out of fear if some point of time to protect women from being molested. Thus, it was more a matter of precaution than of principle. On the other hand, the principle is that the Koran equips women with the right to earn... If some measure was enforced in view of some immediate situation, it should be revoked as soon as the situation changes. Or, it should be made clear that it is essentially meant for protecting women and may not be insisted upon where no such fear exists. However, social traditions often become a matter of religious belief and soon acquire the status of principle.

This is why the status of women in Islam deteriorated with the passage of time. But what was her status in early Islam, particularly during the Prophet's time and a few decades thereafter? Was she required to observe such restrictions? A close study of the relevant sources do not bear this out. On the other hand, the picture is very different.

In the time of the Prophet, women participated freely in the affairs of war, which is strictly a male-dominated field. Thus we find in Sahihal-Bukhari (an authentic collection of edicts) that Muslim women actively helped the wounded in the battle of Uhud. These women included the Prophet's wives themselves...

According to Ms. Leila Ahmed in Woman and Gender in Islam, veiling was not introduced by the Prophet. It was essentially a non-Arab practice prevalent (in) the Roman and Persian empires. She says: "Veiling was apparently not introduced into Arabia by Muhamad but already existed among some classes, particularly in the towns, though it was probably more prevalent in the countries that the Arabs had contact with, such as Syria and Palestine. In those areas, as in Arabia, it was connected with social status, as was its use among Greeks, Romans, Jews, and Assyrians, all of whom practised veiling to some degrees".

Thus we see that a gradual change came about in the status of Muslim women and then this change was incorporated in subsequent periods into the Shari'ah laws...

... There are also many instances of their taking part in actual fighting or attacking the enemy...

... There are some instances from India too where Muslim women belonging to ruling dynasties displayed their skills on the battle-field...

The case of Noorjehan is, of course, well-known. We find in Tuzk-i-Jahangiri a description of her hunting exploits. She used to mount elephants and kill lions...

Chand Khatun's bravery is also well known. She belonged to Ahmadnagar and defended her kingdom as any man would do. She challenged the might of Akbar's army...

... Many Muslim women took part in wars and some of them were rulers too. It is not true that they always observed the veil and stayed at home... Right from the Prophet's days, women had been playing an important role in public life...

(Source: The Times of India, 29 January, 1997)

Tahir Mehmood's Comments

... Uncontrolled bigamy and plight of divorced women both of which are repugnant to the letter and spirit of Quranic law have been among serious social problems facing the global Muslim society. Different solutions to these problems have been attempted by the legislature and the judiciary in different countries.

Bigamy has been banned in Turkey and Tunisia and subjected to statutory control in a host of other countries. Pakistan and Bangladesh belong to the latter group of countries. Rabbani has now suggested that Bangladesh should join Turkey and Tunisia by ... prohibiting bigamy. In India ... law regards bigamy by a Muslim husband as cruelty to the first wife entitling her to all legal reliefs available to a wife subjected to cruelty. ...

The way bigamy and unilateral divorce are practised by Muslim men in the subcontinent does seriously conflict with the true Quranic laws. Rabbani's viewpoint reflects sincere judicial concern for this state of affairs. Muslim religious leadership should take note of it...

S.Y. Quraishi on Muslim Indians and Family Planning

... According to the Third All India Survey of Family Planning Practices in India, the percentage of Muslim couples practicing family planning was 33.8% (O.R.G. 1988). As compared with other communities, it was, indeed, the lowest: Jains (65%), Sikhs (60.2%), Christians (61.6%) and Hindus (45.5%)... However ... even among the Hindus, the proportion of acceptors (45.5%) is less than that of non-acceptors (54.5%).

Couples Currently Using Any Family Planning Method by Religion and State (Percentages)

State	Muslim	Hindu	Christian	Sikh
All India	33.80	45.50	61.60	63.20
Andhra Pradesh	40.30	51.10	60.80	0.00
Assam	24.00	47.50	17.70	58.30
Bihar	14.60	32.60	33.60	20.60
Chandigarh	35.80	70.20	88.00	78.20
Delhi	53.80	69.60	88.90	74.90
Goa	46.10	62.10	58.00	50.00
Gujarat	49.00	56.80	25.60	13.00
Haryana	23.80	53.80	0.00	47.60
J & K	35.00	48.50	39.50	69.20
Karnataka	34.40	49.00	40.30	0.00
Kerala	64.40	83.70	85.80	0.00
M.P.	39.60	39.50	70.50	18.30
Maharashtra	45.80	55.60	64.60	31.90
Orissa	44.00	45.30	43.90	65.70
Pondicherry	77.20	66.50	65.90	0.00
Rajasthan	17.30	30.90	0.00	51.90
Tamil Nadu	56.60	59.10	73.90	0.00
Uttar Pradesh	18.10	29.40	82.10	56.50
West Bengal	42.20	59.10	42.40	0.00

* Muslims in Pondicherry (have) family planning rate of 72.2%, higher than all other communities. Similarly in Madhya Pradesh also it is higher though marginally (Muslims 39.6%; Hindus 39.5%).

* No generalization is possible to make for the country as a whole, since there are wide variations among states with the rate of Muslim acceptors ranging from as low as 14.6% in Bihar and 18.1% in UP, to as high as 72.2% in Pondicherry and 64.4% in Kerala. In four states there are more Muslim acceptors than non-acceptors.

* Muslims family planning acceptors in as many as 15 states are higher than Hindu acceptors in UP, Bihar and Rajasthan (Table above), in spite of supposed anti-Family Planning stance of Muslims... The possibility of this uptrend gaining momentum is strong.

On the other hand, when it comes to sterilization (as against other family planning methods), the percentage comes down substantially for all communities. With Jains (42.1%) in the lead. Muslims (19.4%) are again found at the bottom.... In this respect Sikhs (31.3%) come down from the second position to the fourth, whereas Hindus go up from the fourth position to the second.

Inter-State differences for all communities ... are ... glaring. For Muslims, it ranges between 3.9 (UP) and 42.7 (Kerala). For Hindus, too, the difference is wide, with UP (18.2) and Kerala (63.5), representing two ends of the spectrum. There is no state where Muslims have an acceptance ratio higher than that of Hindus... However, acceptors of sterilization in as many as 11 States are higher than Hindu acceptors in Bihar and UP.

Sterilization by Religion and State (Percentages)

State	Muslim	Hindu	Christian	Sikh
All India	19.40	32.60	36.60	31.30
Andhra Pradesh	32.90	47.20	54.10	0.00
Assam	7.20	23.00	9.40	0.00
Bihar	6.60	22.30	4.20	20.60
Chandigarh	0.00	21.40	31.50	22.20
Delhi	12.30	26.90	25.90	16.90
Goa	27.20	37.60	17.60	0.00
Gujarat	23.20	40.20	14.10	0.00
Haryana	8.50	39.10	0.00	14.50
Himachal Pradesh	16.00	41.80	40.50	31.90
J & K	28.40	29.80	9.80	41.70
Karnataka	28.10	40.10	23.50	0.00
Kerala	42.70	63.50	52.80	0.00
M.P.	24.30	31.50	53.90	6.10
Maharashtra	30.10	45.30	27.00	23.90
Orissa	13.70	34.10	31.70	36.60
Pondicherry	23.30	44.30	46.40	0.00
Punjab	28.30	36.90	100.00	34.90
Rajasthan	7.90	24.40	0.00	11.80
Tamil Nadu	31.60	37.60	35.50	0.00
Uttar Pradesh	3.80	18.20	37.80	8.90
West Bengal	22.00	32.80	15.40	89.20

... Three consecutive decadal surveys underline the trend of growing acceptance of family planning among Muslims. Between 1971 and 1951, it increased by 84 percentage points, and among Hindus by 16.9 percentage points. We look at the rate of growth of acceptance, was faster for the Muslims at 300%, as compared with 264% of the Hindus (Table below). Even in respect of sterilization, the rate of growth of Muslim acceptors was only marginally lower (15.5%) than of the Hindus (21%).

Rate of Decadal Increase in Family Planning Acceptance (All Methods & Sterilization)

	1970-71		1980-81		%Change		Increas Rate	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Muslims	2.80	8.80	11.20	22.50	+8.40	+13.70	300%	155%
Hindus	6.40	13.80	23.30	36.10	+16.90	+22.30	264%	161%

A = All Methods B= Sterilization

Attitude of Eligible Couples towards the Practice of Family Planning: 1970 and Percentages

	Hindus		Muslims	
	1970	1980	1970	1980
1. Approving Family Planning	60	83	53	65
2. Disapproving Family Planning	40	16	47	33
3. Neutral	-	1	-	2

Trends in fertility levels during the decade 1971-81 underline a decline in general marital fertility rates. Among the Muslims, this decline was marginally below their average for all religious groups, both in urban and rural areas. Significantly, in rural areas, percentage decline among Muslims was higher (17.3) than among Sikhs (15.5) and Buddhists (15.2). In urban areas however, the percentage of decline among the Muslims was the least among all communities.

Conclusion: *It is clear from the foregoing that Indian Muslims have not been oblivious to family planning but their acceptance of the concept and practice is the lowest among various religious groups, with certain notable regional variations.* *(Source: The Secular Democracy, Feb., 1997)*

Dasu Kesava Rao
On Sub-Categorisation of SC's in A.P.

The Andhra Pradesh Government's decision to categorise the Scheduled Caste population into four groups crowns a sustained struggle for justice by the Madigas, a predominant community, and a significant step in correcting disparities among the 59 listed categories.

A one-member commission, appointed by the Government last September, had classified these communities into A,B,C,D groups on the basis of backwardness and population and recommended that the Madigas in Group B be entitled to seven per cent of the public appointments and admission in educational institutions and the Mala group six per cent and two other groups one per cent each, adding up to 15 per cent set apart for the SCs.

... Cobblers and tanners by traditional occupation, the Madigas have alleged that the Malas, another dominant community consisting mostly of agricultural labourers, had over the years cornered more benefits (due to the SCs) than their population merited whether in employment or ... education... Even in politics, the Malas took away a major chunk of the elective posts. ...

Mr. Justice P. Ramachandra Raju, constituting the one-member commission, submitted his report to the Government on May 31 and the Chief Minister lost no time in referring it to a Cabinet sub-committee. The Cabinet accepted the report ... and followed it up with a Government Order giving immediate effect to the decision... The Madigas ... term the categorisation as winning only "half the battle" and demand political reservations and welfare schemes also for their uplift...

The Ramachandra Raju report vindicates the Madiga stand that the Malas had cornered more than their share of reservation benefits. It refers to the "disproportionate distribution" of reservation benefits in favour of the Mala group and Adi Andhra group compared to their population and to the fact that both the Madiga and Relli groups are "not adequately represented" either in public appointments or in educational institutions in proportion to their population.

The Madiga group accounts for 46.94 per cent of the total SC population (79.61 lakhs as per 1981 census) and the Mala group for 40.99 per cent...

Th Government referred to the Social Welfare Department, for further examination, some recommendations of the commission, which were outside its terms of reference. The commission suggested that the existing level of 15 per cent reservation for the SCs need not be enhanced and that the Dalit Christians should not "encroach" into the quota for the SCs until they were included in the Presidential order listing the communities.

Andhra Pradesh is the second State after Punjab to categorise the SCs and the move has been generally welcomed...

(Source: The Hindu, 9 June, 1997)

Markazi Jamatul Ulema Hind
G.S. F.A. Qasmi on Reservation

... L.K. Advani and Harkishan Singh Surjeet are reported to be opposed to any reservation on the basis of caste and religion.

It is pertinent to point out that the 22 per cent reservations available to SC/STs since independence in legislatures, government services, promotions and educational institutions are all based on religion as only those castes have been picked out for this purpose which are Hindu by faith. A Hindu washerman is entitled to reservation under SC/ST while his Muslim counterpart is deprived of the same. The benefits of reservation under this category are not available to even a Hindu of SC/ST in case he/she embraces either Islam or Christianity.

Besides, there is special income tax provision for Hindu undivided families (HUF).

Are not these concessions, granted only to Hindus... based on religions. Do these exceptions not amount to preferential treatment of those who profess faith in Hinduism and discrimination against other religious communities in the country?

Why have Mr. Advani and Mr. Surjeet turned a Nelson's eye to these glaring facts. It is not clear how Mr. Surjeet can champion secularism and at the same time join the communal bandwagon of Mr. Advani.

(Maulana Fuzail Ahmed Qasmi, General Secretary, Markazi Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind, New Delhi)

All India Backward Muslim Morcha
Letter to P.M. , 26 December, 1996

Majority of Backward Muslim Caste (8.44% of total population) have been included in the OBC List of the Mandal Commission. Inspite of adequate eligibility they are not getting their due share, whatever the reasons... In order to elevate them educationally, economically and socially, this major chunk needs a reservation quota. The Representatives of All India Backward Muslim Morcha from various States have unanimously decided to demand fixation of 8.44% quota in education and services for Socially and Educationally Backward Muslims.

A.P. High Court on Scope and Ambit of Article 30

Anjuman-e-Islamiah, Kurnool, Petitioner v. State of Andhra Pradesh and others, Respondents.

C.V.N. SASTRI, J.

Constitution of India, Article 30(1) - minority institution - Refusal to recognise institution as minority institution on ground that institution imparts not only religious or linguistic instruction but also medical education - Not proper - Minority community have fundamental right to establish educational institutions not only to impart religious and linguistic education but also other types of education of secular nature.

Denial of claim for declaration as such on ground that it receives full grant-in-aid - Not justified - Article 30(2) mandates that State shall not discriminate any educational institution on ground that it is under management of minority whether based on religion or language - State is under obligation to maintain equality of treatment in granting aid to educational institutions.

ORDER: Anjuman-e-Islamiah, Kurnool, represented by its Joint Secretary Shri G. Abdus Salam, correspondent of Dr. Abdul Haq Unani Medical College, Kurnool, has filed this writ petition questioning the proceedings dated 9.3.1993 of the Commissioner Indian Medicine and Homoeopathy Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, the second respondent herein, rejecting the application of the petitioner for recognition of Dr. Abdul Haq Unani Medical College, Kurnool, run by the petitioner as a minority educational institution...

... Anjuman ... is a society established by persons professing Muslim faith and which is a charitable institution registered under Societies Registration Act, 1860. The institution is managed by members professing Islam ... The said society is running 5 other educational institutions, namely, Islamiah Arabic Degree College, Kurnool, Umar Arabick High School, Kurnool, Osmania College, Kurnool, Osmania Law College, Kurnool and Islamiah Boarding Hostel for Orphanage, Kurnool... The aims and objects of the society are:

1. To propagate Arabic education system;
2. To impart at all levels, religious, secular and modern education;
3. To establish and administer institutions of its choice, general, technical and professional;
4. To propagate Islamic tenets and for this purpose to establish institutions to teach Mathematics, History, Geography and modern subjects according to Islamic ethnic to establish and manage boys and girls orphanages, schools, hostels and hospitals etc.

The society is intended to benefit and foster the interests of the Muslim community though the doors of educational institutions are open to one and all irrespective of caste, creed and religion. The properties of the society are registered with A.P. Wakf Board. According to the petitioner, the salient features of the institution under consideration are as follows:-

(1) The management is Muslim;
(2) All the 350 students of Dr. Abdul Haq Unani Medical College, Kurnool, ar Muslims;
(3) The instruction in the college is through Urdu Medium and one of the papers for the examination is Arabic;
(4) All the staff employed are Muslims;
(5) The buildings of the college are the property of Anjuman-e-Islamiah constructed from the funds collected from the members of the Muslim community;
(6) The buildings are registered under the Wakf Act and the same are published in the Gazette;
(7) There is no contribution from other communities and no Government grants for buildings, furniture, play-grounds and other infrastructure;
(8) The college is following the conditions laid down by the Central Council of Indian Medicine which is a statutory body created under the Indian Medicine Act, 1970.
(9) Two other institutions established by the society, namely, Osmania College, Kurnool and Thibbi College, Kurnool are recognised as minority institutions.

The petitioner, therefore, contends that the institution in question also satisfies all the tests for claiming the status of a minority institution and the impugned order is arbitrary, illegal and is vitiated by non-application of mind.

The only ground mentioned in the impugned order ... is that the institution does not satisfy the criteria for recognition as minority educational institution as laid down in Rule 4 of the Rules framed in G.O.Ms. No. 526 (Education) dated 21.12.1988...

The learned Government Pleader, however, ... contended that since the institution imparts medical education but not merely religious or linguistic instruction, it is not entitled to claim the status of a minority institution. A similar stand is taken in the counter-affidavit also but this contention has no substance whatsoever as persons belonging to minority community have a fundamental right to establish educational institutions of their choice not only to impart religious and linguistic education but also all other types of education of a secular nature. Article 30 of the Constitution in clear terms confers such a fundamental right on the minorities. A similar contention was repelled by the Supreme Court in In Re Kerala Education Bill, 1957, AIR 1958 SC 956. ...

The learned Government Pleader finally argued that since the institution of the petitioner is receiving full grant-in-aid from the Government, it cannot claim the

status of a minority institution and if it wants to be treated as a minority institution, it is not entitled to receive the grant-in-aid from the Government. This argument in my view flies in the fac of Article 30(2) of the Constitution which mandates that the Stat shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language. It is true that no minority educational institution can claim State aid as matter of right. But even minority educational institutions are entitled to get financial assistance much the same way as the institutions of the majority communities and the State is under an obligation to maintain equality of treatment in granting aid to educational institutions... Receipt of aid does not impair the rights in Article 30(1) (see St. Stephen's College v. University of Delhi, AIR 1992 SC.

... The impugned order rejecting recognition as a minority institution is clearly unsustainable. Accordingly the writ petition is allowed...

(Source: AIR 1997 Andhra Pradesh 164)

Hamdard Education Society, New Delhi
Merit cum-means Scholarshif Scheam

In 1986, the Hamdard Education Society, presided over by Hakeem Abdul Hameed Saheb, instituted ... a Talent Search and Scholarship Scheme for bright Muslim students... In 1996 XIII Batch we received 308 applications of meritorious students... Out of these 51 were invited for a rigorous written test and interview. 22 turned up... 12 received scholarships and 8 were awarded book-grants... From 1986 till 1996 as many as 164 scholarships have been sanctioned and 111 book-grants given.

The Society has now invited application for Loan Scholarships from students who have passed High School, Higher Secondary (intermediate), Degree and Master examinations in 1997 and intend to continue their education at least upto the academic year 1998-99. For selection the main stress will be on Science, Engineering and Medicine, but Commerce, Social Science and Economics may also be considered.... The criteria would be merit-cum-means.The selection will be on an all-India basis. Applicants must be regular students who have secured at least:

80% marks (aggregate) in High School or equivalent Examination.

75% marks (aggregate) in Intermediate or equivalent examination and

70% marks (aggregate) in Graduation or Post-Graduation, and who are needy...

Further details and Scholarship forms can be had from the Secretary, Hamdard Education Society, Talimabad, Sangam Vihar, New Delhi-110 062. The last date for receipt of application is 13th September, 1997.

M.H. Saboo Siddik Polytechnic, Mumbai
A Minority Educational Institution
Synopsis of Courses and Programmes

S.No.	Courses/Programmes	Intake	Duration in years
1.	**Engineering Degree Courses:**		
	i) Construction Engineering	60	4
	ii) Production Engineering	60	4
	iii) Automobile Engineering	30	4
	iv) Electronics Engineering	60	4
2.	**Engineering Diploma Programmes:**		
	i) Civil Engineering	45	3
	ii) Mechanical Engineering	60	3
	iii) Electrical Engineering	45	3
	iv) Industrial Electronics	60	3
	v) Computer Engineering	30	3
	vi) Interior Designing & Decoration	80	3
3.	**Engineering Diploma Programmes (Part-time):**		
	i) Civil Engineering	30	4
	ii) Mechanical Engineering	60	4
	iii) Electrical Engineering	30	4
	iv) Industrial Engineering	30	4
4.	**Certificate Courses:**		
	i) Licentiate in Electronics & Radio Servicing (LERS)	50	1
	ii) Licentiate in Advance Electronics & Video Servicing (LAEVS)	25	1
	iii) Computer Operation (Evening)	25+20	1/2
	iv) Architectural Draughtsman	25+20	2
	v) Refri. & AC Mechanic (Evening)	25+20	1/2
	vi) Wireman	25	1/2
	vii) Construction Supervisor (Part-Time)	25	1
5.	**Trade Certificate Courses (ITI):**		
	i) Fitter	16	2
	ii) Mechanic - Motor Vehicle	16	2
	iii) Refrigeration & A.C. Mechanic	16	2
	iv) Mechanic -Diesel	32	1
	v) Draughtsman (Mechanical)	16	2
6.	**Technical High School & Jr. College:**		
	a) VIII to X Standards (Tech.)		
	b) XI & XII (Vocational)		
	i) Mechanical Maintenance	25	2
	ii) Electrical Maintenance	25	2
	iii) Electronics	25	2
	iv) Gen. Civil Engineering	25	2
7.	**Motor Driving School:**		

8. **Continuing Education Programme:** A number of Career Courses for housewives, school girls and college students. A number of Trade Courses for boys and men.

9. **Community Polytechnic:** (Under the Scheme Approved and Financed by the Ministry of Human Resource Development - Government of India).

10. Traditional and Non-Traditional Courses of six months duration are offered to rural men and women at the Main Centre, Mumbai - M.H.S.S. Community Polytechnic and Extension Centres at Padgha, Sopara, Uran, Manor, Mahapoli.

Feroz Bakht Ahmad's Report on School Education of Muslims in Delhi

... The pass percentage of Delhi in the recent standard 12 Board results is 69.3. If we analyse the results of Delhi schools in light of a survey by "Friends for Education", then some interesting facts come to light. Amongst the minority schools, the best result is shown by Christian schools (earlier known as Mission schools) with a pass percentage of 96.7 per cent in schools like St. Columbas School, J.D. Tytler School, Butler Memorial School, Convent of Jesus and Mary, Mater Dei Convent, Carmel Convent, Mont Fort School etc. Next come schools managed by Delhi Sikh Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee with a pass percentage of 88.6 in schools like Guru Harkishan Public School, Sri Teg Bahadur Khalsa School, Guru Nanak Girls' School, Bhai Joga Singh Girls' Public School etc. Delhi's Urdu medium schools are the most backward... Their pass percentage in standard 12 is 18 per cent and in standard 10 16 per cent.

The Muslim community of Delhi and its Urdu medium teachers, principals and managements are used to such shocking performances. Mr. V.D. Pathak, principal, Jama Masjid Boys' Senior Secondary (Hindi) medium School, rues that despite being a Hindi medium school, his schools' result is very poor because most of the children studying here are from Muslim families...

Ziauddin Khan, principal, Fatehpuri Muslim Senior Secondary Boys' School, bears an unfailing grudge against the... community... for the poor results. He points out that the parents are not at all bothered about their wards. "There are parents who do not even know in which school or class their child studies", quips Khan. There are instances of students bunking classes for almost the entire session with the parents being none the wiser. Having admitted their child in an Urdu medium school, parents never see ... the school for years. Mosly, the students of these Urdu medium schools in Delhi are from the lower rungs of society, coming from families of rickshaw pullers, petty shopkeepers, carpenters, peons or daily wage earners....

The principal of Shafiq Memorial School, Bara Hindu Rao, defends his institution's 26 per cent result by saying that the teachers are helpless as the stuff they get from the feeder school is useless. They can't even write their name after having passed in the primary schools of the walled city.

The "Friends for Education" survey revealed that the Muslim community displayed scant interest in better education... It revealed that only about one per cent students were in public or English medium schools. About 5.7 per cent ... Hindi medium schools. Rest of them went to Urdu medium schools or madrasas...

Shaikhul Hadis Maulana Abdul Ghaffar, president of Madrasa Alia, Fatehpuri, is of the view that even the

(Contd, on page 318)

Rampur Raza Library, Annual Report, 1992-93

The Central Government took over the Library with effect from the 1st July, 1975 under the Rampur Raza Library Act, 1975 (No. 22 of 1975) to provide better management and adequate financial support.

The Library is managed by the Rampur Raza Library Board set up under Section 4 (1) of the Act which is the governing body with the Governor of Uttar Pradesh as the Chairman. It has twelve other members including of the erstwhile ruling family of Rampur...

Functional Set up: The Library is an autonomous institution under the Department of Culture, Government of India, New Delhi, and enjoys the status of an institution of national importance.

Building and Land: The Library is housed in 'Hamid Manzil' a palatial building in the Fort area of Rampur. Although the legal ownership vests in the Government of Uttar Pradesh, there is a perpetual grant to the Government of India for the use of the Library.

Collections: The Library has a collection of nearly 51,000 printed books, 15000 manuscripts and nearly 900 miniature paintings and Bhoj Patras etc. It consists of great works in many important Oriental languages such as Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Pashto and Turkish etc... hundreds of rare Arabic, Persian and Urdu books which are now out of print but are considered important for research are available.

... During the period under review 75 books have been received as gift whose total cost is Rs. 3168.00. However, no new books were purchased. The binding of 1192 new as well as old books was carried out ...During this period, 30 scholars from India and abroad visited the Library to consult manuscripts in connection with their research projects...22322 general readers used the Library. The Library subscribes to 45 newspapers and periodicals.

Financial Position: The details of receipts and payments of the Board during the last 3 years is as under :

(A) Receipts	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93
	(Rupees in lakhs)		
1. Opening Balances	7.19	4.66	0.77
2. Grant from GOI	12.18	6.96	15.24
3. Grants from UP Govt.	0.48	0.48	0.24
4. Miscellaneous receipts	0.13	0.15	0.06
5. CPF	1.90	2.27	1.58
Total Receipt	**21.88**	**14.52**	**17.89**
(B) Payment			
1. Capital Expenditure	9.73	2.45	0.49
2. Revenue Expenditure	4.51	6.24	6.92
3. Advances	—	1.73	—
4. Armed Police Guard	0.83	0.83	—
5. CPF	2.13	2.49	1.58
6. Miscellaneous Payment	0.02	0.01	0.01
Closing Balance	4.66	0.77	8.89
Total Payment	**21.88**	**14.52**	**17.89**

Iqbal A. Ansari on Educational Rights of a Backward Minority

Syed Shahabuddin in response to my article on the Aligarh Muslim University, maintains that the "Act and therefore the Union Government has never accepted the assertion by the Muslim community that the AMU is a minority institution within the meaning of Article 30 of the Constitution". I would remind him that he along with Justice M.R.A Ansari and others appended a note to the Tyabji Committee Report (1989) appointed by the Muslim University Court for regulating admissions to its courses, in which he took the view that by incorporating the definition of the University through Amendment Act 1981 Section 2(1) as "an educational institution of their choice established by the Muslims of India...." the Parliament has explicitly conferred upon the University the protection of the special rights and freedoms guaranteed to minorities under Article 30 of the Constitution which is framed in terms exactly similar to those used in the definition of the University i.e. "all minorities whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institution of their choice".

I held and continue to hold the same view on the status of the University vis-a-vis constitutional protection of cultural and educational rights of minorities.

It is relevant to recall here how the AMU (Amendment) Act of 1981 came to be enacted. In the Azeez Basha Union of India (1968) case on Aligarh Muslim University the Supreme Court rejected the basic plea of the petitioner that it was Muslims of India who established the University, and consequently rejected their claim to administer the University. In the wake of this erroneous judgement, which was based on quibbling about the dictionary meaning of the word 'establish', Muslims throughout India from all forums demanded what they called restoration of the 'minority character' of the University. The enactment of the amending bill of 1981 was a successful culmination of that movement. It was in this context that the particular phrasing of the definition of the University as an institution of their choice established by Muslims of India was incorporated. The speeches in the Parliament on the bill also go to reinforce this view.. The notion that the University requires a separate declaration by Parliament or recognition by the Ministry of Human Resource Development as a minority institution is based on the example of colleges and schools which is erroneous. The University is an autonomous institution functioning under an Act of Parliament within the bounds of the Constitution. By virtue of the definition and the provision of the power of the University under Section 5(2)(c) to especially promote the educational and cultural advancement of Muslims of India, it can devise policies on admission and appointments for the promotion of educational and cultural rights of the community, in numerical and qualitative terms.

(Assuming) the claim of the Aligarh Muslim University to the protection of Article 30, what is required is to get the obligation of admitting 50% of students of other communities as laid down in the Supreme Court judgement in St. Stephen's case (1991) and also the requirement of admitting and appointing members of SC and ST removed by the Seven Judges Bench of the Supreme Court constituted to dispose of a number of cases related to minority educational institutions.

In the St. Stephen's College judgement the Supreme Court has ... upheld the right of the minority to preferentially admit its own students without which it is not possible to maintain its character. But put an obligation ... on the institution to admit 50% students from other communities. This obligation rests on extra legal grounds of promotion of national integration. Also it is not reciprocal as all other educational institutions are not obliged to admit a mix of communities to promote national integration.

(Another) important aspect of ... Muslim minority educational institutions, like the AMU, is that the Muslims unlike the Christians and the Parsis are also socially and educationally backward...

A backward class ... enjoys the protection of Article 15(4) of the Constitution which allows special provisions to be made for socially and educationally backward classes of citizens.

There is a need for all Muslim organisations and forums to make this demand that unless they are allowed to admit students of their own community to their educational institutions without any restriction of percentage and without the obligation of reservations for SC and ST they cannot promote the nationally desirable goal of educational advancement of the community.

... Let us put in our best legal effort in the Supreme Court currently seized of the issue. Let us make out the case of the Muslim community being accepted by a Backward Class so that Muslim students who fulfil minimum eligibility, are admitted to all other educational institutions of the country against a quota...

(Contd. from page 317)

madasas are better than the Urdu medium schools where teaching is conspicuous by its absence. In madrasas, at least, there is theological training. For this, he wholly blamed those people who have been minting money in the name of Urdu....

Asked to explain the pathetic performance of the Urdu medium schools, Prof. Tahir Mehmood, Chairman, National Commission for Minorities, said the failure was due to a vicious lack of organisation... including the community. "Nobody wants to be responsible so far as the task of education is concerned be it the teachers, principals, students or parents. The entire system needs an overhaul, he added.

... Prof. Tahir Mehmood says he is keen to take up the matter with the human resource development minister without ado as India cannot prosper if its huge minority (in other words second majority) remains wrapped in ignorance. **(Source: The Indian Express, 17 June, 1997)**

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Question of Hindi Script for UrduLanguage Letter in The Times of India, 9 June, 1996

... Though Punjabi written in a common script on both sides of the 'border' will undoubtedly strengthen understanding between the two peoples the question is which of the two scripts - Persian or Gurmukhi - should be used?... Punjabi written in Devnagari could be followed by a Hindi-speaking person with little effort. Indeed it would then be a variation of Hindi just as Bhojpuri, Brajbhasha and Magadhi would be different languages...

Hindi and Urdu too are siblings... Vote bank politics has made Urdu with the Arabic script a language of Muslims and Pakistan. The solution probably lies in adopting one of the major phonetic scripts of the sub-continent which would show how close our languages are to one another.- **B.P.N. Singh**

Shahabuddin's Letter to The Times of India, 10 June, 1997

There is no logical reason to identify a language with one script only. Indeed, in India and outside, there are several examples of more than one languages being written in the same script as of one language being written in more than one scripts.

However, a language has an organic evolution and the historic circumstances determine its actual development pattern.

Punjabi can well be written in both Gurumukhi and Urdu scripts. If the Indian State had followed Gandhiji's advise, Hindustani written in Devanagri and Urdu scripts would have ben the official language of the Union. Bhojpuri, Magadhi and Brajbhasha may yet evolve into full-fledged languages either with the Devnagri or another script. In a multilingual State, it is not possible to prescribe a common script for all languages because of fear of absorption, Urdu language and script (which is neither Arabic nor Persian) will live and die together. In the meantime, let Urdu evolve freely as the linguistic expression of our composite culture which is also ever-evolving.

I was born in Ghulam Hindustan, am living in Azad Hindustan, and will die in Socialist Hindustan.
- Kaifi Azmi

I have noticed that many Indian writers of (the) younger generation are seriously obothered by the revival of Hindu fundamentallism. This is a healthy sing for i believe criticism of Hindu fundamentalism should come fromwriters who belong to this comunity.
- Khushwant Singh

Annual Report Approved under VC's Emergency Powers
Shahabuddin's Letter to Minister of HRD
9 June,1997

The Annual Report of the Aligarh Muslim University is to be submitted to the Government after due consideration and approval by Executive Council and the University Court. For years, however, the VC prepares the report himself on behalf of the Executive Council, endorses it on behalf of the University Court and sends it to the Government. This is nothing short of a fraud upon the AMU Act. This is done under the emergency powers of the VC under Section 19 (3) of the AMU Act. Surely, the Act did not envisage the usage of emergency powers on routine matters.

The fact of the matter is that successive VCs have been weary of accountability to the Executive Council and the Court. Therefore, while the meetings of the EC do take place, however irregularly, the University Court hardly ever meets except for transacting formally the conduct of their exercise of co-option when it becomes due. To the extent the AMU Act has been bye-passed and neglected the latest example being the indefinite postponement of the meeting of the University Court scheduled for 4.5.97, the University is not being administered in accordance with the Act. I request that you should take due cognizance in the matter and advise the VC that he should submit the Annual Report and Accounts in time but after the endorsement and approval of the Executive Council and the Court.

Sir Syed Society, Varanasi
Minoritiesa Coaching Centre

Achievement in UP CPMT

Year	Total	No. of Successful Candidates
1994	40	9
1995	40	13
1996	40	13
1997	40	Awaited

Funding: Received grant-in-aid from Ministry of Welfare, GOI, in 1991, 1994 and 1995. Application for 1996 is pending with the Ministry of Welfare.

(Source: Mr. Tahir Ali Ansari, General Secretary, Sir Syed Society C19/44 Vidyapith Campus Varanasi-221002)

Saba Naqvi Bhaumik
On the State of the AMU

... The AMU and the Jamia founded by men of vision ... enjoy the status of being among the country's central universities. They have always been linked to Muslim politics and aspirations. **But non-Muslims now out-number Muslims in competitive courses in either university.** And while AMU enjoys a minority status (sic), Jamia does not... The crux of the problem is that the twin institutions are held hostage by vested interests...

AMU and Jamia are tiny worlds of their own. With a budget exceeding Rs. 90 crore, 25,000 students - a majority of whom are residents - and an 8,000-strong staff, AMU, for one, has never been easy to run. When Mehmudoor Rehman, a former bureaucrat of the Kashmir cadre, took over as VC in 1995, he won applause for cracking down on a student-run admissions mafia. But since then, Rehman ... has collected more scorn than praise... Since the mid-70s, certain fundamentalist groups that draw their strength from Gulf donations have set up base in the Muslim-dominated pockets surrounding Jamia. There is evidence that they were active during the agitation against Mushirul Hassan five years ago. Moreover, Hassan has taken action against a land mafia ... links to local politician...The cruel irony is that while Muslim educational backwardness remains a stark reality and the community lags behind in almost all spheres, the few institutions they can call their own are being pulled down by a culture of ... patronage.

(Source: The India Today, 30 April, 1997)

Shahabuddin's Letters to
Vice-Chancellor, AMU, 3 May, 1997

The Statements attributed to your in the Times of India of 14 April, 1997 have created much chagrin in the University community. In your letter to the Students dated 13 April, 1997, you have referred to a denial sent to the paper by the Registrar. It is not known whether it has been published. May I request you to send me the text of the denial and a photocopy of the item, if published.

16 May, 1997

... The Annual Report of your University for 1995-96 ... does not provide any figures regarding course-wise enrollment, the number of final examinees, and the number of those who have passed these courses in various faculties. This information is essential to provide an idea of the contribution of the University to the promotion of education and employment.

I wonder whether you maintain the religion-wise break-up of the admission to various courses. If so, I would be grateful for the number of Muslims among those who were admitted to each course during the year and who have passed the course during the year.

Statement by Sheikh Abdullah to the Constituent Assembly, Jammu and Kashmir - II

Permit me now to deal with each one of these items and also the agreements arrived at between the J& K Government and the Govt. of India in relation to them.

Residuary Powers

It was agreed that while under the present Indian Constitution, the Residuary Powers vested in the Centre in respect of all the States other than J&K, in the case of our States, they rested in the State itself...

Citizenship

It was agreed that in accordance with Article 5 of the Indian Constitution, persons who have their domicile in the Jammu & Kashmir State shall be the citizens of India. It was further agreed that the State legislature shall have power to define and regulate the rights and privileges of the permanent residents of the State, more especially in regard to acquisition of immovable property, appointments to services and like matters. Till then, the existing State law would apply. It was also agreed that special provision should be made in the laws governing citizenship to provide for the return of those permanent residents of Jammu & Kashmir State, who went to Pakistan in connection with the disturbances of 1947 or in fear of them as well as of those who had left for Pakistan earlier but could not return. If they returned, they should be entitled to the rights and privileges and obligations of citizenship.

There are historic reasons which necessitate such constitutional safeguards... I am glad to say that the Government of India appreciated the need for such a safeguard. No definition of the special rights and privileges of the residents of the State can afford to remain static. The need may arise at one stage or the other to liberalize such a definition. The importance of the fact that State Legislature shall retain powers to be able to effect such modifications becomes obvious in this context.

... On account of the disturbances of 1947 and also a consequence of the invasion of this country by Pakistan, large numbers of the residents of this State suffered dislocation.... The resettlement of the dislocated population, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, cannot be one-sided or unilateral.

Fundamental Rights

... It was agreed ... that the Fundamental Rights, which are contained in the Constitution of India could not be conferred on the residents of the J&K State in their entirety taking into account the economic, social and political character of our movement as enunciated in the New Kashmir Plan. The need for providing suitable modifications, amendments and exceptions as the case may be in the Fundamental Rights Chapter of the Indian Constitution in order to harmonize those provisions with the pattern of our principles was admitted... The main point to be determined is whether the Chapter of our Fundamental Rights should form a part of the Kashmir Constitution or that of the Union Constitution.

Supreme Court

It was agreed that the Supreme Court should have original jurisdiction in respect of disputes mentioned in Article 131 of the Constitution of India. It was further agreed that the Supreme Court should have jurisdiction in regard to Fundamental Rights which are agreed to by the State. On behalf of the Government of India, it was recommended ... that the Supreme Court should be the final Court of appeal in all civil and criminal matters...

We, however, felt that this would need a detailed examination and consequently it was agreed that we should have time to consider it further.

National Flag

... The new State Flag was in no sense a rival of the National Flag. But for historical and other reasons connected with the freedom struggle in the State, the need for the continuance of this flag was recognised. The Union flag to which we continue our allegiance as a part of the Union will occupy the supremely distinctive place in the State.

President of India

It was agreed that the powers to grant reprieve and commute death sentences, etc. should also belong to the President of the Union.

Headship of the State

... The following arrangement was mutually agreed upon:-

i) The Head of the State shall be the person recognized by the President of the Union on recommendation of the Legislature of the State.
ii) He shall hold office during the pleasure of the President.
iii) He may, by writing under his hand addressed to the President, resign his office.
iv) Subject to the foregoing provisions, the Head of the State shall hold office for a term of five years from the date he enters upon his office.
v) Provided that he shall, notwithstanding the expiration of his term, continue to hold the office until his successor enters upon his office.

Financial Integration

... We agreed that it would be necessary to evolve some sort of financial arrangement between the State and the Indian Union. But as this involved far-reaching consequences, it was felt that a detailed and objective examination of this subject would be necessary.

Emergency Powers

On behalf of the Government of India, it was stated that the application of Article 352 of the Constitution was necessary as it related to vital matters affecting the security of the State. They did not press for the application of Article 356 or 360.

On behalf of the Kashmir Delegation, it was stated that the application of Article 352 to the State was not necessary. In the event of war or external aggression, item 1 in the Seventh Schedule relating to the defence of India applied and the Government of India would have full authority to take any steps in connection with defence, etc. In particular, we were averse to internal disturbance being referred to in this connection, as even some petty internal disorder might be considered sufficient for the application of Article 352. ...

... It was suggested on behalf of the Government of India that Article 352 might be accepted as it is with the addition at the end of the first paragraph (i) of the following words: "but in regard to internal disturbance at the request or with the concurrence of the Government of the State".

We generally accepted this position, but wanted some time to consider the implications and consequences as laid down in Articles 353, 358 and 359 which on the whole we accepted. In regard to Article 354, we wanted to examine it further before expressing our opinion

Conduct of elections to Houses of Parliament

Article 324 of the Indian Constitution already applies to the State in so far as it relates to elections to parliament and to the offices of the President and the Vice-President of India.

I have put before this House the broad indications of the agreements arrived at between us and the Government of India....The attitude of the Government of India has been most helpful. A satisfactory position has emerged and we are now able to assess the basic issues of our constitutional relationship with India in clearer terms. ... Both the representatives of the Government of India and the Kashmir Delegation, have been impelled by the desire to strengthen further the existing relationship to remove all obscurity and vagueness. We are convinced, as ever before, that we have the full support both of the Government and the people of India in the fulfillment of our democratic ideals and the realization of our objectives.

This goodwill and amity, I am sure, will result in the consolidation of freedom and democracy in our country...

It is, of course, for the Constituent Assembly ... to determine the extent and scope of the State's accession to India. The Assembly may agree to continue this relationship on the present basis or extend its scope as it might like and consider feasible and proper....

(Source: The Journal of the International Centre for Contemporary Studies, March-June, 1996)

Karan R. Sawhny
On the Next Step in Kashmir

... In South Asia, the virtuous triangle of good governance, development and peace has often been fractured by the involvement of neighbouring states in fomenting, support and exacerbating internal conflicts. Without external support most of these conflicts would never have reached the levels of intensity and bloodletting witnessed in the last fifteen years...

In all cases, people affected by violence cross borders for humanitarian reasons and eventually develop contacts with the intelligence agencies of the refuge-giving country. Gradually, the host country itself gets entangled in the internal strife of its neighbours. Internal conflicts do not take place merely because of the existence of ethnic, tribal or communal plurality. They occur because such sectarian differences are manipulated by opportunist political leaders. Such manipulation is usually successful only when ordinary citizens feel alienated due to flawed governance. When people reach such a state of desperation that they are willing to risk their lives to undermine the state-structures of the country they live in, deadly conflicts spread like wild fire.

... Where states lost their legitimacy in the eyes of their people, violence became widespread, often assisted by hostile elements in the neighbouring states.

... The recent elections in the Indian States of Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir have given their people the opportunity to participate in decision-making. Punjab, after a decade of violence, has established peace through the exercise of democratic choice and the State's people are now enjoying their rights in a normal environment.

... If Dr. Farooq Abdullah succeeds in his peace-making efforts, this region would have its best chance of living in harmony.

... Many experts feel that the elections held six months ago "give the people a right to participate in decision-making" and the although "the elections may not be considered an end in itself, they provide a beginning for the peaceful resolution of conflict in Jammu and Kashmir".

In this context both the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir and the senior Kashmiri leader and Central Cabinet Minister, Professor Saifuddin Soz, have categorically stated that the ruling National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir was prepared to order fresh Assembly polls if the Hurriyat Conference agreed to participate in them. Emphasising that accepting the reality was the only option in Kashmir, Professor Soz stated on television recently that the Hurriyat leaders should realise that:

(Contd. on page324)

U.K. JKLF, London's Memorandum to High Commissioner of India, London, 11 February, 1997 (Extracts)

... On the 13th anniversary of Shaheed Maqbool Butt's martyrdom ... we strongly condemn the oppressive use of force against the innocent population of Kashmir valley by the occupying Indian forces... and demand an immediate end of the on going persecution.

We are equally concerned about the role of foreign agencies and communalist elements in the Kashmir valley, who are responsible for sectarian and communal violence in the name of Islam and 'Jihad-e-Kashmir' Such elements are also responsible for killing of human rights workers, religious and political leaders, parliamentarians, intellectuals and members of the Muslim and Hindu community. This coupled with the barbarous role of the armed forces has forced thousands of people, both Hindus and Muslims ... to flee and seek refuge elsewhere.

... Apparently, the ruling elites of both, India and Pakistan are directly or indirectly responsible for a slow and continuous destruction of our beautiful country and a massive annihilation of its inhabitants by means of a prolonged limited war.

The year 1997 marks the 50th anniversary of Kashmiri nation's struggle for the unification and independence of Jammu Kashmir... We (express) our solidarity with and support for the indigenous, secular and democratic movement against foreign occupation of our mother land.

We take this opportunity to convey to the millions of freedom and peace loving people, and democratic forces in India and Pakistan, as well as the world's civilised nations that **the Kashmir issue is not a territorial dispute between India and Pakistan, rather it is a question of regaining our lost national sovereignty.**..

...In the name of common religion or geographical affinity, both the governments are making territorial claims on our country and in total contravention of the UN charter, **both have banned our people's right of free movement in their own country.**...

We ... seek help from the United Nations, in particular the members of the Security Council to achieve the following objectives:

* Withdrawal from Jammu Kashmir of all the Indian and Pakistani forces including armed or unarmed foreign elements.
* Immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners, and other civilians held by both governments without fair trail and legal representation.
* Recognition of the inherent right of Kashmiri nationals including expatriates to enter, settle, and travel freely in any part of their country.
* Protection, rehabilitation and compensation to all refugees including Muslims, Hindus and other minorities.
* India and Pakistan must provide guarantee of non-interference (military or otherwise) in Jammu Kashmir's internal affairs.
* Election of regional assemblies for the following regions.

(i) Jammu (ii) Kashmir Valley
(iii) Ladakh/Zanskar (iv) Gilgit-Baltistan
(v) 'Azad' Kashmir

* Election of a constituent assembly on the basis of one person one vote, representing all the regions and sections of the Kashmiri people on both sides of the divided line, to frame a constitution and to determine our relationship with our neighbours including India and Pakistan.

Shoukat Maqbool Butt,
President,J&K National Liberation Front
and Member Organisations of JK Liberation Council

UNI Report on Madarsas in J&K

A total of 167 madrasas (Islamic schools) indoctrinating children about militant activities are still being run in Jammu and Ladakh regions despite the State Government's efforts to close down such institutions.

Beginning children on "A-for-Allah and B-for-Bandook (gun)", Islamic and the banned Falah-i-Amma Trust, get heavy financial assistance from several West Asian countries and Muslim educational Trusts...

Of the 167 schools, 7 are running in Jammu city and 5 on its outskirts. Remaining 160 are being run in the border districts of Rajouri (11), Poonch (60) and Doda (78) of Jammu region and the Kargil (5) districts of Ladakh. The sources said there were about 1,400 such institutions in the State in 1990 mostly in Anantnag and Bagdam districts of Kashmir Valley. The sources said Falah-i-Amma Trust, with its headquarters at Batmaloo was banned by the Government... but the Trust changed its name and continued functioning.

According to the sources, 17 such institutions are at present running in the border district of Rajouri with a total student strength 655. These madrasas are run from places such as Budhal, Sakeri, Upper Dara, Katgali, Palangar, Deraj Thana, Mandi Bakori, Majrakot-I, Majrakot-II and Kabhar... The State Education Minister Abdul Qayoom said that the Government would not allow fundamentalist education to be imparted in educational institutions. He said several such schools were closed in the past... He said intelligence agencies had been asked to file yearly reports on the activities of such institutions and those reports would form the basis for recognition and derecognition of such institutions. ...

(Source: The Hindustan Times, 16 January, 1997)

US Council for Foreign Relations: Task Force Report
On a New US Policy towards India and Pakistan

... **Neither India nor Pakistan appears willing to accord the people of Kashmir the right to independence.**

The continuing conflict ... drains both countries political and financial resources, while causing real harm to both countries and most of all to the Kashmiris. Each side regularly demands international action against the other....

Kashmir is a principal but not the sole cause of bad relations between India and Pakistan. It is also a reflection of their general state of animosity. If the Kashmir dispute were resolved tomorrow, in other words, relations between them would still be somewhat sour. Still, Kashmir remains a possible casus belli.

Unfortunately, there is no "right" or plausible solution to the conflict in sight. India, Pakistan, and the Kashmiris themselves each have claims that cannot be reconciled. The issue is so politicized and emotional that it is hard even to discuss an approach toward resolution - multilateral or bilateral - in public without being accuses of tilting toward one side. The U.S. government does not have a great deal of leverage in regard to the Kashmir dispute, and the time is not ripe for Washington to launch a major new initiative. Nevertheless, the United States should be prepared to seize opportunities to contribute to peacemaking should they arise in the future...

From this analysis flow two policy prescriptions for the Kashmir dispute, relating both to the level and content of U.S. diplomatic activity. although individual members of the Task Force favour alternative U.S. stances - including active support for the Indian position towards Kashmir, absolute neutrality, or support for a solution based on some form of Kashmiri self-determination - the majority of the group believes U.S. interests in both India and Pakistan are best served at this time by working with other governments on a step-by-step approach towards series of practical interim objectives. The United States ought to pursue mainly quiet diplomacy ... to Kashmir, promoting modest but incremental steps to (defuse) tensions and reduce friction between, the protagonists with the help of other countries. It should explore the possibility of forming a "contact group" of external powers... The overall goal of these efforts, in turn, should be to achieve an interim set of agreements of even informal understandings, rather than to settle ..."final status" issues.

The United States in concert with other governments, should seek to lower tension and violence, reduce military forces, and restore political normalcy in Kashmir. Specifically, India and Pakistan should be urged to undertake regular and sustained bilateral negotiations directed toward a cease-fire and a halt to military actions (other than patrols or strictly defensive purposes) along the line of control in Kashmir, the reconstitution and increased monitoring of peacekeeping machinery along the boundary, supplementing U.N.-sponsored with bilateral mechanisms if possible; and renewed negotiations for a separate rapid agreement over the withdrawal of both ... military forces from ... the Siachen glacier. Pakistan should be urged to end direct and indirect military support to Kashmiri insurgent organizations. And India should be urged to continue and accelerate moves to resurrect the political process in Kashmir, including grants of amnesty for those insurgents willing to abjure violence, punishment for those members; of the security forces involved in human rights violations, and conduct of discussions with the newly elected Kashmiri government about the degree of autonomy for the state within the Indian constitution. ...

At a Prayer Meeting in Delhi, 29 Dec., 1947

"I have been taken to task for daring to say what I have said about Kashmir and the Maharaja Saheb. Those who have done so have evidently failed to read my statement carefully. I have simply tendered advice which I suppose the lowliest can do. To do so sometimes becomes duty as was the case with me. What was it for? It was, if accepted, designed to raise the Maharaja Saheb in his own and the world's esteem. His and his state's is today a most unenviable position. He is a Hindu prince having under his sway a very large majority of Muslims. The invaders have called their invasion a holy war for the defence of Muslims.. Is it any wonder that I have advised the ruling authority to rise to the occasion and become like the King of England...?"

Foreign Mercenaries in J&K

1991	2	1995	77
1992	6	1996	213
1993	79	1997 (May)	65
1994	77		

Origin: Afghanistan, Pakistan, POK, Sudan, Bahrain, Yemen, Turkey, Chechenya, Iran and Bangladesh.

(Source: Indian Army-quested in the Pioneer, New Delhi,28.6.97)

(Contd. from page322)

they will never succeed in securing independence and only greater autonomy within the framework of the Indian Constitution was feasible. They should not seek the impossible and it is in the interest of Kashmiri Muslims that Kashmir should continue to be an integral part of India.

With the return to power in Pakistan of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif ... South Asia is at a historical crossroads. If his government is able to end cross-border terrorism, considerable goodwill will be created between the two countries and a relationship could be built with both eyes fixed on the future. India and Pakistan could then together re-establish in this region the fractured triangle of peace, development and good governance for the benefit of their peoples... It is only when civil society struggles to strengthen the virtuous triangle ... that the half-century old conflict in Kashmir will cease.

Kiran Karnik on Trans-sylvanian Model Solution

... Any solution in which Pakistan recognises India's territorial rights in Kashmir—even if this is limited to the part now under its control—will, in the final analysis, be acceptable to India; and this will be irrespective of other conditions. Similarly, Pakistan will, in the ultimate analysis, find it difficult to turn down a solution that formally recognises and provides some kind of special and "guaranteed" rights to the Kashmiris. After all, this is what it claims to be fighting for, and not for a piece of the territory.

...Transylvania ...has, for some time, been a bone of contention between Hungary and Rumania. While it is not a part Rumania, a large part of the population is ethnically Hungarian. Both sides have claimed the area, and this problem, which is a legancy of the break-up of the Austro-Hungrarian empire, has embittered relations between the two countries. A few months ago, the two countries came to a settlement which, in basic terms, is a "territory for rights'" arrangement. In return for Rumanian agreement to provide certain guaranteed rights for the ethnic Hungarians. Hungary has given up all its territorial claims on the area. Whatever the Indian viewpoint, Pakistan does consider—for emotional reasons that defy logic— Muslim Kahsmiris as their "ethnic" brethren. Hence for the concern for the rights " of Kashmiris". A " Transylavania settlement" is therefore possible, despite the many obvious differences in the situation.

Such a solution will satisfy the minimal strategic requirements of both countries, even if it does not meet the maximal position of either. More important, this solution will mean no loss of for either side. This will make it easy for both government to sell the packages to their citizens. In fact, each can proclaim a victory, and in the process a vindication of its position. India will retain Kashmir —the area it now controls— and thus protect and project determination to retain its territorial integrity. Pakistan will have establish its ability to fight for and ensure the rights of the Islamic Umma in general, and Kashmiri Muslims in particular.

...The territory for human rights solution, despite some premise that would normally be unacceptable to one side or the other, provides a real solution and is, at least comparatively, a win-win or mutually beneficial solution. It is not an ideal solution.

... A referendum in Kashmir is now a completely infeasible proposition. Another ideal solution could be a de-militarised, autonomous State (with its full territory, as it existed in 1947), with open borders to Pakistan and India. This would require an exceptionally friendly relationship between India and Pakistan, and although there is no dearth of rhetoric, it may be difficult even then. A completely independent Kashmir, as another possibility will definitely be unacceptable to India for strategic and other reasons. Moreover, it is unlikely to be welcomed by Pakistan either, despite any public postures that it may adopt.

With are-opening of the formal dialogue between India and Pakistan, supplemented by much greater people-to-people interaction. This is an opportune time to move ahead with bold initiatives.

(Source: The Pioneer, 13 May, 1997)

On Muslim Indians' Apathy over Kashmir

The Indian state is secular... The Secular spirit pervades the whole body of the Constitution of India...

The decision to make Indian State secular was deliberate... Muslims in India ... have reasons to be happy about the Constitution...

... Kashmir ... provides the acid test for the Indian Muslims' secular credentials. Faith in secularism implies repudiation of the two-nation theory in toto. The militancy in Kashmir and the demands of the militants is a negation of secularism, so dear to Indian Muslims. The two-nation theory was mercifully given quite an un-Islamic burial by Pakistan in the battle-fields of Bangladesh, but the Kashmiri militants, with the active connivance and full support of Pakistan, have successfully revived its ghost, which has been strangulating secularism in the Valley for a long time.

Indian Muslims have shown just no concern over the happenings in Kashmir. They have not pointed out to Kashmiri Muslims about the dangers that lie in the course that they are following. Their inaction is amazing and silence deafening... Kashmir has given a big jolt to secularism. Any further aggravation of the situation there will raise the ante for its banishment from the Indian scene. Muslims in the rest of India should wake up to this danger and stop the rot. This would be the most effective way of serving the cause of secularism. This indeed is a sacred duty which they must discharge.

(A.R. Khan in News from India)

On Pakistan's 50th Anniversary

... The nation has no reason to celebrate the 50th year of the creation of the country when its sovereignty was at stake, political stability non-existent and social unrest rampant.

"I think we should be ashamed of ourselves instead"...

"Instead of being a nation we have become a crowd. Looking back at what we have done in the past 50 years, do we have a right to indulge in activities like celebrating the golden jubilee?"

- Malik Meraj Khalid, Former Acting Prime Minister, Pakistan

Shahabuddin's Initiative on 10th Anniversary of Hashimpura Massacre

I-Shahabuddin's Letter to UP CM, 4 June, 97

As you know, 10 years after the Hashimpura massacre, the culprits in uniform are moving freely and even the 19 PAC personnel who were charge-sheeted in 1995 befor the ACJM, Ghaziabad have neither been suspended nor arrested. The State Government has refused to make the CID report public, even to make it avilable to the Court.

i am writing this to request you to:

a) transfer the case to Meerut where the next-of-kin of those killed mand the witnesses reside;

b) ask the H.C. to create a mspecial Court for the trial;

c) sanction the prosecution of all the PAC personnelnamed in the CID Report;

d) suspend thøse underprosecution and order their arrest;

e) treat the next- of- kin of those killed on par with the sikhs of 1984 and authorise an ex-gratia payment of Rs. 2 Lakhs plus interest, minus amount already paid, if any.

The Muslim Community, all over the country, think thattheyare denied justice because they are Muslims. You can change this thinking only by a bold and just gesture.

II-HM's Letter toUP CM 14 June, 1997

Kindly find enclosed a letter from Shri Syed Shahabuddin, Ex.MP, addressed to you and copy of which was endorsed to me, regarding the follow up action on the killings at Hashimpura about 10 years back. Shri Shahabuddin has requested that the State Government should make the CID report public. He has also made some other suggestions like: (i) transferring the case to Meerut, (ii) requesting the High Court to create a Special Court for the trial, (iii) sanctioning prosecution of all the PAC personnel named in the CID Report, (iv) suspending those under prosecution and order their arrest, (v) paying an ex-gratia payment of Rs.2 lakhs to the next-of-kin of those who were killed.

These seem to be very sensible suggestions and it may be advisable that State Government agrees with the same. I shall be grateful if immediate necessary action on the above suggestions may be taken and I may be apprised about the same.

(Source: Minister of Home Affairs' Letter No. I-619/97-HMP dated 14 June, 1997)

III- UP CM's reply to HM, 16 June, 1997

With referrence to suggestions made, the views of the State Govt. are as under:-

(1) case against 19 employees of PAC is pending in Court of addl. Chief Judicial Magistrate, Ghaziabad. The charge sheet was submitted on 20 . 5. 96 **Inview of thesensitivity of case, we do notfeel that it will be desirable to transfer the case to Meerut.**

(2) Regarding creation of a Special court for trial the State Government will make a formal request to High Court.

(3) In it's report CID recmmended prosecution 0f 37 employees of PAC & Police Dept. The State Government accorded sanction for prosecution of 19 employees of PAC on 1.6.95. Sanaction for prosecution of 18 Police employees was accorded on 20.5.97.

Further more in the report of CID, departmental action was suggested in respect of 19 Police employees. All employees have been punished.

(4) Regarding arrest and suspension of employees, the State Government has already issed instructions.

(5) Ex-Gratia payment effected to relativeshas been ib accordance will descation of Hon'ble Supreme Court. This position was clarified to Shri Syed Shahabuddin by H.E.The Governor in his letter dated 14.2.97.

IV- Shahabuddin's Letter to HM, 28June,97

UP CM is trying to obsfucate the issue;Firstly, way does not the Government publish the CID report or table it in the assembly with the AIN? secondly, why should only departmental action be taken against the second lot of 18? .Thirdly, why should nearly 30 other personnel ent— by the CID be protected? Fourthly, why cannot the state Governmentenhance the ex-gratia payment and pay the balance now as in the case of Sikhs of Delhi? Fifthly, sice the alleged crime was commited against the citizens of Meerut who werw taken as from their homes in Meerut,why shouldnt the special Courtestablished in Merrut for the convenience of the intrences.

I would request you to impress the Chief Minister of that delayed or partial justice is no justice.

V- Shahabuddin's Letter to HM, 2 July, 1997

I have already written to you again on 28.6.97 . I request you to reiterate your earliar advice.

You may be like to know the nature of dertmental action taken against 19 police employees and to confirm that the 37 under prosecution have in fact been suspended and arrested.

I believe that in addition, the CID Report indicts some senior civil and Police officers. This fact may kindly be examined.

Pradeep Kaushal on Maharana Pratab: The New RSS Icon

The ... BJP ... has found a new icon. After Ram it is now Maharana Pratap. Exactly four centuries after his death, the party is now seeking to resurrect the Hindu king.

The choice of their latest idol is probably deliberate since the Maharana is said to be a descendant of Ram. Indeed, with his reputation as a brave warrior who symbolised successful Hindu resistance to the Mughal empire during its zenith, Pratap, also known as Hindwa Suraj (Sun among the Hindus), has all the trappings of a cult figure for the saffron party.

The modern day Hindutva slogan is also reminiscent of Pratap's insignia proclaiming Jo dridh rakhe dharm ko, tihi rakhe kartar (He who protects the faith, is protected by God).

The State BJP unit has embarked on a year-long high-profile programme to mark the 400th year of the Maharana's death...

In his homeground, Shekhawat, who is usually identified as one of the party liberals, made an impassioned speech. "But for Maharana Pratap, there would have been no choti (tuft of hair) or janeu (sacred thread) today", he declared...

Shekhawat's aggressive stand is seen as an effort to outbid his detractors both within and outside the party. By using Pratap as his secret weapon to play on the Hindu ethos, Shekhawat hopes to silence his rival colleagues, identified with the RSS... Outside the party, he would be scoring over the Congress, which systematically ignored Rana Pratap during its long rule in the State.

... The BJP has ever ...roped in I.K.Gujral ... to commemorate the Maharana's historic battle against the Mughal army in 1576...

Meanwhile, not to be outdone, the state RSS unit has published a special issue on Pratap in its mouthpiece - Jagran Patra. An article by Dr. Omkar Singh Rathore draws parallels between the lives of Ram and the Maharana...

Dr. Rathore also compares Pratap with Krishna...

Reconversion or Ethnic Cleansing

Vishwa Hindu Parishad leader Giriraj Kishore in a recent press conference said his organisations would declare a district in Rajasthan to be "Christian free" by 2000 AD. Under civilised law, this process is called Ethnic Cleansing, and is an international crime inviting immediate wrath of decent people and governments, and deserving of summary and exemplary punishment.

The news was widely covered by the national press, and therefore one waited for some of the many political groups and non-governmental organisations now fighting to defend secularism - among them the Congress, the Janata Dal, the Left Front and the regional parties - to take notice of it, and to denounce it for the fascist threat that it was. Over the years, the VHP has been making such threats, announcing its "reconversions" as it calls them, and threatening to push out people of other faiths from various parts of the country. Perhaps government, ministers and police officers charged with ensuing communal harmony and protecting the rights of the people do not read newspapers, or perhaps they do not take the VHP seriously....

(Source: The Vishal Jagruti, April-May, 1997)

On Fundamentalist Vandalism

In Painter M.F. Husain hurt the religious sensibilities of some Hindus... the vandals who stormed the Husain-Doshi gallery in Ahmedabad and burned 16 of his reproduced works of art have done more to scandalise the civilised world.

The Bajrang Dal activists , and the Mumbai Police, have done a disservice to Hinduism... They have replicated, in fact, the behaviour of the fundamentalists they oppose.

... The controversial Husain painting was done in 1976 - 20 years ago... This was clearly an attempt to whip up communal fervour (Husain is a Muslim) Would Husain have taken the same liberty with a Muslim subject? his detractors ask. The answer is that while Hinduism does have an ancient tradition of such art, Islam does not. Cultural fundamentalism - backed by official sanctions - has no place in India...

(Source: The India Today, 31 October, 1996)

RSS: Annual Training Camp

Mayor of Nagpur, Shri Devendra Phadnavis inaugurated the Annual Sangh Shiksha Varga (SSV) for third-year trainees of the RSS... The first two years of training (is) to understand the activities and philosophy of RSS. The third year training enables one to feel and follow such an ideology in the life...

... 1068 trainees from all parts of India are participating in the SSV.

RSS Prant-wise break-up

Kerala	70	Tamil Nadu	40
Karnataka	44	Andhra Pradesh	56
Utkal	37	Vidarbha	36
Maharashtra	73	Gujarat	46
Madhya Bharat	79	Rajasthan	135
Delhi	41	Haryana	33
Punjab	13	Himgiri	16

K.K. Khullar on Gandhi and the Partition

...Why did Gandhi fail to prevent the partition of India?

... That Jinnah wanted the partition of India is too well known but what is too often ignored is that in early 1947 or even a little before, the Indian National Congress also wanted it. Before meeting Lord Mountbatten on March 31, 1947 he told Maulana Azad: "If the Congress wishes to accept partition it will be over my dead body. So long as I am alive, I will never agree to the partition of India. Nor will I, if I can help it, allow Congress to accept it". The question which arises is why did Gandhi not undertake a fast-unto-death, a Satyagraha or a Padyatra to mobilise public opinion and stop the process of partition for he was still the tallest man in the country... Yet the country was divided and India witnessed one of the worst communal bloodbath in recent history...

The first time Gandhi learnt about the Congress proposal of partition was through a newspaper when he was touring the riot-affected areas of Bihar in March 1947. The newspaper referred to the Congress Resolution demanding the partition of Punjab. In the words of Pyarelal (Mahatma Gandhi) - The Last Phase), "It was as if the abyss had suddenly opened under his feet. He has not been consulted or even forewarned... Such a thing would have been inconceivable in the olden days. Even when he was ranging over the length and breadth of India they did not fail to consult him before taking any vital decision". Gandhi must have felt like a father who is suddenly faced with the decision of his indulgent sons to divide the ancestral house. But it was not division of a house, nor of Punjab or Bengal. it was the division of a heart. Gandhi's pain must have been incalculable.

On March 20, 1947, Gandhi wrote two letters from Bihar, one to Jawaharlal Nehru asking for reasons behind the Congress Working Committee's Resolution and the other to Sardar Patel "to try to explain to me your Punjab resolution if you can. I cannot understand it". Sardar Patel replied on the 24th March. Nehru's reply is dated March 25, 1947.

"It is difficult to explain to you the resolution about Punjab. It was adopted after the deepest deliberations. Nothing has been done in a hurry or without full thought. That you had expressed your views against it. We learnt only from the papers. But you are, of course, entitled to say what you feel right".

In his reply Jawaharlal Nehru stated: "I feel convinced and so did most of the members of the Working Committee that we must press for the immediate division so that the reality might be brought into the picture. Indeed this is the only answer to partition as demanded by Jinnah. I found people in Punjab agreeable to this proposal except Muslims as a rule".

... Suddenly he received a letter dated March 22 from the new Viceroy of India, Lord Mountbatten requesting for a meeting with him... He actually left Patna for Delhi by train on March 30. He met the Viceroy on March 31. Since it was courtesy call, the real meeting took place on April 1, 1947...

The Viceroy told Gandhi that the British Government had decided to transfer power only as a result of its non-violent struggle. Gandhi was deeply impressed with the sincerity and candidness of the Viceroy. Towards the end of the meeting when the Viceroy referred to the current political deadlock in India, Gandhi gave him the plan he had worked as a possible solution. The crux of his proposal was that Jinnah be invited to form a Cabinet of his choice at the Centre and present his plan of Pakistan even before the transfer of power. It will not matter even if all the members of Jinnah are Muslims. However since it will be a Muslim League Government there shall no National Guards or any other form of private army. If Jinnah accepted the offer the Congress would co-operate wholeheartedly so that all measures which Jinnah Cabinet undertake would be in the interest of Indian people as a whole. Peace will be maintained at all costs. The sole referee to what is or what is not in the interest of India will be Lord Mountbatten, not as a Viceroy but in his personal capacity. If Mr. Jinnah does not accept the offer, the same offer would be made to the Congress. The Viceroy was completely taken by surprise but said he found the Gandhi Plan "attractive"... and suggested that Gandhi should discuss this with Lord Ismay, his Chief of Staff...The Gandhi Plan to save India's unity was not accepted by two of Gandhi's move trusted lieutenants.

According to Dr. R.C. Majumdar in his book "The Struggle for Freedom" (Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan, 1969): So far as Patel was concerned, his experience of working with the League Members in the Executive Council had convinced him that the Pakistan mentality was so strong among the Muslims that it was impossible to work with the Muslim League. At last the naked truth dawned upon him and he said that "whether we liked it or not, there were two nations in India. He was now convinced that Muslims and Hindus could not be united into one nation. There was no alternative except to recognise this fact".

After having received replies from Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel, both in the negative, Gandhi took his plan to the Congress Working Committee. It was the 10th of April, a very hot day made hotter by the heated discussions. To quote Pyarelal: "Gandhi strove with the Congress Working Committee for the acceptance of the plan he had outlined to the Viceroy. The weather was gruelling, tempers ran high, there were heated discussions, confused counsels, frayed nerves. Gandhiji and Badshah Khan were strongly opposed to any partition under the British aegis. To Gandhiji's mind, for the Congress to ask for partition of the Punjab and Bengal by the British sounded like a counsel of despair. He was

opposed to the whole logic of partition. Partition would solve none of their difficulties. On the contrary it would accentuate those that were already there and create fresh ones. But he could not convince them nor they him". In other words the Congress Working Committee rejected his plan unceremoniously. Only Badshah Khan stood by him.

On April 11, 1947, Gandhi wrote to the Viceroy about his failure and request for the withdrawal of his plan. "I had several short talks with Pandit Nehru and an hour's talk with him alone", he wrote to Lord Mountbatten, "and then with several members of the Working Committee last night about the formula I had sketched before you and which I filled in for them with all the implications. I am sorry to say that I failed to carry any of them with me except Badshah Khan... Thus I have to ask you to omit me from your consideration. ... In the circumstances mentioned above, subject to your consent, I propose, if possible, to leave tomorrow for Patna". On April 12 he left for Patna by train.

... The stage was set for partition. The Congress and the Muslim League and the Viceroy were all agreeable... For Gandhi it was a tragedy, not because that his plan failed but because it was not even tried. ...

On May 2, 1947, Mountbatten sent his Plan to London with Lord Ismay and George Abell. On May 10 he got back his Plan approved by the British Cabinet with certain modifications. In the meantime the communal riots in the country had taken the worst shape but Lord Mountbatten made absolutely no effort to crush the riots as he had promised Maulana Azad. "Once partition is accepted in principle, I shall issue orders to see that there are no communal disturbances anywhere in the country. I will order the army and the Air Force to act and I will use tanks and aeroplanes to suppress anybody who wants to create trouble". History, however, tells us a different story.

Gandhi returned from Patna on May 1, 1947 and met the Viceroy. According to N.K. Bose quoted by Dr. R.C. Majumdar (The Last Days of British Rule: Struggle for Freedom: Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan, 1969): "Two days after his interview with Mountbatten (On May 4, 1947) Gandhi told N.K. Bose: "Mountbatten had the cheek to tell me, "Mr.Gandhi, today the Congress is with me and no longer with you". Bose asked: "What did you say in reply"? Gandhi answered: "I retorted, but India is still with me". (N.K. Bose: Studies in Gandhism, p. 284). ...

On May 18, 1947 the Viceroy left for London having been invited by the Prime Minister to discuss the Plan of Partition with him. He was accompanied by V.P. Menon. After detailed discussions with the Prime Minister and others including Mr. Churchill, the Leader of Opposition, the Viceroy returned to India on May 31. On June 2, 1947 he held a meeting in which seven Indian leaders participated: Nehru, Patel and Kripalani on behalf of the Congress, Jinnah, Liaqat Ali and Abdul Rab Nashtar on behalf of Muslim League and Baldev Singh on behalf of Sikhs. The Plan of Partition was explained to them. It was also broadcasted on the All India Radio. The leaders were requested to get the Plan considered by their respective parties... and convey him their decision by midnight.

Immediately after the meeting he met Gandhi. The Viceroy gave Gandhi a resume of the events which led to the agreement between various parties regarding his Plan of Partition. At the end he requested him to accept the Plan. At long last Gandhi was persuaded and he too accepted the Partition Plan. To quote Dr. R.C. Majumdar again: "Soon after the interview with the leaders was over, the Viceroy saw Gandhi and recounted to him the various steps leading to the final agreement. Ultimately Gandhi was persuaded to accepted the Plan as the best that could be had in the circumstances. It being his day of silence Gandhi did not say anything but wrote a friendly note". That crucial `friendly note' changed the course of history. ...

It would thus be observed from the above chronological account that upto May 4, 1947 Gandhi is steadfast in his total bycott of the partition proposal... But when he met the Viceroy again on June 2, 1947 he was persuaded to change his earlier opinion and accept the Partition Plan. Between these two meetings there is a time gap of only 29 days. What had happened during this period that a staunch upholder of a united India accepted the division of the country which was formerly an anathema to him. Here is a rich field for further search, a case for historical inquiry and investigation. In a true Gandhian spirit the truth must prevail. Gandhi himself preferred truth to consistency. According to Maulana Azad, a great change came in Gandhi after meeting Mountbatten. He "no longer spoke so vehemently against it (partition) and began to repeat the arguments which Sardar Patel had already used". Dr. Rajendra Prasad, however, felt that when Gandhi `realised that those who were entrusted with the responsibility of administration found that it was not possible to carry on and that there must be either partition or open war with the league, he decided to keep quiet and not to oppose partition in any way". Pyarelal's analysis is different. "Gandhiji had vehemently opposed till the very last moment the Partition Plan while the issue was in the balance. Once the decision was taken and both the Congress and the League had given their signatures to it, it had ceased to be a live issue with him in the political sense". According to B.R. Nanda (Jawaharlal Nehru: Rebel and Statesman 1995), "Congress acceptance of partition was not such a sudden development as it may have seemed at that time. It was the culmination of a process which had begun immediately after the passage of Pakistan resolution by the Lahore session of the All-India Muslim League". All these arguments are weak, psychologically and untenable historically, particularly when it is remembered, that even in 1947 with one call of Gandhi the whole country would have rallied round him. ...

(Source: The Road to Freedom by K.K. Khullar)

Sharad K. Soni
On Treatment by Blood-letting

The aged 'hakim' hunches forward, takes out a razor-blade and searches for the right vein on his patient's left leg. The leg is tied tightly with cloth, to make his job easier. The patient ... winces as he makes an incision to draw out blood. As the blood trickles out, the Hakim and his helpers pour lukewarm water over the cut, to aid the flow. The 20-minute procedure is followed for a few weeks until he has drawn all the impure blood to cure the ... disease. It takes him only a few minutes to locate the exact vein to be cut.

Hakim Mohammed Ghayas claims to have cured thousands of patients using this ... method, sitting on the steps of the Jama Masjid in Delhi... His open air clinic, Rahat Open Surgery, attracts hundreds of patients every day. They come with all sort of diseases - from arthritis, diabetes, lumbago and gout to cancer. "I have treated more than a lakh patients", claims Ghayas, 62...

He wants the government to recognise his 'blood-letting', but the medical fraternity is not impressed...

According to the illiterate Ghayas, his treatment finds a mention in the scriptures and in Unani medicine. He says that the root cause of all disease is bad blood...

No medication is used to stop the bleeding. It stops on its own... As a precaution Ghayas advises his patients to take an anti-tetanus injection and bring their own blade...

Ghayas, who has been treating patients since the lat 16 years, learned the technique from his grandfather who died a ripe 113, in 1976. For four years he was trained under his uncle Abdul Majeed whom he considers his second guru. ...

The treatment is free, but anyone who wishes to make a donation is welcome...

(Source: The Week, 2 March, 1997)

Sexologist Rapes Patients

Dr. Abdul Rehman Shahni, a sexologist, was arrested by Bhopal police ... on charge of raping a 25-year-old tribal woman ... from Gondia (Maharashtra) ... in a lodge, owned by one Aziz Miyan, alongwith the latter and a third accomplice...The sexologist has been practising here for the last 25 years and visits various big cities regularly.

(Source: Sanjeev Majupuria in The Pioneer, 28 May, 1997)

(COntd. from page 333)

collapse, or it may be a preamble to a more advanced state of social development in Pakistan. The evidence is equally powerful for a better future. Order is born out of chaos.

... Our elite has to realise that for their own good, they may be better off following Aristotle's dictum that "the state has to exist for the sake of a good life, and not for the sake of life only".

(Source: The Times of India)

K. Venkateshwarlu
On Hyderabad's Child Bride

Five years after she was pitchforked to international fame, when poverty drove her family to marry her to an old Arab Sheikh, "Hyderabad's child-bride", Ameena is now a forgotten girl. ...

Well past her troubled childhood, she is all of 18 now...

Despite her stubborn (refusal to marry) her parents are desperately searching for a suitable match...

... Ameena keeps herself busy with the painstaking zari embroidery work on sarees. "It takes about four to five days to complete a saree". Each saree fetches her Rs.50, supplementing her meagre family income....

... When rescued, she was literally promised the moon, from foreign currency to education and job. But ... the family continues to live in a state of penury...

All that she got was a sewing machine from the Mahila Dakshata Samithi and a telephone connection sanctioned by Mr. Rajesh Pilot (as) the Communications Minister... We are unable to pay rent. Our repeated appeal to change this telephone to that of a public STD or a local call office has fallen on deaf ears".

... "It was sheer poverty that forced me to perform Ameena's marriage to the ... Arab. I was not in a position to pool Rs. 60,000 to Rs.70,000 required for meeting the demands of the local bridegrooms"...

Female Infanticide in Bihar

In Bihar about 15 lakh girl infants are killed every year ... according to a report published in 'Jan Satta', a leading Hindi national daily.

The report is based on a sample survey conducted in four blocks of four districts of Bihar by a Voluntary Organisation 'Adithi'....

(A) female baby ... it is born is killed by forcing three spoon of salt or urea in the baby's mouth ... until she breaths her last ... by twisting her neck. The act is done under the veil of secrecy...

The morbid greed for dowry is one of the major factors... Ironically, what started centuries ago by the Rajputs as an attempt to preserve their honour at the time of arranging suitable match for their daughters and the humiliation faced for what of dowry thereafter, gradually assumed a most inhuman and dastardly tool to combat the dowry menace. As the economically weaker ... castes are getting richer, the social evil of dowry is taking deep roots in these communities.

As a result ... the sex-ratio in Bihar is on gradual decline. According to 1981 census, there were 946 female per 1,000 males. The 1991 census showed ... 911 female per 1,000 male... In 39 districts the number of women is declining steadily...

Rahul Arun on Indo-Pak Relations

... Indo-Pak relations have got exacerbated because of several non-territorial factors. For example, the Pakistani foreign policy remains hamstrung by the constraints of its domestic politics... A majority of people on both sides of the border remain captive to the historically circulated stereotypes of animosities, misinformation and distrust. Given the ethno-religious overlap in the two societies, the domestic disaffection easily feed on to the mutual hostility perceptions of the two states...

To cap (it), the 'hidden-hand theory' also plays an important role in worsening the situation. In short, Indo-Pakistan conflict offers a typical instance of an artificially created people-to-people conflict in addition to state-to-state conflict.

So there is a crying need for non-state actors to throw in their lot to transform their own relationships and go beyond state-centric paradigms. The public peace process would involve in addition to the official diplomats a motley-group of academics, human rights groups, ... media groups ... cultural groups and even theologians to create what Saunders called as the "pre-negotiation stage"

... Some remarkable initiatives have been taken by the interested outside parties and peoples groups. Most notable of these has been the NEEMRANA initiative which has brought together an eminent group of Indian and Pakistani citizens... on an ongoing dialogue.

Another such initiative is known as "Pakistan India Forum for Peace and Democracy (PIPFPD) which has held a number of meetings involving hundreds of people from the two countries.

The latest gesture by a similar group led by Nikhil Chakravarty and others at the Wagah border on August 15, to make another 'tryst with destiny' though unsuccessful but was a milestone in the direction of people to people efforts to improve our relations.

The proceedings of the 3rd convention of (PIPFPD), held at Calcutta on December 26, also augur well for improvement of Indo-Pak relations through Track-II diplomacy.

... People to people contact ... is a long-term process which entails identification of people and institutions with a will to transform the societal relationship from within.

Also critical, in this process are workshops and training in the domain of political psychology of conflict resolution in divided societies which would go a long way in blunting the edge of prejudice which masquerades as patriotism. Surely no ready and overnight solutions are expected but each step is important...

(Source: The Pioneer, 7 February, 1997)

R.C. Acharya
On Indo-Pakistan Economic Integration

... Loving one's neighbour can sometimes be an excruciatingly difficult task, especially when both are struggling to climb up the social ladder. Even before the Partition, seeds of discord between India and Pakistan had been sown and the last 50 years saw both the nations at each other's throats at regular intervals till Indira Gandhi, the indomitable Iron lady of India, engineered a brilliant coup, with Bangladesh emerging as a new nation. However, the main bone of contention viz. Kashmir continues to be trotted out by Pakistan whenever India has extended a friendly hand!

... Operation Fortress Europe has been a major exercise on an unprecedented scale in long term diplomacy. For 15 nations with totally different languages and cultures to come together purely for economic survival speaks volumes of the political leadership of the state involved.

Undoubtedly hawks, both in India and Pakistan, ably abetted by international arms dealers, who are in turn supported by the media would be busy fanning flames of hatred and keep the two nations continuously suspicious on each other's intentions. Jingoism would take considerable time to die, and it would require statesmanship of the highest order and a pragmatic approach for achieving a closer alliance with Pakistan.

In the process, expenditure on defence could be slashed by both, saving precious foreign exchange on armaments and weapons whose beneficiaries are mainly the Western nations including, of course, Europe.

While a popularly elected Government in power in Kashmir, and its Chief Executive - Farooq Abdullah strongly advocating acceptance of the Line of Control as the final boundary with Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, a major stumbling block could perhaps now be removed enabling the two nations with a common language and cultural heritage to make rapid strides towards economic and industrial development... Fortunately, with the landslide victory of Nawaz Sharif, who has one more than one occasion expressed his desire to develop strong ties with India, the time is perhaps ripe for a major diplomatic initiative being taken, this time may be by Prime Minister H.D. Deve Gowda himself!

(Source: The Pioneer)

Government Statement
On Trade with Pakistan

Country	Year	Export	Import	Total
Pakistan	1993-94	200.66	136.48	337.14
	1994-95	179.71	165.61	345.32
	1995-96	256.80	150.80	407.60

(Source: LSUQ No. 123 dated 21.2.1997 by R. Agnihotri)

UNGA: 1996 Agenda Notes On Cooperation between the UN and OIC

The item entitled "Cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of the Islamic Conference" was included in the agenda of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, in 1980, at the request of Pakistan (A/35/194). The General Assembly considered the item at its thirty-fifth to forty-ninth sessions (resolutions 35/36, 36/23, 37/4, 38/4, 39/7, 40/4, 41/3, 42/4, 43/2, 44/8, 45/9, 46/13, 47/18, 48/24 and 49/15).

At its fiftieth session, the General Assembly, inter alia, requested the UN and the Organization of the Islamic Conference to continue cooperation in their common search for solutions to global problems; welcomed the proposals of the coordination meeting of focal points of the UN and the OIC to strengthen cooperation between the two organizations in a number of different areas and to review the ways and means for enhancing the actual mechanisms of such cooperation; also welcomed the efforts of the secretaries of the two organizations to strengthen cooperation between them in the political field and to undertake consultations with a view to defining the mechanisms of such cooperation; encouraged the specialized agencies and other organizations of the UN system to continue to expand their cooperation with the Organization of the Islamic Conference; recommended that a general meeting between representatives of the secretaries of the United Nations system and the Organization of the Islamic Conference and its specialized institutions should take place in 1996, and every two years thereafter; also recommended that coordination meetings of focal points of the organizations and agencies of the UN system and the Organization of the Islamic Conference and its specialized institutions should henceforth be held concurrently with the general meeting; and requested the Secretary-General to report to the Assembly at its fifty-first session on the state of cooperation between the two organizations (resolution 50/17).

Document: Report of the Secretary General.

Egypt: Chahine Film Lifted off Air Under Threat

Egypt's State television canceled the broadcast of a movie by Egyptian director Youssef Chahine, who was honored at the Cannes film festival...the name is 'Al-Muhager', or 'The Emigrant'. One of his older films have shown instead without explanation.Fundamentalists have long maintained that Al-Muhager insults Islam because its leading character is identifiable as Prophet Youssef.. Islamic law prohibits a graphics portrayal of any prophet.

'Al-Muhager was twice banned by Egyptian courts but the ban was repealed by an appeals court in March 1995. Chahine's film 'Al-Massir',or 'Destiny' in recounts the life of 12th century Muslim philosopher Ibn Rushd. and is scheduled to be released in Egypt in August, but Muslim fundamentalist group warn they will sue Chahine on the ground that the movie challenges Islamic beliefs.

The Hindu on OIC's Extraordinary Summit, Islamabad, March, 1997

The extraordinary summit of the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) tonight passed a Special Declaration condemning India and declaring "support for the efforts of the Government of Pakistan to resolve, through a substantive and meaningful dialogue, the J&K dispute, which is the basic cause of the tensions between India and Pakistan". "The Special Declaration, adopted shortly before midnight Indian Standard Time, laced this expression of support for an India-Pakistan dialogue with a categorical "condemnation of the oppression and massive violation of the human rights of the Kashmiri people".

The reference to India in regard to this "condemnation" was unmistakable, and the summit, held here to commemorate Pakistan's 50th year of independence, expressed its "support for the fundamental human rights of the Kashmiri people, including their right to self-determination."

Also expressed was the OIC's "commitment to promote a just and peaceful solution of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute in accordance with the UN resolutions".

These statements of apparent backing for the prospective India-Pakistan dialogue were placed in a context of the OIC's "deep concern over the situation in J&K, especially the suffering of the Kashmiri people, and the consequent tensions in the region". ...

Today's declaration by the OIC on J&K fully reflect the organisation's moral support for Pakistan's maximal position on Kashmir as it prepares to resume parleys with India in a new atmosphere of expectations. But the language used is harsh, even if familiar, and the only silver lining, in the context of the scheduled India-Pakistan talks, is that Mr. Sharif as well as the OIC have not slammed the door on the idea of these parleys.

Earlier Mr. Sharif told the summit that Islamabad was "determined to seek an honourable settlement of the J&K dispute in consonance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people and in accordance with the U.N. resolutions". This marks a clear departure from Mr. Sharif's earlier insistence on a limited immediate agenda of "some progress on the core issue of J&K". India, Mr. Sharif hinted today, should eschew "policies of hegemony and power politics" in recognition of the "centrality" of a settlement of the Kashmir issue to a vision of peace and progress in South Asia. Visibly deriving inspiration from the presence of several Heads of Islamic States and Governments at the one-day summit, which is being held here to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Pakistan's sovereignty, Mr. Sharif dramatically raised the pitch in his country's traditional polemics against India. While he did not appear to worry about the impact of atmospherics on the diplomatic mood in India on the eve of a resumption of bilateral talks, the OIC Secretary-General, Dr. Azeddine Laraki, expressed support for what he saw as Pakistan's "effort to start an objective dialogue" with India. ...

(Source: The Hindu, 24 March, 1997)

Manzur Ejaz

On Pakistan, A Failed State?

Pakistan's failure as a state is being debated in various quarters. Seemingly, the western intellectuals associated with Pakistani affairs, through official or unofficial channels, have concluded that Pakistan, as a state, has either already failed or is on its way to failing. The Pakistani intelligentsia, which is extremely sensitive, feels offended by this proposition.

Many believe that the use of such terminology is a pretext to justify future interventions by the sole superpower... Though the state has been defined in many ways, most will take sovereignty and the monopoly over coercive power to maintain order as the essential functions of a state. Notwithstanding the erosion of the very notion of traditional sovereignty due to the penetration of modern technology, Pakistan is as much a sovereign state as the other 180 countries are. Pakistan's geographical integrity is intact, notwithstanding the separation of East Pakistan in 1971.

... The Pakistani state's monopoly over coercive power remains unchallenged... In other words, social anarchy and political disorder have still not reached a point that challenges the stat's monopoly over coercive force except, to some extent, in Karachi where it has been quelled with a heavy hand. However, if the present social disorder continues, one cannot predict with certainty whether the Pakistani state will fail or not.

Therefore, as it stands now, technically the Pakistani state has neither failed nor is it in the failing zone yet...

... Traditional sovereignty is a constant in the modern era. However, the social anarchy resulting from depleting resources and a fast growing population threatens the existence of most states of the developing countries (not only Pakistan), argue the proponents of the idea of the failed state.

Pioneering the debate of failing states in the developing world, Robert B. Kaplan (The Atlantic Monthly, February, 1994) writes: "To understand the events of the next 50 years, one must understand environmental scarcity, cultural and racial clash, geographic density, and the transformation of war". ...

The state of degradation of the natural and social environment is obvious not only in the metropolis of Lahore, but remote villages of Punjab also reflect the same. Most of all, society is losing the sense of a social contract and is becoming oblivious to any 'common will' that the state is going to enforce.

Different institutions being taken over by this new urbanised peasant elite show a similar lack of a societal sensibility. This is manifest in the state's institutional anarchy, and fiscal inviability, chaos, corruption, nepotism and Darwinian economic culture are the outcomes. It cannot go on like this forever.

Either the monopoly state power will face a catastrophic challenge from as yet undefined forces and

(Contd. on page 330)

Egypt: Film Telecast Cancelled

... Egypt's state television cancelled the broadcast of a movie by Egyptian director Youssef Chahine, who was honored at the Cannes film festival...

(The movie is) "Al-Muhager" or "The Emigrant"... One of his older films was shown instead without explanation.

Fundamentalists have long maintained that "Al-Muhager" insults Islam because its leading character is identifiable as Prophet Youssef... Islamic law prohibits a graphic portrayal of any Prophet. ...

"Al-Muhager" was twice banned by Egyptian courts but the ban was repealed by an appeal court in March 1995.

... Chahine's film "Al-Massir" or "Destiny" ... recounts the life of 12th century Muslim philosopher Ibn Rushd and is scheduled to be released in Egypt in August, but Muslim fundamentalist groups warn they will sue Chahine on the ground that the movie challenges Islamic beliefs...

A Worm-Eaten Palestine?

... If a recent report in The Sunday Times, London, is to be believed, Israel ... flooded its one-time military adversary, Egypt, with cheap drugs in the run-up to the Six-Day War in 1967 and continued sending hashish across the border for the next twenty years. Curiously, the drug operation was continued even after the 1979 Camp David accords signed by Menachem Begin and Anwar Sadat, perhaps as insurance against future hostilities.

The attempt was to ensure that the drugs were bought and consumed by Egyptian soldiers in the front-line regions... The codename for the operation was Lahav, or "blade". Since the Israelis were able to seize the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip fairly easily, it can only be assumed that the supply of drugs had a debilitating effect on the fighting ability of the Egyptians.

(Source: The Times of India, 30 December, 1996)

Palestiane: Israeli Poll Favour Statehood

About half of all Israelis - the highest level ever - support the establishment of a Palestinian state, according to a poll released today. The poll, conducted by the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, also found that the number of Israelis opposed to returning any of the Golan Heights to Syria has dropped sharply in recent years to 31%.

Fifty-one percent of Israelis polled said Israel should agree to the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip in the context of a peace treaty. The poll, of 1,216 Israelis, had a margin of error of plus or minus 2.8 percentage points. Professor Asher Arian, who directed the survey, said the number of Israelis supporting establishment of a Palestinian state had inched up steadily since the annual poll was first taken in 1984. A decade ago, only 20 percent of Israelis supported a Palestinian state, he said. The poll found that 60 percent of Israelis believe Palestinians want peace, up 20 per cent from last year, Arian said...

Chronology of the Month
(16 May - 15 June, 1997)

NATIONAL POLITICS:

Congress: *Sitaram Kesri pledges loyalty to Sonia Gandhi **(21 May)**. Sharad Pawar and Rajesh Pilot stand against Kesri for presidency **(27 May)**. Kesri and Pawar offer to retire for Sonia Gandhi **(30 May)**. Pawar and Pilot issue'Secular' manifestoes **(2 June)**. Kesri wins smashing victory. Pawar and Pilot offer cooperation **(12 June)**.

*Congress faces prosecution under FCRA for omission of notice to Ministry of Home Affairs on foreign contribution of 3.75 crores **(16 May)**. Government seeks legal opinion **(15 June)**.

Muslim League: *E.S. Sait's N.M.L. supports Congress-led UDF in municipal poll in Kerala.

BJP: *BJP President L.K. Advani begins 15000 km Rath Yatra from Mumbai to mobilise patriotic forces **(18 May)**. During Yatra, Advani proposes revision of Constitution; calls upon Muslims to shed fears and join BJP; emphasises cultural nationalism and uniform civil code, reiterates "legislative" solution to Babari Masjid dispute; denounces reservation in public employment or legislature for Muslims, even a sub-quota for Muslim women. Yatra evolves mixed response. BJP attributes lack of enthusiasm to systematic blacking out by government TV and radio.

*BJP holds Muslim Youth Conventions in various places, including Delhi under its youth wing headed by Uma Bharati.

*BJP leads political and legal war against Bihar CM Laloo Prasad Yadav, seeks President's rule **(23 May)**. BJP, CPI(ML) and Samata accuse Governor of delay. Samata calls for impeachment of Kidwai **(5 June)**. BJP accuses Gujral of protecting laloo.

JD: *President Laloo Pd. Yadav accuses his rival, Working President Sharad Yadav of stuffing the electoral colleges; asserts authority to change voters list, proposes holding election & convention in Patna, nominates new embers to National Council, accuses Returning Officer conspiracy . Delhi High Court restrains Laloo from obstructing poll; Sharad Yadav refuses to withdraw. Laloo calls emergency meeting of National Executive. Delhi H.C. asks Dandavate and Jaipal Reddy to find amicable solution. Laloo sacks 5 pro-Sharad Ministers. H.C. postpones polls from 10 June to 18 June and appoints Justice Kochar to supervise election. H.C. allows N.E. meeting but bars it from postponing elections. Laloo appeals to Supreme Court. PM initiates moves to defuse crisis and avoid split. Laloo agrees to consensus candidate. HC agrees to extension of deadline if HC desires. HC restrains Kochar and stays electoral process **(15 June)**.

*15 political parties jointly demonstrate against Laloo **(28 May)**.Organise 48 hour bandh. (12-13 June)

CORRUPTION:

Bihar Fodder Scam: *Bihar CM Laloo Pd. Yadav adopts defiant posture and endorses decision of co-accused Union MOS C.P. Verma not to resign. Charges CBI with unreliability and concocting false cases. CBI clears charge-sheets in another case (RC 64) with Laloo as main conspirator. H.C. asks CBI to work out time-frame without waiting for Governor's sanction in criminal cases. H.C. asks CBI not to discriminate among co-accused in raids and detention **(22 May)**. Sets deadline of 24 June for sanction by Governor **(23 May)**. CBI names Laloo as conspirator in all 48 cases.*. CBI raids houses of 5 senior officers and 1 PA of CM in simultaneous raids **(10 June)**. I.T. Commissioner Choudhuri held **(11 June)**. 4 Bihar IAS officers remanded to CBI custody **(11 June)**. Former CM Jagannath Mishra files anticipatory bail petition **(11 June)**.* Minister Nandhari's resignation jolts Laloo **(23 May)**. Several JD leaders call upon Laloo to step down if charge-sheeted.

Hawala Case: *Arjun Singh, N.D. Tewari, M. Scindia and R.K. Dhawan dischargedby HC. (28 May) Cases against Arif Mohd. Khan, N.D. Tewari and Jakhar and Shiv Shankar also dropped **(31 May)**.

* CPI(M) asks Government to sanction appeal (15 June).

St. Kitts Inquiry Case: *Former P.M. Rao altribIUML demands separate quota for Muslim women.

utes his role to direction of former PM Rajiv Gandhi **(21 May)**. Elicits adverse criticism. Special Court discharges Rao **(4 June)**.

HDW Case: Delhi H.C. issues notice on PIL petition **(21 May)**.

Jaffer Sharief Case: *CBI submits third progress report . **(26 May)**.

Ayurveda Case: *UP Government Sanctions prosecution of ex-Minister, a close aid of Mulayam Singh Yadav **(28 May)**.

Jayalalitha Case: *Special Court summons Jayalalitha to face trial **(5 June)**

*Sharad Yadav decries politicisation of CBI, suggests separate investigation procedure for "public figures" **(18 May)**.

*PM asks States to set up Special Courts to try corruption cases **(1 June)**..

UF Government: *Congress President does not guarantee continuance of support but denies intention of immediate withdrawal **(13 June)**.

*CPI rejects idea of coalition with Congress at Centre **(16 May)**.

*Gujral inducts 4 women in Council of Ministers. **(3 June)**.

Bye-elections: *Bye-elections for 3 Parliamentary and 9 Assembly seats in 8 States/UTs pass peacefully with low turnout.

*Kanshi Ram supports BJP in East Delhi. SP supports Congress.

Human Rights: *Human Rights groups demand repeal of Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act and J&K Distrbed Areas(Special Powers Act and J&K Public Safety Act **(4 June)**.

*International Bar Association pays tributes to India for upholding human rights **(14 June)**.

Secularism: * COAS Gen Shankar Ray Choudhury gives away first Veer Savarkar Awards of private trust to defence analyst K. Subramaniam.

* Hindu Munnani approaches Governor of Tamilnadu for permission to prosecute CM Karunanidhi for offending

religious feelings of Hindu community (6 June).
* National Committee for Celebration of 125th birth anniversary of Shri Autobindo,a Hindu mystic, formed by Government of India, meets in Delhi (4 June).
* Delhi Government decides to provide financial assistance to Hindu pilgrims for Kailash-Man Sarowar (12 June).

Secular Front: *SP leader Mulayam Singh supports formation of Secular Front **(25 May)** asks cadre to abandon anti-Congress stance **(28 May)**.
*Shahabuddin pleads for national secular front to include Congress and Left parties **(26 May)**.
*Congress leader Sunil Dutt favours strong secular front.

Freedom of Information: *Press Council decides to probe favours to journalists by various authorities since 1989 **(13 June)**.

Reservation: *Women Reservation Bill moved in Lok Sabha **(16 May)**. JD leader Sharad Yadav opposes introduction and warns Government. Chandra Shekhar criticises haste Women organisations demand immediate passage **(26 May)**.Consideration deferred. **(13 June)**
*OBC Forum demand inclusion of Jats, Marathas and Reddys among OBC .
*Shahabuddin demands reservation for all social groups and then uniform sub-reservation for women in each. PM .
* BJP leader V.K. Malhotra condemns demand for reservation of Muslims in legislatures (16 May). BJP President Advani expresses determination to "spiker ... communal reservation" (17 May), calls reservation for Muslims as step towards another Partition (3 June). Challenges other parties to make issue of reservation for Muslim women (8 June).
* Cabinet approves continuance of reservation inpromotion for SC ST beyond Nov. 15 , 1997 and to take necessary legislative measures (6 June).
* AIMC G.S. Mujahidul Islam supports reservation for Muslims in employment and legislature (9 June).

Criminalisation: * Mayawati's campaign against criminals hits SP in UP, calls Mulayam a biggest gangaster in the country **(20 May)**.

J&K SITUATION:

Political Developments: *MOS Maqbool Dar pays 5-day visit to Valley to review anti-insurgency operation **(27 May)**. Sees improvement but warns J&K Government against excesses by security forces and surrendered militants **(8 June)** proposes free access of human rights groups like Amnesty **(10 June)**.
*Surrendered militants demand accommodation or else **(15 June)**. *J&K Government defends human rights record **(22 May)**.
*Governor Krishna Rao protests against assurances by H.M. Indrajit Gupta to APHC leader Yasim Malik **(24 May)**.

Insurgency: *N.C. leader G.R. Wani kidnapped and killed **(1 June)**. Army accuses APHC and militants of exploiting human rights for exerting pressure **(11 June)**. Army General's remarks considered derogatory to J&K Assembly
*Security forces claim killing Al Burq Deputy Chief Dar **(1 June)**.
*Harkat-ul-Ansar chief Salim arrested **(9 June)**.
*Authorities express concern at increasing infiltration of foreign mercenaries, largely from Pakistan, Afghanistan and Sudan **(12 June)**.
*State Government ban on Ashoora procession, ban defied, procession lathi-charged and Abbas Ansari injured **(16 May)**.
*Lone describes Farooq Abdullah as puppet of Army **(26 May)**.
*Government employees ignores APHC's call for general strike on human rights issue **(27 May)**.
* Farooq criticises Hurriyat leaders as puppets in Pakistan's hands **(3 June)**.
* Pannu Kashmir Movement does not see grant of autonomy as ending insurgency **(20 May)**.

Foreign Reaction

Pakistan: * F.M. Gauhar Ayub sees Kashmir as core issue in bilaterol relations. US promisesot Ayub to take more interest in Kashmir **(20 May)**.
*In his address to nation PM Nawaz Sharif sees results in Indo-Pakistan talks only if India recognises Kashmir people's right to self-determination **(11 June)**.

European Union: * Ambassador on visit to Valley confer with APHC leaders as well as Governor and CM.

UK: * Visiting British MOS wants end to strife in Valley (12 June) offers to mediate (13 June).

OTHER MATTERS OF CONCERN:

Babari Masjid Question: * UP Minister Dharampal Singh (BJP) reiterates the objective of BJP and BSP-BJP Government to build Ram Janambhoomi Mandir in Ayodhya and to have Gyanvapi Masjid in Varanasi and Shahi Masjid Idgah in Mathura "vacated" (16 May).
* BMMCC Convener Shahabuddin findss Bal Thackeray's proposal to declare the Babari Masjid site as a "national monument" unacceptable because if silence as make-shift temple unlawfully constructed on B.M., site whos in the Wakf. (26 May).
* BJP leader Advani rejects judicial approach and affirms BJP's will to construct Mandir if or when it comes to power (19 May).
* VHP is reported to have accelerated stone-cutting work in Ayodhya for proposed Mandir (5 June).
* VHP announces plans for Padyatras in connection with Ayodhya, Mathura and Varanasi demands.

Minorities Commission: * NCM establishes Committee to undertake comprehensive survey of minorities problems under its member James Masseg (11 June).*NMC intervences in Meerut case of marrage of Muslim girls to Hindu.

Azaan Issue: * Muslim organisations of Calcutta decide to approach Supreme Court against Calcutta High Court order banning use of PA System for Azaan (2 June). Imam, Nakhoda Masjid and 7 others houled up before HC (9 June). Sidhartha Shankar Ray files writ petition questioning jurisdiction of State authorities under the central Environment Pollution Act.

Shia-Sunni Conflict: * AIMMM asks G.S. Shafi Moonis and S. Ahmed Hashmi to contact leaders of two communities for agreement on "Azadari" without Tabarra' (17 May).
* Moharram observed all over country peacefully (18 May). Minor communal clashes reported from Meerut and Haridwar in UP.
* Abdullah Bukhari on visit to Lucknow on invitation of A.I.

Muslim Forum detained and sent back to Delhi. Shia youth demonstrate in protest. Bukhari demands lifting of ban on Azadari and threatens serious consequences otherwise (3 June).

Haj: * Haj Committee criticises management of Haj in Saudi Arabia by Consulate General of India; formulates Plan for Haj 1998 and demands facilities for assuming operational responsibilities in Saudi Arabia.

* Urdu press criticises Haj Committee for corrupt dealing with Haj Tour operators, wastage of Haj funds for TA/DA of members and staff visiting Saudi Arabia and absolute inactivity during Haj Season.

Personal Law: * Barelvi Ulema denounce Maharashtra CM's move to introduce uniform civil code in State.

* BJP leader Advani cites Goa Family Code as model for country (25 May).

Status of Ahmediyas: * JUH President Asad Madni demands declaration by GOI of Ahmediyas as non-Muslims as in Pakistan . (13 June) presides over Tahaffuz-e-Nabuwat Conference in Delhi, inaugurated by Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, Conference adopts Resolution (14 June).

* Qadiani leader Ahmed Javedpublicle demands protection of their life and property (14 June).

Cattle Trade: * Shiv Sena and Bajrang Dal activities forcibly stop cattle movement from Punjab to Bengal, to save them from slaughter (6 June).

Education: * Cabinet decides to make elementary education compulsory for children in age-group 6-14 (16 May).

JMI: * Shahabuddin proposes to HRD Minister Bommai 6 amendments in JMI Act 1988 to restore status of JMI.

* Joint Action Committee demonstrates near Parliament and submits memorandum to PM/Speaker on amendments. (16 May). Students organise demonstration and submits memorandum to UF (25 May). Students clash with police near Campus (28 May). JAC submits memorandum to HRD Minister (3 June).

* JAC calls on Congress President Kesri and gets assurance of support to proposed amendments (5 June).

* AIMMM supports amendments to restore its historic minority character (17 May).

NCM Chairman Tahir Mahmood appeals to all concerned to suspend agitation and give Authorities time to consider their demands (13 June).

* JMI appeals against H.C. order of 28 May (13 June).

AMU: * V.C. submits Annual Report for 1996-97 without approval by EC and Court and omits data relating to intake and output of academic courses and proportion of Muslims therein.

Urdu: * NC Chairman Tahir Mahmood condemns refusal of permission to 2 MLAs of UP to take oath in Urdu (20 May).* A.I. Urdu Rabita Committee organises protest Dharna in Lucknow against ban on taking oath in Urdu (25 May).

* NCM asks NCERT to clarify availability position of school textbooks in URDU (10 June).

* Eminent poet Anand Narain Mulla, former President of Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu Hind passs away (12 June).

* ICCR in cooperation with Urdu Department, Delhi University, holds international Seminar on Iqbal's Poetry and Thoughts. Karan Singh and Surendra Mohan address inaugural session (10 June).

* ATUH forms Committee to formulate proposal for implementing Gujral Committee's recommendations (11 June).

* President Sharma inaugurates birth centenary celebrations of Seth Govind Das, known for his opposition to Urdu (17 May).

State Violence: * Shahabuddin demands prosecution of all civil and police personnel indicted by CID; establishment of Special Court in Meerut and upgradual of ex-gratia relief on par with Anti-Sikh Riots in 1984 in letters to CM Mayawati (4 June) HM Indrajit Gupta endorses demands. (14 June)

Muslim Leadership: * Delhi HC reserves order on government plea to withdraw sedition case against Ahmed Bukhari (26 May).

*Mujahidul Islam pleads for common platform of all Muslim organisations. (9 June).

Indo-Pakistan Relations: * India expresses interest in purchasing 3000 MW power from Pakistan (18 May). Pakistan denies availability (20 May).* President Leghari cautions against "false euphoria" about Indo-Pakistan relations (26 May). Information Adviser to PM Mushahid Husain foresees better relations (2 June).* Bangladesh F.M. sounds possibility of hosting Indo-Pakistan-Bangladesh Summit (27 May).

* US paper discloses` deployment' of Indian missiles near Pakistan border. Pakistan sees possibility of arms race. India denies report. Pakistan draws attention of Security Council (13 June).* Pakistan P.M. Nawaz Sharif pleads for reduction in defence budget (6 June).

* P.M. Gujral determined to keep nuclear option open (31 May).

* US State Dept. praises Gujral Doctrine (7 June).

Muslim Minorities: * UK Government agrees to fund one Muslim school on par with schools run by Church (14 June).

Muslim World:

Pakistan * World Sindhi Congress supports MQM demand for recall of Pakistan army and para military forces from Karachi. (2 June).* Judicial Tribunal cals Murtaza Bhutto's assassination `extrajudicial killing ordered by high authority' (8 June). Amnesty International finds human rights situation in Pakistan grim (10 June).

Saudi Arabia: * Taliban regime in Afghanistan recognised (27 May).

Turkey: * Erbakam Government collapses under Army pressure (2 June).

* High Power official Delegation holds talks with Government of India to promote trade and investment.

Other Minorities: * A.I. Yuva Agarwal Sammelan holds national convention in Delhi (17 May).

* Punjab CM P.S. Badal forms panel to write history of the Khalsa to mark 300th anniversary of its formation by Guru Govind Singh (2 June).

Commemoration: * Birth centenary of Rafi Ahmed Kidwai officially observed in Rashtrapati Bhawan (19 May).

* 600th birth anniversary of Kabir observed in Rashtrapati Bhawan (23 May).

Obituary: * Eminent Alim Md. Umar Palanpur,% 80, passes away in Delhi (20 May).* Film-maker Khan Ishtiaq Khan, 70, passes away in Delhi (31 May).

* Thumri maestro Ustad Afzal Husain, 90, passes away in Jaipur.