

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

- * I.K. Gujral
Former Minister of External Affairs
- * P.N. Haksar,
I.F.S.(Retd.),
Former High Commissioner to Nigeris,
Former Principal Secretary
to the Prime Minister.
- * V.R. Krishna Iyer
Former Judge Supreme Court of India.
- * Rasheeduddin Khan
Former Prof. of Political Science
at Jawaharlal Nehru University,
Former M.P.
- * Khushwant Singh
Former MP, Former Editor, Illustrated
Weekly of India.

EDITOR

SYED SHAHABUDDIN, M.P.
SUBSCRIPTION RATE

Inland	
Life	Rs.1500
Annual Donor	Rs.125
Annual Ordinary	Rs.100
Overseas	
Life	US\$200
Annual Ordinary by Airmail	US\$20
Outstation Clearance Charges	Rs.10
ADVERTISEMENT TARIFF	
Outer Cover	Rs.2000
Inner Cover	Rs.1750
Full Page	Rs.1500
Half Page	Rs.750

Payable by MO/Bank Draft/
Crossed Cheque in the Name of
Muslim India Monthly
14, Janpath, New Delhi-110001.
Tel: 3782128. Fax: 3782059

REPRESENTATIVES
OVERSEAS

- U.K. Dr. Roohi H. Majid
7, Woodville Road,
London, U.W.II,
Tel: 455-6281.
- U.S.A. Dr. K.A. Mallick
810-73rd Street, Downer's
Grove, ILL 60516
Tel: (708)969-6755
- K.S.A. Aleem Khan
P.O.Box 20423,
Jeddah-21491 K.S.A.

Printer and Publisher Syed
Shahabuddin, 14, Janpath, New
Delhi and Printed at Bharat Offset,
2035, Qasim Jan Street, Delhi-
110006.

Any material may be
reproduced without prior
permission but with due
acknowledgement.

Muslim India

MONTHLY JOURNAL OF
REFERENCE RESEARCH AND DOCUMENTATION

VOL.NO.XIV NO.158

CONTENTS

FEBRUARY, 1996

*Chronology of the Month (16December, 1995 - 15 January, 1996), 94, * From the
Editor's Desk: Islamic Fanaticism and the Modern Age, 50

Banking	: Bombay Mercantile Coop. Bank's Annual Report, 1994-95.	71
Communal Riots	: Analysis of Madras Riots, September, 1995 & Editorial in The New Age, 10 Dec., 1995.	86
	: Akhilesh Upadhyay on Hindu-Muslim Riots.	87
	: Shahabuddin's Letter to H.M. on Winding up of Shri Krishna Commission, 27 Jan., 1996.	87
	: Shariq Alavi on U.P. PAC	88
Cow Question	: Note on Rajasthan Cow Service Commission & Criticism of Total Ban on Cow Slaughter.	89
	: Statistics on Eating Habits of Urban Households.	89
Economic Status	: Muslim Directors in Private Sector.	72
Electoral Roll	: Shahabuddin's Letter on Revision of Electoral Roll in Assam.	79
Education	: Javed M. Ansari on Situation in AMU & Govt. Statement on Unani Medicine.	84
	: Note on Hamdard Institute of Historical Research.	84
Foreign Policy	: K.P. Nayar on Pro-BJP Foreign Policy of PM Narasinha Rao.	92
Government	: Statements on Photo Identity Cards, Acceptance of Urdu Messages for Fax and Maintenance of Mausoleum of Shershah.	52
Hindu-Muslim Dialogue	: Iqbal A. Ansari on Hindu-Muslim Differences.	90
Haj	: Govt. Statement on Subsidy for Pilgrims. Malaysia: Haj Management System	78
Indo-Pak Relation	: Govt. Statement on Supply of Arms to Pakistan and On Maritime Boundary.	92
Kashmir Situation	: BJP: Views of M.M. Joshi on Kashmir Problem. G.S. Bhargava & Harish Khare on Kashmir.	66
	: Koka Paray: A Govt. Sponsored Counter-Militant.	68
	: Govt. Statements on Foreign Commandos & Experts & Sunil Sethi on Kashmir Problem.	69
Law	: S.C. on Financial Facilities for the Riot Affected & on Complete Justice.	54
	: Soli J. Sorabjee and Rajendra Sachar on S.C. Judgement on Hinduva	55
Muslim Institutions	: Annual Report of Salar Jung Museum Board, 1993-94.	91
National Politics	: Democracy is not the same as the Rule of the Majority: Views of Ronald Dworkin.	53
	: VHP's Hindu Agenda for Political Parties - Text.	57
	: Vidhya Subrahmaniam on General Elections, 1996.	59
	: Surendra Mohan on Muslim Voters. Rajiv Shukla on Muslims & Cong(I).	60
	: Harihar Swarup on Muslim Response to Congress Overtures & Views of M.M. Joshi.	61
	: Indian Express Editorial on Muslims as Voters & Shahabuddin's Reply, 3 Jan., 1996.	62
	: Neeraj Chowdhury on Secular Alliance to contain BJP.	63
	: Shiv Sena: Views of Bal Thackeray.	63
	: Rajni Kothari on the Third Force in Indian Politics.	64
	: Diliip Awasthi on UP Civic Elections, 1995.	65
	: K.S. Dakshina Murth on Karnataka Civic Elections, 1995.	65
Other Muslim	: Rashmee Z. Ahmed on Muslim Identity in UK.	93
Minorities	: Philippines: Establishment of Autonomous Region for the Moros.	93
Parliament	: Proceeding of the Parliament, November - December, 1995.	52
Personal Law	: Abdul Waheed on Divorce among Muslim Indians.	73
Research Institutions	: Govt. Statement on Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies, Calcutta.	85
	: Shahabuddin's Letter to MSO for Education & Culture, 22 December, 1995.	85
Reservation	: Shahabuddin's Letter to Dalit Voice on Quantum of Reservation.	77
	: S.C. on Reservation in Single Promotional Post.	
	: Shahabuddin on Reservation for Muslims: Letter to Welfare Minister, 27 December, 1995.	78
Situation Report	: Zahid Ali Khan's Memorandum to AP C.M. on Socio-economic & Educational Advancement of Minorities.	70
Urdu	: Parl. Standing Committee's Report on Maulana Azad National Urdu University Bill, 1995.	80
	: A.I. Urdu Editors Conference: Summary of Resolutions.	81
	: Bal Raj Madhok on Indianisation of Urdu.	82
	: Kuldeep Singh Arora on Urdu Press & Govt. Statement on Promotion of Urdu.	83
Wakf	: Govt. Scheme for Remuneration to Imams/Muezzins.	74
	: Shahabuddin's Statement and Indian Express Editorial Comment thereon.	75
	: Rakesh Bhattacharya on Salaries to Imams & AIMPLB: President's Statement, 23 Dec., 95.	76

Islamic Fanaticism and the Modern Age

The Islamic phenomenon call it by any name, Muslim Revivalism, Islamic upsurge, Muslim Fundamentalism, Militant Islam, Muslim Fanaticism, along the self-appointed guardians of Islam at the turn of the century have made their way to the centre-stage. Islamic activists are operating at various levels, national, and international even in Muslim minority states, they have adopted various techniques: polemics, rhetoric, political activity and even terrorism; they use many platforms: social, religious, political and academic.

Islamic activists demand the foundation of the State on the basis of the Shariat i.e. the Holy Quran and the Traditions of the Holy Prophet; the unification of the Muslim States from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the re-establishment of the Islamic Khilafat as a super-power, the gradual expansion of the Islamic Khilafat to cover the entire world, inclusion within its area of influence of the Muslim minorities in non-Muslim majority states, either with a view to protect their interests or perhaps even to treat them as the citizens of the 'Islamic state' as members of the indivisible Ummah, temporarily living in diaspora or Dar-ul-Harb. They look upon the twenty-first century as the century of Islam. All this rings a sympathetic chord in many a Muslim heart, torn between his romantic view of Islamic glory of the past and the decay and degradation of the present. For them Islam is not only a religion but a political ideology; it is not quest of piety but pursuit of power.

One can appreciate the Muslim aspiration for a Islamic polity in a Muslim-majority state, so long as the methods adopted by its proponents are democratic and peaceful, because even the best of systems cannot be imposed on a people against their will. But such appreciation creates for a Muslim, who looks upon himself as a citizen of the world, a moral dilemma because of obvious adoption of double standards. Why should not the Hindu-majority of a country like India swear by Hindutva and Hindu Rashtra and dream of a Hindu State or a Christian majority country like the UK, the USA, France and Germany declare itself a Christian State? That they may not take such a step for a variety of reasons goes without saying but certainly the Muslim has no right to make an issue of it or criticise it, if they do!

Significantly no Muslim ideologue has yet granted the right of equality to the non-Muslim citizens in an Islamic State, particularly the right to participate in policy-making or even in decision making. The non-Muslims can at best be an honourable 'trust' (Zimma) of the Islamic State, enjoying freedom to profess their religion and running their religious institution, including those related to the administration of the family code, to claim exemption from military service on payment of JIZIYA in lieu thereof and, in other matters, political, economic and social, keeping a low profile, generally behaving themselves, accepting the superiority and dominance of those who profess Islam and thus reducing themselves to the status of second class citizens! A non-Muslim is barred not only from becoming the head of the State or the Government, but even from the membership of the Majlis-e-Shoora, from the command of the armed forces,

from high judiciary, from positions of authority. A non-Muslim may be consulted but largely in matters relating to himself or affecting his community, he may even be appointed a paid official of the government but always subject to Islamic authority. The question is whether the same disabilities and limitations are acceptable to Muslims in non-Muslim majority States.

ISLAMIC IDEOLOGY IN THE AGE OF DEMOCRACY AND SECULARISM:

Fortunately we are living in the Age of Secularism and in practice the State power is being disengaged from the service of Religion and vice versa. The State does not operate in the religious domain. On the other hand, thanks to the hollowness of human existence in the industrial age. Religion is staging a come-back but it does not seek State support or assistance and does not identify itself with the State or vice versa. Thus on one hand, human society has moved a long way from the classical concept of Secularism, as the State is no longer a rival or an adversary of or hostile to religion but recognises its legitimacy as a social institution as an irrepressible inner longing of the human spirit but the state does not align itself with any particular religion - professed by the majority or the minority or any of the minorities. Religion is no longer dependant or state recognition. Call it spirituality or religiosity, it persists through the individual and permeates through the society and elevates it, gives it character, generates fellow-feeling and compassion and affects the performance of those who are in office or hold positions of responsibility or are charged in political and economic management. At least, such has become the goal and purpose of Religion in Modern State.

Muslim fanatics denounce both Democracy and Secularism because it would be illogical for them to espouse one and denigrate the other. They wish to impose Islam as they understand and define it, in both Muslim majority and Muslim-minority state and eventually combine them to transform the world order into an Islamic world order - the Khilafat. Little do they realise that the Muslims, in all their denominational variety added together, still form a minority of the inhabitants of the globe. The Muslim fanatics do not spell out how they propose to achieve their goal: whether they shall subjugate the non-Muslim states or liquidate or convert by force the non-Muslims in such States. The problem for them lies is that the medieval concept of Dar-ul-Islam was based on the factor of Power and not on the relative number of various religions (or linguistic or racial) groups which inhabited a part of the earth. This assumption is no longer valid or tenable. No minority group can force its way nor can it dominate the State, to the exclusion of others. Human spirit shall no longer tolerate dominance or subjugation or slavery.

Muslim fanatics will tell you that the Islamic model will serve mankind as a whole; that it shall treat the non-Muslim generously and equitably and that all they ask for is that non-Muslim states should treat the Muslim minorities equally well. Thus they would be quite willing to accept reciprocity

in the matter of religious minorities. Quite apart from the fact that these self-appointed guardians of Islam have not consulted the Muslim minorities, logically a Hindu or a Christian State would also make similar claims; indeed they do ("the Hindu state shall be a genuinely Secular State") and suggest re-construction of the world on the basis of reciprocity. So, finally, the right of religious minorities shall be reduced to that of the lowest common denominator - nullifying the essential concept of equality among the citizens, irrespective of religion or faith. One can only imagine the tragedy and turmoil that would characterise such a world, with each State divided along religious lines and all of them in perpetual conflict with each other!

MUSLIM MINORITIES AND ISLAMIC IDEOLOGY:

Even if the religious right of the Muslim community to maintain and safeguard its religious identity is granted, as it must be, even if the linguistic right of those Muslims, whose mother-tongue is different from the principal language of the State or the region, is granted, even if the aspiration of the Muslim community for adequate representation in public employment is legitimised and guaranteed, the national society, economy and polity cannot be bifurcated into Hindu and Muslim or Muslim and non-Muslim components. Muslim India, Hindu India and many other Indias are intertwined and interpenetrate each other and are interparable in space. Muslim Indians cannot have a parallel economy, live and function in isolation from the rest of the national society or have their own 'government', 'administration' and 'parliament'! Separatism cannot be a viable option; it is simply not feasible when the Muslims are dispersed in varying proportions throughout the length and breadth of this land of ours.

The Muslim fanatics even aspire to instal, in this age of Democracy, an 'Islamic' Government in a State in which the Muslims form a minority; their counterparts even in the USA and the UK plan to establish Muslim rule and 'restore' the Khilafat which would once again divide the world into perpetually hostile camps of Islam and Christendom and Hindutva. Amazing though it is, the bugle is sounded and the rhetoric is diffused in a Christian country because no Muslim country would allow them such freedom!

THE WEST AND ISLAMIC UPSURGE:

Even since the collapse of the communist system the West is looking for an adversary to sharpen its claws. Muslim fanaticism, real and exaggerated, comes in handy to serve its strategic objective and tactical interests. Perhaps even unknown to themselves, such fanatical forces are being supported by the West - through propaganda build-up, magnifying their role, through freedom of action on its own territory, through financial assistance, direct or indirect. This does not prevent it from coming down heavily on occasions where it faces a real threat to its interests as in Algeria. Strategically Islam is being publicised as the 'green peril', as a threat to human civilization, as a danger for world peace, as inimical to international cooperation, as a retrograde force braking the forward movement of mankind.

Islam, Muslims should know, is the Religion of Peace and Compassion; the Holy Prophet is described in the Holy Quran as the Rahmat-ul-lil-Alamin; Islam is the last Word of

Allah to mankind. Islam is universal, independent of Time and Space. So, Islam must be capable of taking into account, must be flexible enough to accommodate, the systemic changes in the organisation of mankind and the management of human society - Islam cannot be reduced to a fossil; it cannot be out of step with the march of mankind towards Peace and Freedom, towards a world order based on Democracy and Secularism; Islam cannot be hostile to Human Rights; Islam cannot condone aggression; it cannot accept colonialism or neo-colonialism or imperialism or neo-imperialism. Islam is a charter of liberation - a force to liberate mankind from all forms of oppression and dominance, the yoke of false gods as well as of human tyranny. Islam prohibits violence and coercion for its propagation and Islam envisages a multi-religious world and can coexist peacefully with other religions, within a multi-religious state or world order. There is no place for militancy or terrorism or warfare in this vision of Islam. There is space for sober discourse and civilised dialogue and not for violent conflicts.

Islam not only envisages a multi-religious world but sees it as the natural order. This rules out all forms of violence - Social injustice or economic disparity or political coercion and all manners of inequality - but also terrorism and warfare as instruments for constructing or reshaping the social order.

Fanaticism is not orthodoxy. The model of human perfection in Islam is piety nor power. It is the degree of piety one practises which takes man closer to his Creator, not the degree of power which he wields over his fellow human beings.

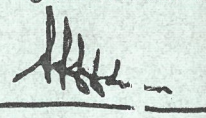
Islam does not stand for escapism and does not counsel monasticism or retreat into the forests, Islam urges all human beings to enter the world of action, in faith and good conscience.

The dilemma before the Muslim society can be resolved only by wholeheartedly embracing the principles of Democracy, the goals of a Welfare State and the concept of Neo-secularism (which is neither irreligious nor anti-religious), and by stopping to chase the mirage of the Hukumat-e-Ilahiya or unification of the Muslim Ummah and the restoration of the Khilafat. Instead the Ummah should try to build a model modern State at least in one Muslim-majority state which would combine democracy and tolerance with modern technology and Islamic morality, which would give equal treatment to its citizens, which would respect human rights and which would import austerity and accountability into governance, which would guarantee a life of dignity for all and reduce socio-economic disparities to the minimum.

This is the only permissible form of D'awa in the modern world, for Islam to emerge as the hope for mankind on the eve of the Twentyfirst century and not the ill-conceived Jihads for 'liberating' the Muslims from the subjugation of the Kafirs or for expanding the horizons of nominal Islam.

New Delhi

1 February, 1996



(SYED SHAHABUD DIN)

Proceeding of the Parliament

I - Rajya Sabha

Obituary:

P.M. Yitzhak Robin of Israel.

Kasim Ali Abid, ex-MP.

Shamim Ahmed Siddiqui, ex-MP.

Resolution:

- 15 Dec : Statutory Resolution on Promulgation of President's Rule in UP approved.
: Statutory Resolution on Extension of President's Rule in J&K for 6 months upto 17 July, 1996 approved.

Discussion:

- 29 Nov : On situation in J&K, initiated by S. Bakht (BJP). M.M. Sayeed (JD) participates. Chavan replies (4 Dec).

Special Mention:

- 1 Dec : On working of NMFDC by O.K. Azmi (JD).
: On reservation for Christian Dalits by J. Nadukhna.

Private Bills:

- 4 Dec : The Prevention of Cruelty against Women Bill, 1995, by Saroj Kharpada - introduced.
: The Reservation of Posts for Women in Government Service Bill, 1994, withdrawn.

II - Lok Sabha

Obituary:

22 Dec : A.A. Rahim.

Papers Tabled:

- 24 Nov : Annual Report (AR) of Lalit Kala Akademi, 1993-94.
: AR of Sangeet Natak Academy for 1993-94.
6 Dec : A.R. of Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, for 1993-94.
: A.R. of Indian Council of Philosophical Research, 1993-94.
8 Dec : A.R. of Export Promotion Council for Handicrafts for 1993-94.
13 Dec : A.R. of AMU for 1993-94.

President's Assent to the Bills:

- 28 Nov : The Wakf Bill, 1995.
: The National Commission for Minorities (Amendment) Bill, 1995.

Matters under Rule 377:

- 29 Nov : On need to provide unemployment allowance to unemployed youth - H. K. Prasad (Samata).

Govt. Bills/Resolutions:

- 28-29 Nov : Discussion on Resolution of Approval for Promulgation of President's Rule in UP. Approved (21 Dec). Salman Khurshid and Hannan Mullah participate. Adopted.
19 Dec : Resolution on Extension of President's Rule in J&K upto 17 July, 1996, moved by H.M. Chavan. Adopted (22 Dec).

Private Member's Bills:

- 1 Dec : Further discussion on the Constitutional

Government Statements

On Photo Identity Cards

... Guidelines have been issued to the State Governments/Union Territories to the effect that while they may use photo identity cards as one of the methods to expedite verification before issue/renewal of ration cards, they should continue with other means of verification also. We have advised State Governments/UT Administrations that no consumer should be denied issue of a ration card only on the ground that he/she does not possess photo identity card.

(Source: Minister of Civil Supplies, Consumer Affairs & Public Distribution, GOI Letter No. 3(2)/95-PD.I-6 dated 29 December, 1995)

On Acceptance of Urdu Messages for FAX

... The complaint has been investigated. The C.T.O., Incharge refused to accept Urdu Fax message due to a misunderstanding on his part. He mistook Fax messages to be telegraphic messages. Necessary instructions have since been issued to the officials concerned to accept Fax messages in any of the Indian Languages in addition to English. Inconvenience caused to the press and public is regretted.

(Extract from P.S. Saran, Member (Services), Telecommunications Commission, Dep't. of Telecommunications, Govt. of India's Letter No. 2508/95-T-1 dated 1 January, 1996 to S. Shahabuddin)

On Mausoleum of Shershah

The Mausoleum of Shershah at Sasaram has been subjected to massive encroachment. The total area under protection is 52.80 acres and the area under encroachment is 2.90 acres.

In the South Eastern corner of the tank a temple was constructed illegally during 1981.

The area under protection around Mausoleum and the tank has been fenced.

The State Government has been requested to remove the encroachment. The Archaeological Survey of India is also pursuing court cases against unlawful encroachments.

The court cases against the unauthorised constructions made by Bal Vikas Vidhalaya and others are pending in a court of law.

The expenditure incurred during the last three years is as under:-

1992-93	Rs. 2,51,696.00
1993-94	Rs. 95,063.00
1994-95	Rs. 49,438.00

(Source: LSUQ No. 3442 dated 19 December, 1995 by S.

(Amendment) Bill, 1992 moved by Shri Reddiah Yadav. Mumtaz Ansari (JD) participates. Adjourned.

: The Reservation for Economically Weaker Sections of the People (Higher Education and Public Employment) Bill, 1992 moved by S. Shahabuddin (Samata). Discussion not concluded.

'Democracy is Not the Same as the Rule of the Majority'

Views of Eminent Jurist Ronald Dworkin

... Sometimes the society as a whole can't have what it wants. The majority can't have what they want because there are individual rights. In the US it is often said the people have rights but the community itself has rights. And individual rights must yield to the community's rights. In my view it's the same thing as denying that an individual has rights. So when I say take rights seriously what I mean individual rights are trumps over the community's well being. ...

I am in favour of what is sometimes called an activist supreme court.... Democracy is not the same thing as majority rule and the fact that the judge is unelected does not mean the system which gives them power is undemocratic...

... I believe in law and rule of law. But there are certain issues which the courts can't handle and shouldn't try. I make a distinction... between what I call policy and principle. Policy matters like how you allocate funds the courts are not well equipped to handle. But we have to distinguish them from the questions of principles about the standards of individual rights and the society's commitment to its legal system and tradition.

And when such issues arise, I think, the courts are the proper forum. I don't mean the legislature shouldn't also consider them. There is nothing exclusive about this but these are the appropriate things the courts shall speak about because they are the guardians of principles for the nation.

... Looking from the outside it seems to me you have a classical confrontation between two big ideas. One is that religion should not play any role in the politics of a pluralistic society and that's very deeply important principle.

And second, equally important, is the freedom of speech. There can be no limit on the ideas that can be expressed as part of political campaigns. Now these two ideas confront one another and this is a classical case when a verdict, a philosophical kind of reasoning is necessary. You have to ask analytically what these principles are. You have to think more which principle should yield to which. To me it is a legal issue understood philosophically.

... When issues like this are sent to the court it's good for democracy.

... It's put on the agenda as an argument of principles. If you put it on the agenda through politics then it's a different argument altogether. Then what matters is who has the votes.

... No one has a right to claim benefit of affirmative action or reservation. It's not a matter of entitlement. It's not a matter of compensation. It's a matter of policy...

My argument is these policies amount to what is good for the nation as a whole, for the community as a whole and not individuals. What I am saying is anyone doesn't have a right to this...

... You have to be careful in claiming rights when they don't exist. When the affirmative action programme began people said well. Whites also have rights, the majority has rights too. If you have two candidates for a position in a law school and if you score very high on a test that doesn't give you a right to claim that position. If you are very tall you may play in the university's basketball team but that doesn't give you a right to claim a position in the team. To my mind this really is a question of what they society needs as whole and my view is given the racial division of the American society, some programmes of this kind are necessary.

However, you have to be careful because you would not like to create a backlash or a resentment. In this case it's better not to talk about the rights on either side but talk about what is good for the society as whole given the historical background...

(Source: The Times of India, 13 January, 1996)

Views of Subhash Chandra Bose

India has had experience of several Empires in the past and this experience will furnish the background on which we shall have to build in future...

The state will guarantee complete religious and cultural freedom for individuals and groups and there will be no state-religion. In the matter of political and economic rights there will be perfect equality among the whole population. When every individual has employment, food and education and has freedom in religious and cultural matters, there will be no more any minorities problem in India...

(From the article "Free India and her Problems" first published in the German periodical, Wille und Macht (August 1942) and reprinted in Azad Hind, official publication of Berlin's Free India Centre)

Supreme Court

On Financial Facilities for the Riot Affected

Harjit Singh v. Union of India

Article 14 - Bank loans to riot victims - Reduction in Interest rate - Government/Reserve Bank of India directed to extend benefit to those victims who obtained loan from other financial Institutions - Spirit of circular is to benefit riot victims - No discrimination.

A tragic event - beyond belief - in the history of India took place on 31st October, 1984 when Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister was assassinated... The inflamed feelings resulted in the breaking out of riots, large scale arson, looting, systematic violence, and attacks on Gurudwaras. Many families became homeless, lost their kith and kin and bread-winners... Government agencies subsequently went about assessing damage and providing of aid to the affected persons etc. for resettlement. Accordingly... petitioners were ... provided with loans from banks which would subsequently be converted into grants so that they could start life afresh.

... Contrary to the assurances... banks ... started initiating ... processes for recovery of the amounts advanced.

This step by the Banks, petitioners allege, would render them destitutes... The right to livelihood is part of right to live...

As regards the discrimination with regard to reduction of interest rate to riot victims... this is a human problem. Humanity is above law. The petitioners are ... in plightful state. To them, the language of humanity must be spoken.

The benefit of the circular will have to be extended vis-a-vis, the loans advanced by the financial institutions, having regard to the circumstances in which the petitioners are placed. The spirit of the circular is to help the petitioners. Therefore, it could hardly matter whether loans are from the Banks or financial institutions. To us, it appears, the failure to refer to the financial institutions, is an inadvertent omission. The prayer is just and reasonable. Accordingly, the Court directs the Union of India as also the Reserve Bank of India to include all financial institutions in the definition of 'banks' - both State and Central - in its 'Central Interest Subsidy Scheme for November, 1984 - Riots Affected Borrowers'.

(Source: AIR 1994, Supreme Court 1433)

It is as if the Government is saying, if you want to become a Hindu, we have something for you. If you want to become a Muslim or a Buddhist, we will give you something. But if you want to become a Christian, sorry.

- **Bishop Vincent Concessao,**
Convener, National Coordination Committee for
SC Christians in The Asian Age

Supreme Court

On Complete Justice

In re: Vinay Chandra Mishra (the alleged contemner)
KULDIP SINGH, J.S. VERMA AND P.B. SAWANT,
JJ.

Constitution of India, Articles 142, 129 - Powers of Supreme Court under Article 142(1) - Cannot be diluted by statutory provisions....

... The jurisdiction and powers of Supreme Court (SC) under Article 142 which are supplementary in nature and are provided to do complete justice in any matter, are independent of the jurisdiction and powers of the SC under Article 129 which cannot be trammelled in any way by any statutory provision including the provisions of the Advocates Act or the Contempt of Courts Act. The Advocates Act has nothing to do with the contempt jurisdiction of the court including of the SC and the Contempt of Courts Act, 1971 being a statute cannot denude, restrict or limit the powers of the Supreme Court to take action for contempt under Article 129. It is not disputed that suspension of the advocate from practice and his removal from the State roll of advocates are both punishments. There is no restriction or limitation on the nature of punishment that the SC may award while exercising its contempt jurisdiction and the said punishments can be the punishments the Court may impose while exercising the said jurisdiction. ...

(Source: AIR 1995, Supreme Court 2348)

Press Council Reprimands 12 Papers

The Press Council of India has reprimanded 12 newspapers published in various languages for violating journalistic ethics and other guidelines... The newspapers include Nakkheeran of Madras, Rashtra Deepika of Ernakulam, Dopehar Ka Saamna, Saamna, The Daily, Suvvy, Nav Shakti, Samachar all published from Mumbai, Sandesh of Ahmedabad and Gharrahat of Aurangabad....

Dopehar Ka Saamna was reprimanded for publishing news items blemished by obvious overtones. The newspaper did not verify the facts from the complainant, the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Special Branch (I), CID, of Mumbai before publishing an exaggerated figure of casualties and arrests of Muslims.

In the complaint moved by the DCP, Special Branch (I), CID, Mumbai against Saamna, a Marathi daily, regarding publication of an editorial titled "Shaitancha Sukravar", the Council was of the view that the writings had offended the sensibilities of the Muslim community and had the effect of creating the two communities.

The Daily failed to observe the council's guidelines while publishing a front page news item 'Street namaz on December 6... At any cost' in its issue of 24 Nov., 1993. The Council noted that the news item was published without checking the facts and that the clarification issued by the Raza Academy was published in a remote corner without any expression of regrets/apology.

Soli J. Sorabjee on Supreme Court Judgement on Hindutva

The Supreme Court judgements in the election appeals of Shiv Sena-BJP alliance candidates are of far-reaching significance. ...

The Court rejected the contention that appeal to religion must be a direct one, such as "Vote for A because he is a Hindu" or "Do not vote for B because he is a Muslim or Christian". It held that the substance of the speech and the manner in which it is meant to be understood by the audience determines its nature, and not the camouflage by an artistic use of the language.

The Court also repelled the contention that an election speech making an appeal to religion is not prohibited unless it prejudicially affected public order because the underlying purpose of the section was to ensure that the religion of a candidate cannot be used for gaining political mileage. The Court, however, clarified that mention of religion as such in an election speech is not forbidden. A speech with a secular stance alleging discrimination against any particular religion and promising removal of the imbalance cannot be treated as an appeal on the ground of religion. In other words, religion is not a dirty word nor is mere reference to it during election campaigns taboo. This part of the judgement is unexceptionable.

Section 123(3) was challenged on the ground that it violated freedom of speech guaranteed by Article 19(1)(a)... The Court ruled that the restriction was covered under the head of 'decency' which expression indicates "that the action must be conformity with the current standards of behaviour or propriety". The Court did not limit 'decency' to sexual decency. It held that an appeal for votes should not be made on the ground of the candidate's religion which by itself is no index of his suitability as a member of the House and doing so in a secular State, is against the norms of decency and propriety. ...

In view of the powerful emotions which are generated by religion in our country and its divisive consequences and the vital importance of free and fair elections, the Court has struck the right balance between competing constitutional values with pragmatic realism.

A vexed issue before the Court was about the meaning of 'Hindutva' and 'Hinduism' and the effect of the use of these expressions in election speeches. After referring to previous Supreme Court judgements, the Court ruled that no precise meaning can be ascribed to the terms 'Hindutva' and 'Hinduism', and in the abstract these expressions cannot be equated with narrow fundamentalist Hindu religious bigotry because "ordinarily 'Hindutva' is understood as a way of life or a state of mind". Consequently, a mere reference to

'Hinduism' would not automatically attract the statutory prohibition. It is the kind of use made of these words and the meaning sought to be conveyed in the speech that would determine whether a particular speech falls within the prohibition. **The Court warned that any misuse of these terms would be dealt with strictly.**

On a theoretical plane and in the abstract the Court's conclusion may be justified. But what is overlooked is that the use of these expressions... by candidates of political parties whose stance is manifestly hostile to the minority communities, especially the Muslims, inevitably acquire a religious or rather anti-religious complexion. The Court overlooked its earlier caveat that public speeches during election campaign ordinarily are addressed to "audience comprised of common men and therefore, the manner in which it would be understood by such an audience has to be kept in view". It would be utterly unrealistic to believe that the persons who heard speeches extolling Hindutva from candidates of Shiv Sena-BJP alliance would regard them as an exposition of the way of life of the Indian people and the Indian culture of ethos.

The worry is that the Court's observations are likely to be used by certain political parties to circumvent the statutory prohibition by recourse to well-dressed speeches which espouse Hindutva in the abstract but whose covert purpose is to secure political mileage by appealing to religion. One must rest content with the hope that courts will exercise the utmost vigilance in discharging the additional burden they have undertaken in discerning the dividing line between permissible and prohibited references to 'Hindutva' and 'Hinduism' in election speeches. ...

... It is difficult to agree with the Court's ruling that Mr. Joshi's statement that the first Hindu State will be established in Maharashtra is by itself not an appeal for votes on the ground of his religion but "the expression, at best, of such a hope". Surely one cannot express hopes which are anti-secular. Suppose the hope expressed was that in future India would be populated only by persons belonging to the Hindu religion. Or suppose a religious missionary were to hope that in the next decade all Indians would become Christians or Muslims. Such expressions have a strong religious tone and are anti-secular. The Court should not have stopped short at expressing its disdain and describing the statement as despicable but should have held it to be a corrupt practice. It is tragic that a person making such a 'despicable' statement continues to head the Government in Maharashtra.

(Source: *The Secular Democracy*, January, 1996)

Rajindra Sachar on Supreme Court Judgement on Hindutva

The judgement of the Supreme Court... permitting in the elections the use of word 'Hindutva' or even an appeal for setting up a Hindu State is a great set-back to the Secular philosophy of our Constitution.

The Supreme Court, set aside the judgement of High Court by holding that it was fallacy to assume that a speech in which reference is made to Hindutva or Hinduism must... necessarily amount to a corrupt practice under Sub-section (3). It also held that mere use of the word 'Hindutva' or 'Hinduism' or mention of any other religion in an election speech does not bring it within the net of sub section (3).

The Court explained its conclusions by expounding in great detail the various shades of meaning of the word 'Hindutva' & 'Hinduism'. If this meaning of "Hinduism" was to be explained in a theological treatise or in the philosophic content, no exception could be raised.

But the problem is that the Court was dealing with the matter in the context of electoral corrupt practice. Moreover, the cases relied upon by the Court were distinguishable as they did not deal with the election law.

It is quite patent that when Mr. Joshi talked of establishing Hindu State, he was in no way trying to inculcate the spirit of tolerance or spreading the message of Dr. Radha Krishnan as to what should be the rightful view of life of Indians. He was fighting an electoral battle and directly asking for votes on the plank of Hindutva from an audience mainly of Hindus. He was unmistakably indicating that Hindus will have a special exalted place as against other religious groups. The audience, I have no doubt also understood the speech in this mundane and self-serving purpose. The Court itself was conscious of it when it commented that the speech has also not to be construed in the abstract or in the manner in which it would be conceived after an academic debate. This was also consistent with the view expressed in earlier judgements that the effect of a speech is not to be tested when it is argued in the cold atmosphere of judicial chamber, but rather to the effect on the mind of ordinary average voter. It had also cautioned "that inhibition of Sec 123(3) should not be permitted to be circumvented indirectly or by a circuitous or subtle devices".

... If a Hindu candidate can thus avoid the disqualification by quoting the philosophic content of Hinduism, the same result must follow if an appeal is made by a Muslim group in the name of Islam. ...

... On the analogy of the decision in Joshi's case it would be permissible for a Muslim candidate to ask for a vote on the ground of Islam by arguing that he is asking for vote not on the ground of his religion but on the

ground of philosophy of peace and surrender to God which also is philosophy of Bhagwat Geeta. If that be the result, Section 123(3) will become a dead letter. ...

In my view to equate Hindutva as synonymous with Indianisation is to do violence to the ethos and elan of India which is an amalgam of multi-religious and multi-cultural flowers with distinctiveness of each but yet forming one harmonious garland giving out a sweet fragrance of the principle of unity in diversity. In that context it is well to emphasise sagacious words of Dr. Radha Krishnan that "no-one religion should be given preferential status or unique distinction and that no one religion should be accorded special privileges in national life". Gandhiji was even more direct when he said "separate religions - Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism are different paths converging on the same point. Allah of Muslims is the same as God of Christians and Ishwar of Hindus". I fear that this judgement may be used by communal parties as a license to invoke religion in electoral battle. After all we cannot forget that the wanton demolition of Babari Mosque was the mischief of the so-called followers of Hindutva and of slogan shouting rabble "Say it with pride that we are Hindus".

It is essential therefore that law should be amended immediately to make it clear beyond doubt, that mere asking for vote by a candidate on the ground of his religion whether Hinduism, Islam, Christianity or Sikhism etc. will be deemed to be asking for vote on the ground of religion and would be a corrupt practice within Section 123(3) of the Act. This must be done before the next General Elections in 1996.

(Contd. from page 83)

non-Urdu readers. After the communal riots in Bombay, a group was constituted which undertook the job of translating positive writing in Urdu and other languages particularly Marathi and Gujarati. These translations were syndicated and supplied free of cost to other newspapers.

... The impact of Urdu Press on the Muslim community... was immense because the members of this community take as gospel truth every word printed in the Urdu Press... More should be done to educate the community for ensuring their ... development - social, educational and economic.... The Central Government's 2.5% advertisement budget for the promotion of the Urdu Press was not adequate. According to the Registrar of Newspapers for India (RNI) Urdu newspapers are 388 (registered)... As the country's process of modernisation gets further accelerated and the general perception about Urdu language changes, the Urdu Press is bound to do better in the year ahead.

(Source: The Hindustan Times, 20 November, 1995)

VHP's Hindu Agenda for Political Parties - Text

Vishwa Hindu Parishad presents this Hindu agenda before the political parties to salvage Bharat and the Hindu nation unfortunately surrounded by inimical forces and innumerable difficulties to ensure just human rights to the vast community of 80 crore in their homeland. It is the duty of every political party in the country to promise to safeguard the interests of the national mainstream, i.e. Hindu samaj (Sanatam, Buddha, Jain, Sikh panths etc.)

In the forthcoming Lok Sabha elections we want the parties to promise the following agenda:

1. Hindutva and nationalism in Bharat are synonymous. Hindu Samaj is undisputably the main current of Bharat. Hindu interest is the national interest. Therefore, the honour and the interests of Hindus will be protected in every manner.
2. Every nation has a constitutional denomination. Only "Bharat" which has ancient, glorious and historical connotations will have constitutional recognition.
3. The patriotic Hindus all over the world aspire to construct a magnificent temple at Shri Ram Janmabhoomi in Ayodhya in accordance with the model approved by the revered saits. The Janmabhoomi complex will be immediately handed over by enacting a suitable legislation to Shri Ram Janmabhoomi Nyas which is in the forefront of Shri Ram Janmabhoomi awakening and is recognised as such by Hindus all over the world.
4. The holy campuses of Shri Krishna Janmasthan at Mathura, and Shri Kashi Vishwanath temple, Gyanvapi at Varanasi which were desecrated and remodelled by foreigners will be immediately handed over to the Hindu samaj by enacting a suitable legislation.
5. Slaughter of cow and its progeny shall be completely banned throughout the country by enacting an effective legislation and made a rigorously punishable offence.
6. Gau-seva ministries will be formed at the Centre and the States to protect the environment, natural ecology and agro-economy, for establishment of self-reliant village-oriented economy, to foster and develop the national species of cow and its progeny, for production of natural and organic manure and to enhance the production of milk, butter, ghee and yogurt, etc., and to utilise the tremendous ox-power in national interest.
7. The anti-national activity of religious conversion of Hindus by force, fraud or false propaganda by exploiting the innocence and poverty of backward communities will be strictly banned.
8. All foreign remittances to non-Government agencies, social, religious or service organisations or individuals will be stopped, so that the money and material so received is not misutilised for religious conversion and other divisive conspiracies.
9. A uniform civil code will be promulgated throughout the country to check inequality, imbalance, injustice, atrocities on women and to stop the malpractice of polygamy.
10. Abortion and female infanticide which promote immorality and female persecution will be banned. More stringent penal provisions will be made against rape and kidnapping of women. Firm steps will be taken to check the scourge of dowry system.
11. Article 370 of the Constitution, which smacks of a separate Balkanised identity of Kashmir from the rest of the country will be scrapped. The restriction on sale and purchase of property in Kashmir by Bharatiya citizens will be abolished.
12. The Kashmiri migrants will be honourably rehabilitated. Their properties will be restored and the deprived families will be compensated. Adequate arrangement for their security will also be made.
13. Secessionist demands and propaganda in Kashmir or anywhere else in the country, or indulging in violent activities will be ruthlessly repressed. Secessionist demand will be a strict penal anti-national offence.
14. Terrorism results in untold sufferings to the people of the country. Therefore, the very source, whether internal or external, will be uprooted by determined action of the Government.
15. The special rights and privileges granted to the minorities will be made available to all sections of the society to end inequality.
16. Universally recognised, well developed and scientific language, Sanskrit, will be made a compulsory subject of study throughout the country.
17. Mother-tongue will invariably be the medium of primary education.
18. Teaching of Bharatiya culture and dharma will be made compulsory.
19. The status of second official language accorded by certain States to Urdu in foreign script will be withdrawn.
20. The distorted presentation of modern, social and cultural history of Bharat will be got rewritten by honest, patriotic and learned historians and archaeologists. The teaching syllabus shall be accordingly reformed.
21. Singing of Vande Mataram everyday will be compulsory in all educational institutions.
22. Pooja, archana and religious construction activities of maths, mandirs and ashrams will be deemed a charitable activity and will be entitled for exemption from income-tax.
23. A specified portion of Government revenue shall be earmarked for various dharmic, charitable objects of

- the tax-payers.
24. Efforts will be made at Government level to spread and develop Ayurveda and other indigenous medical systems.
 25. Government interference and control on pilgrim centres, maths, mandirs and ashrams will be removed and they will be made autonomous for proper management.
 26. Pilgrimages shall be made tax free. Ministries shall be established at the Centre and in the States to restore the glory of pilgrim centres and to develop them as also to facilitate and encourage pilgrimage.
 27. Drinking and non-vegetarianism will be discouraged by the Government. All meat export from the country will be banned. All big mechanical abattoirs will be closed.
 28. Vigorous efforts will be made for immediate expulsion of all those who have infiltrated into Bharat after January 1, 1970. Country's borders will be impregnable guarded and sealed. Identity cards will be issued to the residents of bordering areas.
 29. Pervasive arrangements will be made for the cleanliness, piety and glory of religious centres and rivers.
 30. Terrorist and anti-national activities will be ruthlessly crushed by appropriate legal provisions.
 31. Any denigration of, or disrespect to, any faith including Hindu culture, belief or tradition, or any venerated character, by audio-visual, written or spoken means will be a penal offence and strictly enforced.
 32. National economic policy will be based on swadeshi and self-reliance.
 33. It shall be the moral duty of the Government to protect the religious and cultural rights of non-resident Bharatiyas living in neighbouring and far off countries and to develop their dharmic, cultural and social relations.
 34. Non-resident Bharatiyas will be treated as Bharatiya citizens.
 35. The old and glorious historical names of towns, roads and places will be restored.
 36. Prominent Hindu festivals will be declared national holidays.
 37. The rights and privileges accorded to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes will be withdrawn on their conversion.
 38. In view of the unimpeachable historical, literary and archaeological evidence, the Places of Worship (Special Provision) Act, 1991 shall be suitably modified/repealed.
 39. Minority commission and similar partisan institutions will be abolished.
 40. Recruitment in armed, paramilitary and police forces on communal lines will not be permitted.

(Source: The Organiser, 4 February, 1996)



Cinkara, a non-alcoholic health tonic full of vitamins and minerals extracted from herbs. Assimilates in the system naturally.

It helps you :

- Overcome fatigue ● Resist infection ● Increases stamina
- Improves mental performance ● Cures anaemia during pregnancy.

So, for you and your family's year round good health and happiness, go for Cinkara.



Two spoonfuls. Twice daily.

GET MORE OUT OF LIFE - WITH CINKARA

AKSHARAHML - 2582

Vidya Subrahmaniam

On the Coming General Elections, 1996

... No one can say for certain what will click with the electorate, much less predict who will combine with whom to defeat whom. Worse, not one political party can boast of a better record in office than its rivals, not one can speak with conviction of its programmes, policies or principles and not one is even remotely confident of crossing the half-way mark.

This singularly dismal outlook explains the massive manhunt for allies. It explains too the poverty of ideas on the slogan front... The three main political formations, the Congress, the National Front-Left Front combine and the Bharatiya Janata Party are equally placed and who races to the top will depend on who wins the crucial allies...

On to strategy and slogans. Stability would appear to be the most obvious Congress platform... And yet he is unsure of the saleability of "stability". The tragedy of the Congress is that neither Mr. Rao's amazing durability nor his daring economic initiatives have quite neutralised the perception that his government is permanently in hibernation; that no calamity will move it - not the Ayodhya mishap, not the Bombay blast, not the electoral setbacks, not the scams and scandals, not even the security scares. This drawback could upset calculations even on a good day; it could be fatal in this age of niche-marketing, when caste and religion-specific parties have neatly carved up the party's once-assured upper caste-Muslim-Dalit base.

The NF-LF's potentially winning slogan "equity and equality in all spheres" cannot make even the minimal impact as matters stand. The Front bristles with leaders, each of whom is an autonomous decision-making entity... The BJP's winning card in 1991 was its splendid isolation; while the uniquely put together Hindutva campaign worked at the emotional level to unite the fragmented Hindu castes, the party's ostensible concern for clean politics won the grudging admiration of even those not sold on Hindutva. It was, indeed, the party with a difference. But no longer... And as is evident from the results of the 1993 assembly elections - the BJP lost all but one seat from Faizabad district - the Ayodhya card has been played to the hilt: (BJP) is, however, convinced that in time the elections will crystallise into a referendum on Indian nationalism...

Assuming the absence of a wave, the electoral arithmetic points to a hung House. As of now the Congress seems destined to draw a blank in Bihar and UP, its pursuit of the BSP notwithstanding. Having emerged from the ruins of the Congress, the BSP is unlikely to want a return to the past. In M.P., Haryana, Orissa, Punjab and Karnataka, it can hope to win a maximum of 50% of the seats, even less should its

opponents decide on seat adjustments. In Maharashtra, much will depend on how much flexibility the high command allows Mr. Sharad Pawar. The prognosis is uneven in Rajasthan and HP but certainly promising in AP, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu and the North-East. In any event the party would be lucky to finish with a tally of 180.

Both the NF-LF and the BJP are critically dependent on UP to deliver them the status of the largest single party. Janata Dal ideologue Surendra Mohan asserts that even without UP, the former can manage about 157 seats (60 to the JD from Orissa, Karnataka and Bihar, seven to the AGP, 30 to NTR and 60 in all to the LF). There is an element of exaggeration in this, but should the JD succeed in forming a united front with the SP and the BSP, the situation will alter dramatically; the troika will sweep UP, helping the NF-LF to cross the 200 mark.

It is a make or break situation for the BJP too. The maximum that the party strategists can account for, UP included is 202 (15 in Bihar, 20 in Gujarat, 14 in Karnataka, 28 in MP, 18 in Rajasthan and 70 in UP). But as can be seen, even this estimate is wide of the mark. The party has suffered an erosion in base both in Bihar and Karnataka since the 1991 elections, its ranks are hopelessly split in Gujarat and it is inconceivable that UP should deliver a bounty of 70. Take away UP and the party stays where it is. Even a "save the nation" wave can only marginally alter the scene, as the entire south, barring Karnataka, is out of bounds for the party.

Each formation will no doubt try to finish at the top of the heap. But it must be equally prepared for the runners-up title.

(Source: The Times of India, 3 January, 1996)

(Contd. from page 70)

to Telugu and English medium schools to offer Urdu as second language in place of Special English.

- xi) The Government of Andhra Pradesh may coordinate with the Central Government for procuring funds for strengthening and diversifying the activities of A.P. State Minorities Finance Corporation, A.P. Wakf Board, A.P. Urdu Academy, A.P. Minorities Commission etc.

It is expected that the present Government... which had demonstrated its concern for the welfare of minorities... by initiating a series of measures for their welfare will consider the proposals with sympathy... A challenging job, requiring meticulous planning and efficient execution... it is worth taking up as the rewards are expected to be equally magnificent.

Surendra Mohan on Muslim Voters

The Congress party... has decided to concentrate its efforts on winning back the favour of the large Muslim community which it has been losing progressively since the late 1980s. Even the cold reception which the Prime Minister received in Bareilly a few months ago, and the protests mounted by some organisations of Muslims in Kanpur recently on the occasion of the visit of the Union Home Minister have not depressed them.

The welfare minister, Mr. Sitaram Kesri, took the first step by announcing his support to extend reservations in public employment to all Muslims...

... The gimmickry involved in the whole exercise is therefore quite obvious...

The Prime Minister has been trying to get the Imams of the mosques to favour the Congress party by promising them salaries from the government exchequer...

Wooing of editors of periodicals published in Urdu and Urdu writers is yet another ploy to influence the Muslim electorate.

The major theme employed by Congress leaders in such conferences is that the saffron brigade can be defeated only by the Congress. But, the response of the Muslim electorate has been to vote for the parties of the third alternative to roll back the communal challenge.

It is instructive in this context to look at the local bodies election results in UP. Though the Muslim community was known to favour the Samajwadi Party and it was felt that the BSP had lost its clout because of its shortlived alliance with the BJP, the Muslim vote went to the latter in Meerut, Ghaziabad, Aligarh and Agra. In Rampur, a stronghold of the Samajwadi Party, they favoured the Janata Dal candidate. But, in most areas in central and eastern UP, they showed their preference for the Samajwadi Party.

The same was the case in respect of the elections to the Bihar state assembly, where Syed Shahabuddin, Abdul Ghafoor and Yunus Saleem... left the Janata Dal barely nine months before the elections...

In several states, particularly MP, Gujarat, Maharashtra and even Karnataka the number of Muslim legislators has gone down. In Gujarat and MP, not a single Muslim candidate won in the last general election. This concern is heightened by the experience that the Mandal formula for reservation has not helped the Muslim youth from backward communities in the absence of further categorisation of the OBCs on a rational social basis. The inclusion of Buddhists in Maharashtra among the SCs and the demand for the same in respect of Christian dalits have activated similarly situated groups among Muslims...

It has not been realised that the community has been the mainstay of our small industrial sector and the closure of half a million units in this section has accelerated unemployment and even destitution in large sections. Educational backwardness is an equally serious problem. So is the slow pace of social reform, which has to be accelerated by the community itself.

The Muslim community's collective feelings of hurt and humiliation on the destruction of the Babari mosque and the riots in Mumbai, Surat and ten other cities following it have still to be assuaged. Instead of trying to buy the support of the Imams or influencing Urdu writers and scribes or making hypocritical offers of reservation, leaders of the Congress party would do well to ponder over some of the real problems that the Muslim community is faced with.

(Source: The Times of India, 19 January, 1996)

Rajiv Shukla

On Muslims and Congress(I)

... If Rao was under the impression that the Muslim religious leaders being wooed had faith in his leadership, he has been proved wrong - grievously wrong. For, as the events have proved, nothing could be farther from the ground reality. It is not at all surprising that even a large section of Congressmen strongly disputes these claims, and believes instead that far from winning over Muslims the party's strategy has been achieving quite the contrary.

The party's critics see the Kanpur incident as just another instance of the Muslims' profound abhorrence of the Congress led by Rao and, even more so, of Chavan whom they hold personally responsible for the Babari Masjid demolition.

What an irony, then, that just at the time when the wounds the demolition inflicted on the Muslim psyche were beginning to heal, the gentlemen should have arrived to the sound of anti-Rao slogans to protest against Chavan's 'presence'! Suddenly a subject that, for the moment at least, had been forgotten was revived, till everybody was talking about how deeply Rao had alienated about how deeply Rao had alienated the Muslims. For the message of Kanpur's Muslims was one more powerful reminder to the community, countrywide, that the Congress under Rao was not to be forgiven...

As Anwar says, the Muslims of India hold Chavan directly responsible for failing to protect the Babari Masjid. As the country's home minister, they feel, the least Chavan could have done was to have accepted moral responsibility for the incident - and here we nearly had him acting as Rao's goodwill envoy! ...

(Source: The Sunday Observer, 7 January, 1996)

Harihar Swarup on Muslim Response to Congress Overtures

The UP unit of the Congress has been propounding a very dangerous theory of alienation of Muslims from the... party... that Pakistan's ISI has spread its net in the most populous State of the union and are inciting Muslims to adopt an anti-Congress stance.

It is a serious matter if the belief of the UP Congress leaders is corroborated by reports of intelligence agencies...

Compared to the plight of 'Mohajirs' (in Pakistan), the Muslims in India have been better off. They enjoy all the rights and privileges, have equal opportunities in educational institutions, government and private jobs, politics and the judiciary. The Congress party has been repeatedly accused of pampering the minority community. Muslims have a say in the affairs of the State, having representation in State and Central Ministries. Added to this, there is a demand for reservation in jobs for 'backward class' Muslims...

Whatever may be the basis of the UP Congress leaders' fears about the role of the ISI, the coming elections may see the worst-ever communalisation of politics. A frenzy is already building up which will inevitably be reflected in the campaign. Sadly, some of the prominent Muslim leaders in the Congress have been playing the worst type of the communal card for petty and short-term gains... Muslim communalism will fuel Hindu sectarianism and this type of situation has the potential to take the country on a disastrous course... There was a time when the Congress and other secular parties had Muslim leaders of stature who could rise above petty and sectarian considerations. But there is a big void now.

Muslims rightly feel aggrieved at the destruction of the Babari Masjid, which might have been saved, had the Centre acted decisively. Regrettably, even after the decade's worst vandalism neither the government nor the Congress took convincing steps to assuage the hurt feelings of the Muslims.

There was also sharp differences among the senior leaders on the question of tendering an apology to Muslims. While Mr. Arjun Singh... called for such a gesture, Prime Minister Narasimha Rao, Home Minister S.B. Chavan and several members of the working committee were opposed to seeking forgiveness of the minority community.

In the absence of any perceptible step to heal the wounds, the Muslim community gradually moved away from the Congress. The non-BJP parties, instead of assuaging the feelings of the Muslims, further fanned them. This is, perhaps, the reasons that repeated attempts of the Congress leaders to woo Muslims fail...

Concerned at the apathy of Muslims, the Congress leaders have decided to draft three Union Ministers - Ghulam Nabi Azad, Salman Khurshid and Sibte Razi - to visit minority-dominated areas and try to assuage the hurt feelings. The Ministers would have to face the wrath of

the community but it would be a big achievement if they can win over a section of Muslim votes. They would do well to talk more about the Congress ideology and its commitment to secularism rather than eulogize the Prime Minister. Muslims react sharply the moment they shower praise on Mr. Rao.

A high-powered committee, headed by Mr. Karunakaran, set up by the AICC to go into the reason of the party's debacle in 1993 UP Assembly elections, has made certain noteworthy revelations. It reached the conclusion that **"the perception of Congressmen is that the Central leadership is not interested in reviving the party in the State".** ...

But for whom would Muslims vote? Obviously, they are not going to cast their votes for the BJP candidates, though their anger, at the moment, is more against the Congress. They may prefer Mulayam Singh Yadav's party or the new alignment which may soon emerge in UP...

(Source: The Patriot, 7 January, 1996)

BJP: Views of M.M. Joshi on Muslim Indians

Varanasi and Mathura are not on agenda of the BJP today... For the Ram temple we have our own strategy for it. We have always said we will build it through a legal process. There has been an acquisition (of the land) and cases are pending in the Supreme Court. We have to make a statute for it... The BJP resolution has always been either through mutual consent or by legislation, but not through litigation.

Muslims in India... do not worship Ram as a god, but they consider him their hero. How can any Muslim in this country say Ram does not belong to this country or that he does not respect Ram? Even Iqbal said he is Imam-i-Hind. Every Indian shares the heritage of Shri Ram. It is one of the monumental blunders of Indian political leaders to tell Indian Muslims that they have no relation with Ram and they have relations with Babar.

... Every Indian shares the heritage of (the country), right from the Vedas down to today. Muslims are part and parcel of the great Indian heritage. I do not consider them as minorities. The biggest blunder which has been committed by politicians, and which Muslims have accepted, is that they are minorities. ...

On October 12, I addressed a conference of our minority cell, in Aligarh, right on the doorstep of Aligarh University. I said here is an institution which spread this concept, that Muslims are a different nation. I am here again to say that they are not. They are part and parcel of this great nation, they are Mohammediya Hindus... Large numbers of Muslims have realised that a serious mistake has been committed by their leaders. It is not a question of what percentage of (Muslim) votes I expect... I am more interested in (making) Muslims consider themselves part and parcel of this great national heritage, that they do not consider themselves minorities...

(Source: The Sunday Observer, 19-25 November, 1995)

Muslims as Voters

Editorial, *The Indian Express*, 2 Jan., 1996

The Congress' failure to organise the ... Ahmed Raza memorial conference in Kanpur because of the violent reaction from a section of the Muslims is a setback for the party's attempt to woo the Muslims in UP. The efforts are in recognition of the disenchantment of the Muslims with the Congress after the demolition of the Babari Masjid. In the elections held after that, he Muslims have not only voted against the Congress but have even gone to the extent of casting their lot with the Shiv Sena-BJP combine in Maharashtra. Naturally enough, the Congress hope of returning to power hinges on how much support it gets from the Muslims. Since the community is believed increasingly to vote en masse, it is thought to be in a position to tilt the balance in several constituencies. However, appeasement of the Muslims has to be ruled out as it can antagonise a section of the majority community. The PM's visit to Bareilly to lay a chadar on the tomb of Imam Raza, where he announced a new train between Bareilly and Ajmer, the recent increase in the Haj quota from 20,000 to 50,000 and the move to raise the salary of the imams show how keen the party is to regain its influence over the Muslims.

While electoral compulsions persuaded Mr. Narasimha Rao to ask his Home Minister to attend a religious gathering in distant Kozhikode and some of his senior colleagues to open a dialogue with eminent Muslim scholars, it does not redound to the credit of the community to let an impression gain ground that it can be influenced in this manner. The Muslim tendency to vote more as a community than as individuals might have helped them in the past to secure some concessions, but it has also stigmatised them for their supposed herd mentality. That is why political parties have come to see them as vote banks which can be cultivated at the time of elections and then forgotten... While the interests of the community are important, there are other considerations to go by such as the reputation of the contestants and the record of the various parties. Such an approach has no place for either appeasement or fatwas.

Shahabuddin's Reply to The Indian Express,
3 January, 1996

Please refer to your editorial "Muslims as voters" in your issue of January 2, 1996.

Despite the contention of political Pandits, the fact remains that the Muslim Indians have never voted as a national vote bank for any political party, at least since 1971, which can be cultivated at the time of elections by the political party and then forgotten. The fact is that in as many as 80-100 Parliamentary constituencies, their votes are decisive if they choose to vote unitedly and massively but they do not because they are asked by the

After the Storm

Editorial, *The Times of India*, 29 Nov., 1995

... This is the first time since the 1993 assembly elections that the SP and BJP are facing each other independently, both having in the interim entered into successive partnerships with the Bahujan Samaj Party. If the BJP's motive in breaking up the SP-BSP alliance was to splinter the anti-BJP votes, its pact with the BSP was premised on the calculation that the additional support of the Dalits would make its position invincible. ... However, it would be premature to read too much into these results; certainly they cannot be taken to portend a landslide for the BJP in the Lok Sabha polls. For one, these elections were limited to the urban areas, which are anyway known BJP strongholds. Secondly, the SP will not be alone for long; the realignment between the various non-BJP centrist parties is still far from over and a clearer picture of what obtains on the ground will be available only closer to the general elections.

... Should the JD-SP combination succeed in reducing even by a third the BJP formidable tally of 50 Lok Sabha seats from UP, it will have won half its battle. For, a scaled-down presence in UP will make the BJP's fight that much more difficult in the other states. Reports suggest that in addition the Janata Dal and Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav are independently exploring unofficial seat adjustment possibilities with the BSP and the Congress. In ... arithmetical terms, the Janata Dal, with a 12 per cent vote in the last assembly elections, is, of course, competent to take the place of the BSP...

The Third Front constituents are increasingly toying with the idea of a loose arrangement between all non-BJP parties... No two leaders in the Third Front will agree on a one thing and this includes a common electoral strategy.

vote brokers to vote for a particular party in the whole country or at least in a State. Also because in Muslim concentration constituencies, a large number of Muslim candidates try their luck, some at the behest of those political parties which would like Muslim votes to be divided and not to be effective against them.

In my mind, there is no clash between the interests of the community on one hand and the reputation of the candidates and the records of the parties on the other. The interest of the community demands that communal parties should be shunned as well as ineffective candidates. The Muslim community, as a religious minority, has no option but to support the secular parties, but not necessarily the same party if it wishes to contain the forces of Hindu communalism and chauvinism. At the constituency level, it must vote massively and unitedly for the candidate, **whichever his party**, who is in the strongest position to defeat such forces.

Neerja Chowdhury on Secular Alliance to Contain BJP

The explicit message of the civic elections in Uttar Pradesh cannot be missed - that the BJP has retained its vote bank, the Congress is even less in the picture than it was and that the SP, the BSP and the Janata Dal will have to come to some kind of an electoral understanding if they are serious about winning the country's largest State, which has determined fortunes in the Delhi durbar.

The BJP understands this only too well. Its leaders are aware of the potency of the SP-BSP-JD cocktail. That is why there was a toning down of the initial euphoria about the BJP victory. The message could not have been lost on Mulayam Singh. His decision to join hands with the Janata Dal, after having talked tough for months, coincided with the civic poll results. ...There are implicit messages emanating from the recent elections in UP (at least from whatever information is available so far) which may have a bearing on the evolution of poll combinations and party strategies in the weeks to come.

After the Gujarat developments, the results have acted as a tonic for the disheartened BJP cadre...

The results have also belied the apprehension that the BJP's decision to back the BSP government would cost it the support of its traditional upper caste vote bank... winning eight out of 11 corporations (directly elected mayors) has been a positive affirmation of support by the upper castes for the party in the State's urban areas... The upper castes have in all probability become a transferable vote bank for the BJP.

There is a growing realisation among the Brahmins, Rajputs and Bhumihars of the State that the BJP needs the additional support of other communities for it to romp home and they may have to take a back seat (temporarily) for the restoration of power (to them).

This could compel the BJP to field a larger number of candidates belonging, say to the Dalits, backward and intermediate castes like the Jats, Kurmis, Lodhs, Nishads, Kolis and dhobis, in the coming elections in an attempt to win them over by putting up a fellow castepersons, who with the vote of the upper castes, would ensure the party victory. ...Mayawati's stint as chief minister has increased the Jatav aspirations for political power...

The BSP, however, has lost ground in eastern UP and the Bundelkhand region and its desertion by the Kurmis is one reason for its defeat...

The Kurmis have suddenly become quite crucial in UP in the forthcoming electoral battle. The Muslims obviously swung to the BSP in western UP because they saw it as a potential winner against the saffron force and this was only one example of the Muslim behavior in the election.

Their first preference was for a Muslim candidate (they also voted for Muslims put up by the Congress in some places) and then for one who was best placed to

defeat the BJP. They did not vote automatically for the SP as expected. ...

The recent poll results are bound to give an impetus to new combinations. One possible scenario is the coming together of the Janata Dal, the SP and the BSP, which would give the BJP cause for worry. A section of the JD, including V.P. Singh, favours such an alliance. ...

The JD leaders may try for seat adjustments with the SP on the one hand and the BSP on the other, not unlike the arrangement they had evolved with the BJP and the Left, which considered each other untouchable, to facilitate "one to one contests" and prevent the division of votes.

Scenario two is what Ajit Singh is working on and that is to go in for a tie-up between the Congress, the BSP and the "Apna Dal" recently floated by Kurmi leaders.

Scenario three is the reunification of the two Congress factions with Sonia Gandhi playing an active role in bringing this about, but this does not seem to be on the cards.

Scenario four is the Tewari group making common cause with Mulayam and the JD. There are efforts in this direction... A three or a four way division of votes, however, would ultimately benefit the BJP. With its 34 per cent votes in the State, it can comfortably romp home just as the Congress did for years, provided the rest are divided.

(Source: The Indian Express, 4 December, 1995)

Shiv Sena: Views of Bal Thackeray

"I would not allow NRI Sindhis in Hong Kong to settle down in Bombay after 1997, when the British colony will pass into Chinese hands.

"The Sindhis should not expect too much of Bombay's leader if they are looking for a place to settle after 1997, and have not yet acquired a passport.

"We have our own problems. This is not an orphanage, neither what you call a dharamshala (free shelter), where whatever people are kicked out from the rest of the world should come and get settled here".

"When they were over there, did they ever think of us and the problems we are facing? The catastrophe we are facing? The drought? Did they come to donate? When there was an earthquake, nobody helped anybody".

"When the Chinese come to Hong Kong, you will run to me. That's human, you will be happy (to be here) despite my terrorism, my so-called bully-dictatorship. You will be much happy because you will be getting freedom from me". ...

(Source: The South China Morning Post)

Rajni Kothari on the Third Force in Indian Politics

... As the Congress goes down, the national polity faces two completely opposite models, one presented by the BJP and the other by the "third force". Common to all three of them is one striking failure, namely of providing an institutionalised structure that could give to the country a viable model of governance in which party organisation on one hand and issues to be addressed by the incoming government on the other play their respective roles. ...

... At present... while there is agreement on almost all aspects of policy and in respect of the issues that the State ought to be dealing with - more so than in the past - there is a striking erosion of basic consensus that cuts across parties. The agreements seem to be on populist measures - from social policy based on Mandal to an economic policy increasingly emphasising employment and poverty eradication. There seems to be little consensus, however, on the institutions and procedures through which these agreements are to be pursued, the structure of power through which they are to be carried through.

... All parties and alliances are found to be increasingly engaged in tearing each other apart, tearing one's own party and alliance apart, with a growing loss of trust or faith among so-called "allies" and all of them being subjected to increasing incidence of factionalism. There is evidence of delinquent behaviour on all sides, with Mr. George Fernandes supporting Mr. Nitish Kumar and his pro-BJP politics, with Ms. Mayavati engaged in breaking the BSP to pieces, both caste-based and otherwise, the Gujarat BJP moving away from the RSS line and engaging in all kinds of skirmishes, the Telugu Desam making the family a basis for factional disputes while politicians like Ms. Jayalalitha are found to be using national chauvinist appeals... each taking the system further and further away from one based on a functioning party system.

The Congress is found to be operating without the "Congress system" that had given it a distinctive role in the national polity, the BJP is found to be increasingly operating without an integrative ideology and leadership while the "third force" and the arguments made out for creating a third force appear to be too transitional, temporary in respect of the time-frame within which it is conceived, too much based on expediency and ad hocism, always aiming more at numbers and less at carving out a political process, let alone producing politics that is purposive.

The basic challenge that the "third force"... is facing is how to avoid the pitfalls of both 1977 and 1979 when all it could achieve was produce a catch-all party and

1989-90 which was based on bringing together parties opposed to the Congress but which had nothing much in common (despite some refreshing new thinking on social policy as well as aspects of economic development).

This time around, the effort to produce an alternative to the Congress and the BJP seems to be once again based on a negative identity, doubly negative on this occasion, namely at once non-Congress and non-BJP but nonetheless negative in terms of what the "third force" is opposed to rather than what it stands for, giving rise to a fresh macro-structure of alignments and producing a truly functioning alternative.

It could well be argued that the very broadening of identity that one is opposed to could produce an effort that has a better ideological meaning than was the case under the earlier essentially anti-Congress mould of thinking... For this to work there is need to conceive the idea of an alternative to the Congress and the BJP in terms of a new exercise in party-building.

Unfortunately it is precisely here that the third force seems to be lacking. What is being visualised is the opposite of any "party-building" exercise, the very conception of a third force being the opposite of building a coherent party or even a well-knit coalition of groups and factions... In its very conception, the third force seems to be loose, fragmented, pluralistic, broad spectrum, diffuse and ideologically ambivalent.

It could well be that for these very reasons the new model might work as it would be more in keeping with the kind of pluralistic polity that the nation needs at this point of time. But for this to happen a completely different set of ideas of organisational behaviour will have to be accepted and worked towards, the very opposite of what the BJP model or the CPI(M) model provides for.

The resulting system that is likely to emerge will be based on three competing coalitions and shifting alliances - left of centre, right of centre and centrist, with a variety of regional constellations and social structures appropriate to each. It is the uncertainty inherent in such an effort that leads to a lurking desire among many to continue with the Congress and its dominance, no matter what the social cost and the further erosion of the democratic political process that this may entail.

Indeed, if the Congress survives, it will be precisely for this very reason. Increasingly the Congress's appeal is becoming negative because nothing else seems likely to work. But of course its continued loss of legitimacy, ... in the minds of the common man, makes this an increasingly unviable proposition.

(Source: The Hindustan Times, 5 January, 1996)

UP Civic Elections, 1995

Analysis by Dilip Awasthi, India Today,

31 December, 1995

... The party's impressive victories in the Uttar Pradesh local-body elections, apart from reiterating the party's hold on urban areas, has once again focused the spotlight on the politics of the communal divide in the state. True, none of the religious hysteria witnessed in the 1991 and 1993 assembly elections was in evidence during the run-up to these polls, yet the party was able to manage a decisive verdict in its favour in most areas.

... For the first time - for 627 key positions in local bodies, including the mayors of 11 Nagar Nigams - political parties fielded candidates under their party banners. It was also the first time that voters were directly electing their mayors...

In the absence of any compelling religious issue, and also anticipating a backlash owing to the BJP's support to the short-lived Mayawati government, SP leaders had reckoned that the BJP's hold over the voters was on the wane. In retrospect, this turned out to have been a terrible miscalculation. Not only did Mulayam Singh Yadav's party fail to make any dent, the BJP, despite the internal rebellion that had gripped the party, proved it was still strong enough to defend its citadels, winning eight of the 11 mayoral elections, 83 of the 197 posts of chairpersons of Nagar Parishads and 102 of the 419 chairpersons of Nagar Panchayats. The party also won 430 of the total 830 ward seats in the 11 Nagar Nigams. In comparison, the SP managed to get just one of its candidates elected as mayor - in Moradabad - while in Allahabad, it shared the post jointly with N.D. Tiwari's Congress which too had supported Independent winner Reeta Bahuguna. It won just 27 seats in the Nagar Parishads and 45 in the Nagar Panchayats, besides 138 ward seats in the 11 Nagar Nigams... The BSP, which had ruled the state until three months ago, and the Congress(I), the Janata Dal (JD) and the Tiwari Congress were virtually wiped off the slate...

While the BJP leaders' elation is justified, the party can scarcely afford to be overconfident. Results of local elections are rarely a true indication of the way in which the electorate will vote in the general election, primarily because in local elections individuals matter more than the parties they represent. That perhaps explains the impressive victory of an unprecedented number of Independents who took more than half the key posts. While only one Independent was elected mayor, they still won 68 posts in the Nagar Parishads and 230 in the Nagar Panchayats, more than the BJP's tally. They also secured 48.5 per cent of the votes polled to become the single largest group in these elections. ...

UP Civic Polls, 1995

Party Position

	Nagar Nigam	Nagar Parishad	Nagar Panchayat
Independents	1	68	230
BJP	8	83	102

Karnataka Civic Elections, 1995

K.S. Dakshina Murthy,

The Hindustan Times, 11 January, 1996

... As per provisional results announced by the State Election Commission, of the 147 civic bodies which includes four corporations and 143 municipalities, the Janata Dal(JD) has won a majority in nearly 90. The Congress follows next winning about 36 bodies while the BJP has managed to corner power in just eight civic bodies. Even Independents are in a majority in some 13 places.

The JD has also secured a majority in Gulbarga, Mysore and Hubli-Dharwad corporations, while Independents dominate Belgaum corporation. Overall, of 3,276 wards elected, the JD has 1,291, Independents 1,134, Congress 767, BJP 399, Karnataka Congress Party 63, CPM 8, CPI 10 and State Farmers' Assnociation 4.

In the final reckoning, the JD hopes to take over power in at least 120 bodies with the help of Independents. Elections have been put off in Dakshina Kannada and Bangalore city following unsure law and order conditions. ...In the Assembly elections of December 1994, the JD had won a simple majority getting 116 seats, the BJP 40, Congress 35 and the Karnataka Cong. Party 10. Later, however, half of KCP MLAs joined the JD and eight Independents expressed support to the ruling party. A couple of months after the Assembly polls, the JD repeated its performance with the BJP and the Congress still coming in second and third in polls to the panchayats across the State. ...

That the Congress has managed to upstage the BJP despite the fact that dissidence still continues to dog the State leadership is viewed with some satisfaction in party circles. The BJP, however, is the biggest loser with observers placing the blame on a complacent State leadership which has gone adrift in the absence of concrete issues. So much so, even mofussil towns and cities which were thought of as BJP strongholds have turned down the party, much to its shock.

Former Chief Minister S. Bangarappa's tenuous hold over the State seems to be slipping further with his KCP not winning even a single civic body. His nuisance value to the Congress is a debatable point at this stage.

The victory of large number of Independents who as a bloc come second in the overall ranking is attributed to local factors which is understood to have played a dominant role at the hustings.

(Source: The Hindustan Times, 11 January, 1996)

SP	1	27	45
BSP	1	8	22
Congress(I)	-	6	12
Congress(T)	-	1	4
Janata Dal	-	4	-
Others	-	-	4
Total	11	197	419

G.S. Bhargava on Kashmir Problem

... If the BJP identifies alienation of the people of the State with terrorism to be put down by force, Justice Tarkunde has tended to overlook the vitiation of the autonomy movement by violence and terrorism. He has demanded "a minimum offer" of "full autonomy, as visualised in the Instrument of Accession signed by the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir on October 26, 1947", before the elections. According to him, such an offer may placate "the people of Kashmir" to give up their demand "for the right to secede from India".

... The "minimum offer" suggested by Justice Tarkunde as a prelude to the proposed elections will amount to rewarding the failed militancy.

... The Government has not set any preconditions for participation in the proposed elections like disowning past involvement in violent activities and renouncing violence formally....

Voices will be raised by the critics of the Government against such accommodation of former rebels. But that is the charm of the democratic system despite its inherent risks....

It is a pity that Justice Tarkunde and his associates have not acknowledged the significance of the Government gesture. Nor have they formally noted that there has been no corresponding reaction by Mr. Yasin Malik and other Hurriyat leaders. They have not even emphasised the need for the Hurriyat leaders to renounce violence and to ask their followers to cease violent activities for generation of a conducive atmosphere for negotiations...

Without the Hurriyat leaders renouncing violence "the minimum offer of full autonomy", suggested by Justice Tarkunde, will become a bargaining chip with the different parties outbidding each other even before committing themselves to eschew violence and participate in the elections... Whatever be the support of a part or group on the ground, it can enter the race in extremism, without any constraints of responsibility or commitment to India's territorial integrity....

The Hurriyat... has vowed not to allow the elections to be held. Instead of an election, it wants the Centre to have a dialogue with all parties, irrespective of their representative character and attitude to India's sovereignty over Kashmir. First, resistance to elections, per se, and determination to prevent them cannot be squared with their profession of commitment to democracy. Secondly, such a dialogue will be a free for all and may lend respectability to recourse to violence for political ends... The Prime Minister, for his part, has pledged the Government's willingness to discuss autonomy short of independence.

It will be a different matter if a party or combination of parties wins a majority in the Legislative Assembly,

forms the government committing itself to function within the confines of the Constitution and then negotiates with the Centre on the basis of the Prime Minister's offer of a return to the 1974 agreement. It will have the weight of representative character tempered by responsibility....

Kashmiri leaders, whatever be their persuasion, have to bear in mind that the concessions they seek from the Centre, however, legitimate, have to be acceptable to the people in the rest of the country and pass muster with Parliament. It is as vital as any future dispensation in Srinagar meeting the aspirations of the people of Ladakh and Jammu within the State and being acceptable to them. So the "dialogue" proposed by some Hurriyat leaders can take place and be productive only after the elections when the adherents to the democratic method are separated from the protagonists of gun culture and when the following ... of the different parties has been tested democratically.

(Source: The Indian Express, 30 December, 1995).

BJP: Views of M.M. Joshi On Kashmir Problem

... What steps (are) taken to abrogate Article 370, then we will successfully root out militancy from the state...

By administrative steps, using security and paramilitary forces, it cannot be soft-pedalled. So we will take adequate, strong steps, to give them a clear and loud message that it is the Jammu and Kashmir government's writ which runs in the state, and militants cannot dominate the political scene anymore.

Then we will create normal conditions. All those who have been forced to get out of Kashmir will be sent back to their homes. Political activity will be restored. Developmental activity will be restarted. Elections will be held. But no promises like anything short of azadi or packages like pre-1953. Kashmir is an integral part of India and the only parties in this are Indians; neither Pakistanis nor anybody else.

Kashmir.. is an Indian problem and has to be sorted out between Indians.

Recent package announced by the Prime Minister will further loosen the bonds between India and Kashmir. It will be one step towards secession.

The opening of the Hurriyat bureaux in Delhi is wrong. The government should not have permitted it. They are not a recognised political party, and then they are openly propagating secession. Sitting in Delhi, they will propagate everything anti-Indian. Everybody knows that Hurriyat is backed by Pakistan.

(Source: The Sunday Observer, 19-25 November, 1995)

Harish Khare on Kashmir Problem

... The Indian State... continues to attend to all... civic and collective arrangements which constitute the political and constitutional order - notwithstanding the daily dose of violence. Anyone who cares to plod through the monotonous publicity material will discover that the Government of J&K continues to find - even if fitfully - the time and resources for mundane chores like social welfare, rural development, education, mid-deal meal scheme, Integrated Infrastructure Development Projects, etc. etc.

It is this uninterrupted performance by the Indian State infrastructure that gives the political groups (and their armed supporters, in and out of the Kashmir valley) the requisite elbow-room to switch on and switch off the agenda of contentions. This switching called Kashmir problem because the actors in and out of the valley have to necessarily engage others' attention to produce a "crisis" or a "solution".

However, the situation is never entirely "frozen" even in the valley - the ... snow notwithstanding. For one thing, the armed groups keep on clashing among themselves when they are not taking on the security forces. ... At the other end of the spectrum, the Cong(I) is organising in Jammu a two-day "political training camp", with an intent to identify and educate potential candidates. Almost half the Union Cabinet - including, Dr. Manmohan Singh, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, Dr. Balram Jhakar, Dr. Jagannath Mishra - is slated to be there.

The ruling party's camp is the clearest indication that Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao, has not yet given up the hope of going through the election process in Jammu and Kashmir, some time in February. The Election Commission itself is keeping an open mind on the question of the feasibility of a free and fair poll in the troubled State; after it was seen as exercising a veto power over the election process last November, the Commission may be reluctant to say 'no' one more time to the Union Government. What is more, Governor... Krishna Rao, is equally determined to see to it that the electoral process does not suffer from the 1987 precedent, when the ruling National Conference was seen as thoughtlessly and needlessly engaging in rigging.

For the record, the Union Government remains committed to the Prime Minister's November 4 statement from Bukina Faso. That statement contains an undertaking that it shall be the endeavour of the Government to strengthen, within the framework of the Indian Constitution, the autonomy of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, mindful of the people's aspirations of the three regions - as envisaged in the 1975 agreement.

Not much came out of the November 4 initiative because Dr. Farooq Abdullah, National Conference leader, believed that the President of India was competent to make the change in the nomenclature, without the

benefit of advice from an "elected" State Legislature... Dr. Abdullah had the political argument that if the President/Parliament of India had the constitutional competence to erode the autonomy of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, surely the same competence could be availed of in restoring a bit of that autonomy. Behind these conflicting legal arguments was the basic question of trust. Could Dr. Abdullah be trusted? Could Dr. Abdullah trust "New Delhi"?

It is here that the international actors become relevant - that is, besides Pakistan and its various subversive agents. The intention of the Western countries and the United States, in particular, have to be doubted, especially in the context of the hostages being held by the Al-Faran group... Reports suggest that the Al-Faran is staging a facade to enable the Western experts to gain access to groups and individuals in Srinagar and other parts of the Valley. ... The hostage crisis has been used to gain a "toe-hold" in the valley. It is widely believed that the American diplomats and "experts" have established extensive contacts with various militant groups as well as other political elements in the valley. Whatever else these Americans may or may not have achieved, their activities have certainly added to the atmosphere of distrust and suspicion. At the same time, both the U.S. and Pakistan have lost credibility in the valley.

It is slowly dawning upon the separatist-activists that Pakistan is in no position to intervene decisively in the standoff between the votaries of Azadi and the security forces. The U.S.'s intentions too are matter of considerable debate within the militant camps - will the Americans be inclined to jeopardise the economic interests and concessions they have secured from the Narasimha Rao regime just to help the Kashmiris achieve their goal of "Azadi"?

It is in this context of growing suspicion that a part of the Jammu and Kashmir Congress is said to be getting excited about "co-opting" those militants who have "surrendered". Mr. Gulam Rasool Kar, J&K the Congress(I) chief, is said to have argued that if these ex-militants were to provide the "muscle" to the National Conference, what was wrong with the Congress(I) also taking advantage of their capacity to match the militants' guns. ...

By the reverse logic, the National Conference has also come to entertain considerable doubts about the Congress(I)'s intentions. In Dr. Abdullah's worldview, if the Centre is not going to help him become the chief minister/Wazir-e-Azam then why should he help the Prime Minister/Congress(I) in an enterprise that is likely to yield political dividends at home and diplomatic results abroad? The bane of too much of cleverness is finally catching up with all the actors.

(Source: The Hindu, 24 December, 1995)

Koka Parray: A Government Sponsored Counter-Militant

... Koka Parray, chief of the Ikhwan-ul-Muslimoon, a militant group with a difference... (is) fighting for Kashmir's "liberation" not from India, but from the pro-Pakistan Hizbul Mujahideen and the Jamaat-e-Islami. And in Parray, New Delhi and the army have found a useful ally.

... From their base in Baramulla district, Parray's men are moving into parts of Anantnag and Srinagar - areas dominated by the Hizbul - and forcing them to flee. Neither the army nor the civil administration, however, is willing to go on record about Parray...

... The (Ikhwan) is doing for the Government what the administration in Kashmir can't. And Parray doesn't don kid gloves. Last fortnight, he wrote threatening letters to the editors of four leading Urdu and English published from Srinagar; the newspapers remained closed for five days. That is, till Parray decided that they could resume publication...

When militancy first took roots in 1989, Parray was a JKLF activist, having undergone training in Pakistan. Later he joined the pro-Pakistan Ikhwan-e-Muslimeen, from which he was thrown out late last year. After he chose to surrender, Parray is said to have come under the influence of Indian intelligence agencies... Admits a senior official in Srinagar: "Irrespective of which agency is using him, he is playing a very useful role by taking on the pro-Pakistan outfits."

Sponsoring Parray could prove to be a wrong gamble. Just eight months into his new role, he has transgressed his brief but is not being checked. (Ikhwan) is not only alleged to be involved in extortion and looting, his men also run an illegal trade in timber and precious walnut wood right, under the nose of the district administration and the security forces. Rows and rows of trees... have been reduced to stumps...

Political observers in the Valley warn that the strategy to encourage Parray could backfire if and when polls are held. For, even though Parray denies that his group will contest the elections, it is widely believed that he will field his men as independents. In fact, one factor the Centre considered while deciding to hold polls - until the Election Commission decided otherwise - was that Parray would get people at least those in his turf, to participate. The idea was to make the voter turnout look slightly more respectable than it otherwise would have been...

The prospect of Parray's men entering the Assembly is disturbing to many. Warns state CPI(M) chief Yousuf Tarigami: "The political vacuum should not be filled by lumpen elections." His view is shared by state PCC(I) chief Ghulam Rasool Kar. "The army's support to Parray is a dangerous game..."

Being used, however, does not seem to faze Parray. He has carefully cultivated his image in his stronghold.

By keeping the Hizbul at bay, he enjoys some level of popular support... Also, he holds a durbar every Thursday where he doles out money to the poor and to families who have suffered at the hands of the Hizbul.

With Parray at the forefront, the security forces have been making inroads into areas which hitherto were in the control of the militants. Today Parray has not only brought large parts of Baramulla and Anantnag under his jurisdiction, but has also started moving into Srinagar. In fact, he effectively controls the functioning of all major hospitals in Srinagar... Doctors and nurses at Soura report to work on time for fear of reprisals from the Muslimoon. For the same reason newspapers print any statements issued by the outfit...

That Parray has changed the contours of the militant movement in Kashmir - and made himself a force to reckon with - is beyond doubt.

... "What the Government may be overlooking here is that they may be creating another Bhindranwale.

For the time being... the man is obviously a threat - not just to Pakistan and its game plan for Kashmir but to other militant and even political groups...

... In the end, the Government will have to ensure that he remains what he started out to be; a surrendered militant willing to play the Government's game. Otherwise, the Centre may one day wake to find it has created yet another enemy and - opened yet another front. Adding only to the complexity of the Kashmir problem.

(Source: The India Today, 15 December, 1995)

Government Statement on Kashmir Issue

In the recent months different ideas and suggestions have been made by various persons and groups on issues like autonomy for J&K. On 4th November, 1995 the Prime Minister made a Statement...

There have been diverse reactions, among various sections of the people, political groups and in the media to the Statement... The Government have continued to maintain that it is open to dialogue and discussions with various individuals and groups with the aim of building up an environment, and further consolidating the improved situation in the State, so that peace and normalcy can be restored and a democratic and representative Government brought about through free and fair elections at the earliest. Such dialogue and discussions could also include issues pertaining to the question of autonomy... The Government shall continue to follow this approach and pursue its efforts towards achieving the above objective and there shall be no let-up in the efforts in this regard.

(Source: LSUQ No.3537 dated 20 December, 1995 by C. Patel)

Sunil Sethi on Kashmir Problem

... As happened during the height of the insurgency in Punjab, part-time militancy has become a paying vocation for unemployed and disgruntled youth. When there is nothing better to do, one way of getting rich quick is to start playing with guns.

Countless Kashmiri families are beginning to crack up under the strain of six uninterrupted years of militancy. They are fed up, they feel trapped, and they don't see any way out. The worst affected are people in the tourism business; that sad line - up of empty houseboats on the lake in a constant reminder of their blighted future. ...

If Kashmiris are so sick and tired of what they're going through, people outside the Valley invariably ask, and if they so badly want a normal life, why won't they come out in hordes like the people of Punjab and vote for a new life? For years the answer to that question used to be that it was because the Kashmiris, more than most Indians, have been remorselessly betrayed by elections stagemanaged by New Delhi; and also because they were ruthlessly exploited by the capricious alliances forged between not one, but two, dynasties since Independence - the Abdullahs and the Nehru-Gandhis.

Now there are interesting shifts in the answer that make it, if more problematic, then also fascinating. More than (ever before) most shades of Kashmiri opinion, and that too after Charar-e-Sharif, tend to favour India as opposed to Pakistan. All manner of ordinary people - shopkeepers, policemen or housewives - seemed to shudder inwardly at the thought of joining their Muslim brethren across the border... The cry for azadi has peaked.

Kashmiris at the vanguard of the political leadership made no secret of it at all... Even those golden oldies of the Hurriyat Conference - that ragtag alliance that claims to be the voice of the people yet fails to speak in a singular voice - such as Prof. Abdul Ghani and Abdul Ghani Lone, who used to be thought of as pro-Pakistan, have now tempered their views. They are no longer against the return of Kashmiri Hindus.. when their younger colleagues openly speak of that exodus as a grave injustice. Today, the only common but vaguely - defined demand among Kashmiri leadership is the right to determine their political future.

A couple of things determine the shift in attitude: most Kashmiris are Sunni, the essence of Kashmiriyat is Sufi, a tradition seriously at odds with the fundamentalist doctrine dominant in Pakistan. It is one reason why Pakistan has been forced to reverse its strategy in Kashmir, of political mobilisation supporting a guerilla war rather than the mujahideen leading a jihad.

Kashmiris find Pakistan's disunities much more frightening than India's; may privately reject the idea of Islam as a super glue that will lead to a quickfix solution. Nor is the cry for azadi as unanimous as was, say, two years ago...

A political solution is the only way out but now lies buried in a horrendous Catch 22 situation: New Delhi says talk of autonomy is possible with an elected government, elections are off, and the leadership, badly splintered in Srinagar demands autonomy first. And no one is ready to define autonomy. ...

(Source: The Pioneer, 2 July, 1995)

Government Statements On Foreign Commandos

Of the six foreign tourists abducted by the militants in J&K in July 1995, one had escaped, one was killed and the remaining 4 belonging to UK, USA and Germany are still in custody of the militants. Government have been making all efforts to bring about their safe release. ... In keeping with the policy of transparency, close liaison and contact has also been maintained with the officials of the Missions (concerned) and their officials have also been facilitated to visit Srinagar. In the process, Government has also agreed to the presence in India of experts of these countries to enable them to make their own assessment of the situation and advise their Missions, and different persons have, at different times, also visited Srinagar in this context. Government has also welcomed any advice and suggestions that may be given by them, and has facilitated interaction by such persons with officials of the State Government and the concerned Security agencies, including the Army. However, at no stage has there been any direct involvement or interference by officials/experts of these countries in the actual handling of the situation, nor have they been deployed in any kind of regular or formal manner.

(Source: LSUQ No. 3581 dated 20 December, 1995 by G. Fernandes)

On 'Foreign Experts' in J&K

... "In keeping with the policy of transparency, close liaison and contact has also been maintained with the officials of the missions of the countries whose nations were abducted, and their officials have also been facilitated to visit Srinagar.

In the process, the Government has also agreed to the presence in India of experts of these countries to enable them to make their own assessment of the situation and advise their missions, and different persons have, at different times, also visited Srinagar in this context. The Government has also welcomed any advice and suggestions that may be given by them, and has facilitated interaction by such persons with officials of the State Government and the Security agencies concerned, including the Army. However, at no stage has there been any direct involvement or interference by officials/experts of these countries in the actual handling of the situation, nor have they been deployed in any kind of regular or formal manner".

(Source: The Hindu, 24 December, 1995)

Proposal for the Socio-economic & Educational Advancement of Minorities in Andhra Pradesh

Submitted to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh
by Zahid Ali Khan, Editor, "Siyasat Urdu Daily", Hyderabad

Executive Summary

The population proportion of minorities is quite considerable in the State in general and in its urban areas in particular. This has got, among other things, important repercussions for the quality of the functioning of democratic institutions in the State. However, this important segment of population is backward on all fronts. If this unfortunate state of affairs is allowed to continue unabated, the overall process of the development of the State would be seriously retarded. The proposed Package would be instrumental in not only ameliorating the lot of minorities, but also in enabling them to contribute their optimum best for the prosperity of the state. Following are the specific recommendations out of the Package.

- i) The A.P. State Minorities Finance Corporation may be sanctioned an annual of Rs. 5.00 crores, allowed to borrow Rs. 5.00 crores on differential rate of interest from various sources, get the facility of refinancing of its loans by IDBI/SIDBI, extend the facility of subsidy to its beneficiaries, and provide them counselling, guidance and escort services instead of confining itself to mere sanction of margin money.
- ii) The Government may sanction an amount of Rs. 1.00 crore as grant-in-aid to A.P. State Wakf Board, bring out a State Wakf Legislation with necessary judicial and executive powers to Wakf Commissioner, and establish a Wakf Development Corporation with a share capital of Rs. 5.00 crores for the effective preservation and development of Wakf Institutions.
- iii) The Government may enhance the grant of A.P. Urdu Academy to Rs. 75.00 lakh, treat its employees on par with Government employees, accord statutory status to A.P. Minorities Commission, enhance its plan budget to Rs. 2.5 crores for enabling it to take up schemes for minorities welfare on a larger scale, establish Directorate for Minorities Affairs, and revitalise the Dairat-ul-Maarif, Osmania University by enhancing its annual grant-in-aid to Rs. 25.00 lakhs, and treating its employees on par with their counterparts in Osmania University in order to consolidate the functioning of these institutions in the interest of minorities welfare.
- iv) The Government may constitute a High Power Consultative Committee or the effective implementation of Prime Minister's 15-Point Programme for Minorities Welfare. To start with, the programme may be implemented in the areas of minority concentration to be identified for this purpose.
- v) For improving the participation and performance of minorities in different competitive examinations, the Government may establish a Centre with good infrastructure for imparting coaching in competitive examinations, include a representative of minorities on selection committees, appoint two minority members on A.P. Public Service Commission, and permit the candidates to write all competitive examinations conducted by APPSC in Urdu. The Government may initiate special measures for rectifying the present position of low share of minorities in the recruitments for Police Force and also reposting of some of the minority officers in the law and order wings of the Police Department.
- vi) In view of the widespread socio-economic and educational backwardness of minority women in general and their Muslim counterparts in particular, the Government may constitute a Minority Women Cooperative Finance Corporation with a share capital of Rs. 1.00 crore.
- vii) The Government may include the weaker sections among minorities in the list of Backward Classes on the lines of the existing pattern in the neighbouring States. The Government may vigorously pursue the case pending in the court relating to the inclusion of Muslims in backward classes. The Government may bring down the eligibility marks to 20% for the admission of minority students in the professional and technical courses offered by educational institutions established by minorities.
- viii) The Government may issue a comprehensive G.O. which is in keeping with the educational rights guaranteed to minorities by the Constitution and also with the guidelines issued by the Union Ministry of Human Resource Development.
- ix) The Government may implement the recommendations of the Cabinet Sub-committee on Minorities under the Chairmanship of Mr. P. Ramachandra Reddy relating to Urdu and Urdu-medium schools as early as possible.
- x) The Government may issue necessary instructions

(Contd. on page 59)

Bombay Mercantile Coop. Bank's Annual Report, 1994-95

Operational Results

The aggregate deposits reached Rs.1264.78 crores by 31st March 1995 as against Rs.645.13 crores as on 31st March 1994 showing growth rate of 33.82%...

The advances also rose sharply during the year to Rs. 762.52 crores as on 31st March 1995 as against Rs. 506.47 crores as on 31st March, 1994, the growth rate being 50.56%... The growth in deposits and advances of your Bank far exceeded the growth achieved by the Banking Industry which stood at 22.8% and 28.7% respectively. The credit deposit ratio of your Bank which was 53.59% as on 31st March 1994 rose to 60.29% as on 31st March, 1995.

The profits were a record Rs.13.93 crores for the year. ...

Despite the above excellent operational results, the Bank has shown a loss because of the full provisions made in the previous year in Bad Debt Reserves in respect of the non-performing assets on the basis of the revised guidelines issued by Reserve Bank of India.

Sectoral Deployment of Advances

The sectoral deployment of advances as on 31st March 1995 was as under:-

A.	Industrial	(Rs. in Crores)
a)	Small Scale	150.72
b)	Others	42.43
B.	Transport Operations	
	Taxis, Trucks, Cars & Autorickshaws etc.	95.57
C.	Export	49.55
D.	Trade and Commerce	
a)	Wholesale	41.26
b)	Retail	52.36
c)	Small Business	97.57
E.	Other Business like Self-employment, educated unemployed persons, professional etc.	21.25
F.	Educational Projects/purchasing TV Sets	0.83
G.	Purchase of domestic utility articles by Middle and Lower Class persons and Salaries employees	6.48
H.	Agricultural or allied activities	4.58
I.	Powerlooms	0.24
J.	Other Productive Lines	6.38
K.	Consumption Loans	7.32
L.	Housing	50.02
M.	Other purposes not included above.	135.96
	Total	762.52

The above would show the Bank's focus on financing of priority sector areas, particularly the small traders, small transporters and weaker sections of the society. Bank organised credit camps in Jogeshwari, Jodhpur and Bhopal Branches...

The percentage of priority sector advances as on 31st March 1995 stood at 48.5% of total advances. The Bank is making efforts... to identify the targeted groups, as also

requesting the RBI for more branches at centres where there is a preponderance of weaker sections and minorities. ...

Foreign Exchange Business

The growth achieved in Foreign Exchange business was about 19% in regard to the trade-related transactions.

The Bank has implemented Post-Shipment Credit Denominated in Foreign Currency (PSCFC) as envisaged by RBI at concessional rates of interest at 7.5% per annum and this arrangement has enabled our exporter clients to compete in the international market, to a considerable extent. Our advances under this arrangement stood at Rs. 15.64 crores as on 31st March, 1995....

... Bank has been able to record a modest growth in regard to the maintenance of FCNR, NRE accounts. The total number of such accounts went up to 6607 at the end of March, 1995 from 6256 with an aggregate balance of Rs. 44.27 crores as against of Rs. 34.46 crores as at the end of the previous year. ...

Appropriation of Profits

... No dividend was declared for the year ended 31st March 1994 because of the loss shown due to 100% provision for the NPAs.

The concerted follow up action is being taken to increase margin between the average lending rate and average borrowing rate, particularly after the deregulation of interest rate structure by the RBI...

Overdues

The overdues of the Bank which were at 13.86% of the total advances as on 31st March 1994 were reduced to 11.02% as on 31st March 1995.

It is expected that the overdues position will further improve during the coming years.

Membership

The number of shareholders of the Bank increased from 133585 to 147614 as on 31st March 1995 (excluding 44920 nominal members).

Capital and Reserves

The Bank had increased its authorised capital to Rs. 10 crores which has already been subscribed upto Rs. 7,95,49,440 as on 31st March 1995...

The reserves increased from Rs. 42.22 crores as on 31st March 1994 to Rs. 52.91 crores as on 31st March 1995...

Working Capital

The working capital increased from 1167.96 as on 31st March 1994 to 1537.76 crores as on 31st March 1995.

Branch Expansion: Our Bank has expanded its operations further by opening branches in more States during the year... at Jodhpur (Rajasthan), Bhopal (MP), Moradabad and Aligarh (UP) and Patna (Bihar). The approval, in principal, for a branch at Jaipur (Rajasthan), Palanpur (Gujarat) and Malegaon (Maharashtra) have

(Contd. on page 90)

Muslim Directors in Private Sector

S.No.	Company	Total	Muslim				
1.	Bennett, Coleman & Co.	11	NIL	51.	Havell's India	5	NIL
2.	Modi Rubber	13	1	52.	Williamson Magor & Co.	10	1
			Atiq A. Saiyid				Mumtaz Ahmad
3.	Nuchem Weir	6	NIL	53.	Milkfood	6	NIL
4.	W.S. Industries (India)	12	NIL	54.	GKW	13	1
5.	Madras Cements	12	NIL				A.K. Ghose
6.	Metal Box India	11	NIL	55.	East India Pharmaceutical Works	10	NIL
7.	Infocom Digital Systems	4	NIL	56.	The India Cements	11	1
8.	Flex Industries	12	NIL				V.M. Mohammed Meeran
9.	Herbertsons	12	NIL	57.	SRG Infotec (India)	6	NIL
10.	J.K. Industries	14	NIL	58.	Dee-Pharma	7	NIL
11.	T.N. Industrial Dev. Corpn.	9	NIL	59.	The Morarjee Goculdas Spinning	12	NIL
12.	Shri Renuga Textiles	6	NIL	60.	NEPC Micon	7	NIL
13.	Modipon	8	1	61.	Maxworth Orchards (India)	7	NIL
			Siraj Hussain	62.	HCL Hewlett-Packard	9	NIL
14.	Morgan Industries	7	NIL	63.	Tata Chemicals	15	1
15.	Reliance Petroleum	7	NIL				Saleem Shervani
16.	The Malayalam Manorama Co.	11	NIL	64.	Modern Syntex (India)	12	NIL
17.	Stanes Amalgamated Estates	3	NIL	65.	Mefcom Agro Industries	8	NIL
18.	Jindal Strips	12	NIL	66.	Jenson And Nicholson	8	NIL
19.	Indian Express (Madurai)	4	NIL	67.	Atlas Cycle Industries	6	NIL
20.	Bimetal Bearings	6	NIL	68.	Voltas International	6	2
21.	Goodyear India	9	NIL				A.H. Tobacoowala
22.	The Assam Co.	11	NIL				G.A.R. Shaikh
23.	Hamco Mining and Smelting	6	NIL	69.	Jindal Fincap	6	NIL
24.	Network	3	NIL	70.	The Simbhaoli Sugar Mills	14	NIL
25.	T.N. Dadha Pharmaceuticals	9	NIL	71.	Intercraft	5	NIL
26.	The Bombay Dyeing & Manuf.	18	NIL	72.	Atul Products	15	NIL
27.	Goetze (India)	16	NIL	73.	Gujarat Synthwood	8	NIL
28.	Gabriel India	12	NIL	74.	Metro Tyres	6	1
29.	Purolator India	10	NIL				M.A. Zahir
30.	SBEC Systems (India)	5	NIL	75.	Coromandel Fertilisers	15	NIL
31.	Udaipur Phosphates & Fertilisers	9	NIL	76.	Rollatainers	10	NIL
32.	Modi Cement	14	NIL	77.	Oriental Hotels	12	1
33.	Jamna Auto Industries	7	NIL				S.H. Syed Yusuf
34.	Premier Tubes	7	NIL	78.	Jagatjit Industries	9	NIL
35.	East India Syntex	10	NIL	79.	Associated Finlease	7	NIL
36.	Jaipur Syntex	9	NIL	80.	Tata Tea	15	2
37.	Sri Sarvaraya Sugars	12	NIL				S.M. Kidwai
38.	Modi Alkalies & Chemicals	10	NIL				M.H. Ashraff
39.	Amrit Agro Industries	7	NIL	81.	Hindustan Organic Chemicals	4	NIL
40.	Tatia Skylines & Health Farms	8	NIL	82.	The Hindustan Times	8	NIL
41.	Daurala Organics	8	NIL	83.	The Tata Engg. & Locomotive	15	NIL
42.	Teletube Electronics	6	NIL	84.	Dabur India	13	NIL
43.	Willard India	6	NIL	85.	Triveni Oilfield Services	5	NIL
44.	Indian Hospitals Corpn.	11	NIL	86.	Apollo Tyres	13	NIL
45.	Madras Fertilizers	7	2	87.	Rajasthan Balls & Bearings	11	NIL
			S.M. Hosseini	88.	Jai Parabolic Springs	8	NIL
			Habibollah Nikbakht	89.	DLF Industries	7	NIL
46.	The Paper Products	9	NIL	90.	Hindustan Adhesives	6	NIL
47.	Berger Paints (India)	8	NIL	91.	Bestavision Electronics	6	NIL
48.	Shree Bhawani Cotton Mills	13	NIL	92.	Indian Express Newspapers	4	1
49.	K.G. Khosla Compressors	10	NIL				Prof. A.M. Khuroo
50.	The Indians Hotels Co.	11	NIL	93.	Vikas Laminator	5	NIL
				94.	East India Pharmaceutical Works	10	NIL

Abdul Waheed on Divorce among Muslim Indians

Much has been written on divorce among Indian Muslims... (Divorce) has become a stereotype of Muslim identity and the basis of prejudice against the community. Indeed, it has become an emotional and political topic on which, unfortunately, serious academic discussion has been neglected. ...

This paper is an attempt to understand divorce in a sociological perspective. The principal assumption is that being a social phenomenon, the causes of divorce should be sought in social reality. The explanation of divorce absolutely in terms of law, though a significant element of social life, would be reductionism...

Divorce in Indian Society

India is a segmented as well as a stratified society. Each social group within the social settings of a particular cultural zone follows different customs and traditions... There are differences in the nature of marriage and practice of divorce among various social groups. In traditional Indian society, Hindus of higher castes did not allow divorce as it was inadmissible in the great Hindu traditions. Marriage was sacred and indissoluble for them. Unlike the higher castes a large section of Hindus among lower castes have traditionally practised divorce. These customary forms of divorce were recognised both socially and judicially. The usual customary forms are: (a) by mutual consent; (b) unilaterally at the pleasure of the husband or by the abandonment of the wife; and (c) by deed of divorce. ...

Divorce is not only an urban phenomenon. It existed, even more frequently, in rural India as well. According to the census of 1971, the total number of divorced or separated women in the country was estimated to be 8,70,700 of which 7,45,200 are in the rural areas and 1,27,500 in urban areas. Taking the country as a whole, the divorce rate can be placed at one per cent.

Divorce among Indian Muslims

Muslims are a heterogeneous and stratified community... In the city of Kanpur, M.E. Khan finds only three cases of divorce out of 330 respondent couples. The data were collected from dominant Muslim wards and included all classes and sections of Muslims. ...

Similar findings are reported by Shibani Roy in her study in Lucknow and Delhi's Ashraf middle-class families. The investigation was conducted in the most populous Muslim areas of Delhi and Lucknow, and was based on a sample of 300 families, 150 each from Delhi and Lucknow. The respondents were from white-collar occupations with income from Rs. 400 to Rs. 1000 per month. She finds in the entire sample only three cases of divorce. ...

Moving from Delhi to Rajasthan, in the city of Jaipur, surprisingly, Sushila Jain also finds only three cases of divorce in her sample of 375 respondents. In the sample, 86.7 per cent of the respondents were married, 10.7 per cent were unmarried and 2.6 per cent were widowers. If we calculate the divorce rate among married respondents, it would come to around one per cent. It is not only the rate of divorce which is similar to the other

two finds, more interestingly and surprisingly, the cause are also of a similar nature... The close similarity in the above data, though small, is sufficient to predict the trend of divorce, and suggests that divorce is not as frequent among urban Muslims as it is generally presumed. In fact, one per cent divorce rate is not more than the all-India average rate of divorce.

Secondly, contrary to popular assumption that the Muslim husband divorces his wife whenever it suits him most, the causes of divorce indicate that the wife also initiates divorce. And in both cases, the action is taken on well-defined grounds, like infidelity of man or woman, incapability of husband to support his family or physical deformity of wife, etc.

Finally, the case of the graduate woman who fought for her mehr suggests that education has enabled women to face the situation boldly and fight for their rights.

Divorce among Rural Muslims

More than 70% Muslims live in rural India. Most of them are poor and illiterate. They follow old customs and traditions. Sociologically, they are an unexplored community. And no empirical study, except one survey, is available which supplies data on divorce among them.

A survey, undertaken by the Census in 1961 in 587 selected villages with a sample of 133,775 marriages covering a period of 50 years, had indicated wide acceptance of divorce by the village community with some variations of incidence among different religious communities. Incidence of divorce was highest among Muslims (6.06%) followed by Hindus (3.21%), Buddhists (3.07%), Jains (1.68%), Sikhs (0.91%) and Christians (0.47%). The causes for divorce show that adultery, barrenness and extreme poverty are the commonest grounds for divorce in most of the villages."

More often than not, the data is used to popularise the notion that divorce is very easy and frequent among Indian Muslims. And the reason is generally attributed to unilateral power of divorce enjoyed by the Muslim husband. In fact, if one were to see the data in its social context, the explanation would be different. The data was collected about three-and-half decades back and from rural areas where Muslims occupied the lowest position on the socio-economic scale. Marital ties easily break down in adverse socio-economic conditions. The easiest way for a poor Muslim is to say "I divorce thee" three times in order to avoid marital obligations. While the simplest way for men of other communities, where the law does not allow divorce easily, is to desert their wives and go away. (Desertion and Divorce are clubbed together by the census of India. And the phenomenon of desertion is widely practised and rapidly increasing among lower class people). In both cases, the consequences would be the same for women. ...

Finally, the rate of divorce could not remain static. It has varied over a period of time. It is explained in the survey that

(Contd. on page 76)

Scheme for Remuneration to Imams/Muezzins

Submitted by the Government of India to the Supreme Court

... In pursuance of the recommendations of the High Power Committee, a small Committee under the chairmanship of Shri Aslam Sher Khan, MOS (PMO & W) has formulated the Scheme in terms of the directions given by the Supreme Court...

The... Scheme was approved by the Central Wakf Council at its meeting held on 22.12.1995. ...

1. The Scheme shall be called the Scheme for Remuneration to Imams and Muezzins, 1995.

2. The Scheme shall come into force on 1st December, 1993.

3. The Scheme shall apply to the following categories of Mosques:-

(a) Mosques which are under the direct management of a Board of Wakfs...

(b) Mosques which are registered with a Board of Wakfs and are under the control/management of Muttawalis of various wakfs.

Provided that the Scheme shall not apply to the following categories of Mosques:-

(i) Mosques under the control or management of the Government except as provided in para 7.

(ii) Mosques which are not registered with the Wakf Board and are managed by local inhabitants.

(iii) Mosques which are not managed either by Muttawalis or the Muslims of the locality.

(iv) Mosques not managed by members of Islamic faith.

4. According to nature of duty performed by them, Imams can be either full time/part-time or honorary.

5. (a) Full Time Imams.

In case of full-time Imams, the qualifications and the remuneration shall be on the lines of those adopted by the Punjab and Haryana Wakf Board (as in the) Annexure.

(b) Part-time and Honorary Imams

The payment of remuneration to part-time Imams with comparable qualifications could be upto a maximum of 50 per cent payable to the full-time Imams. The State Wakf Board shall consider payment of remuneration and allowances to Honorary Imams as follows:-

(i) Imams who lead only Friday prayers that is once in a week, may be paid honorarium @ Rs. 500 per prayer.

(ii) Such Honorary Imams who lead all the five prayers on a regular basis and are willing to accept may be paid honorarium @ Rs. 400, Rs. 500 and Rs. 600 per month, depending whether they are Nazara, Hafiz or Alim.

(iii) Such Honorary Imams who do not lead all the five prayers regularly may be paid a honorarium @ Rs. 20/- per day irrespective of the number of prayers they lead.

Provided that the appropriate Board of Wakfs may, in respect of mosques which are small or are in the rural areas or have no source of income, fix such rates of

remuneration for Imams and Muezzins of such a mosque until that mosque is able to find ways and means to raise its income, may be sufficient to pay remuneration at the rates mentioned in (a) or as the case may be (b) above.

Provided further that it may be open to a Board of Wakfs or as the case may be, the Muttawali of a Mosque to pay remuneration at rates higher than those mentioned in (a) and (b) above.

6. In all the above mentioned categories (paras 5 (a) and (b)), the acceptance of remuneration will be on voluntary basis.

7. The remuneration suggested in para 5 above shall be followed for Imams of Mosques under the control of the Government in cases where they have no independent income.

8. The appropriate Board of Wakfs may determine quantum of remuneration to various categories of Imams taking into account, among others, the following factors:

(a) whether the mosque is located in urban or rural area.

(b) Existing mode of payment as also the quantum, if the payment is in kind, whether the same can be quantified.

(c) Qualification of Imams.

(d) Income from mosques, if any.

(e) Income of the Wakf in which the mosque is comprised.

(f) Collection/donation made for the Imam.

(g) Grants received from any source for the purpose.

(h) Whether the Wakf deed provides for specified sources of payment to the Imams.

(i) Whether Imam is full-time, part-time or honorary.

(j) Whether Imam has any known source of income.

(k) Any other factor relevant to the local situation.

9. (1) The responsibility for implementation of this Scheme shall be on the appropriate Board of Wakfs.

(2) The appropriate Board of Wakfs shall harness necessary resources in accordance with powers and responsibilities vested with it...

Annexure

Punjab Wakf Board

Ref. No. 135 Ed/G/33/II-598-603 dated 22.1.1992

(Extract)

Scale

Medical
Allowance

Imam Alim	1000-15-1150-20-1350-25-1600	Rs. 30/-
Imam Hafiz	950-15-1100-20-1300-25-1550	Rs. 30/-
Imam Nazirah	850-15-1000-20-1200-25-1400	Rs. 30/-
Muezzin	800-15-950-20-1150-25-1400	Rs. 30/-

Above scale includes dearness and other allowances.

In future, there shall be no increment relating to Dearness and other allowances and no application in this regard shall be entertained. ...

Shahabuddin, National Convener, Insaf Morcha: Statement On Payment of Salaries to Imams, 4 January, 1996

The scheme formulated by the Government of India and submitted to the Supreme Court in implementation of its judgement of October 1993 places the responsibility of payment of the emoluments of Imams and Muezzins of Masjids on the State Wakf Boards constituted under the Wakf Act.

Every Masjid has its own sources of income in terms of Wakf properties and donations from the congregation. It is inconceivable that the functionaries of all Masjids in the country can be treated alike or enjoy the same terms. Under the Wakf Act, the Wakf Boards merely supervise the management of Wakfs; they do not administer or manage the Wakf properties. The income from the wakf properties is received, collected and used for the purposes of the wakf by the wakf authorities who pay 6 per cent of their net income to the Board after fulfilling purposes of the Wakf. The State Wakf Boards have no other source of income; they do not receive any grant from the Central or State Governments and are, with the exception of the Punjab and Delhi Wakf Boards, financially bankrupt and not in a position even to meet their own office expenditure.

The question, therefore, arises why the responsibility for appointing and paying the functionaries of the Masjids be shifted from the Mutawallis/ Managing Committees of the Masjids and/or the wakf attached thereto, to the State Wakf Boards. The Board has no statutory authority to manage or administer a Masjid except when a Mutawalli is superseded or where there is no Mutawalli as in the case of many Masjids in Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Delhi.

Another and more important question arises as to why the Government should not take necessary and feasible steps to raise the income of the Wakf properties which would automatically benefit the functionaries of the Masjids to a large extent.

The income of the wakf properties can be raised manifold by taking the following steps:

1. Bringing the Public Wakfs under the purview of the Public Premises (Vacation of Illegal Occupations) Act so that unlawful occupation of or encroachment on Wakf properties can be easily vacated and such properties can become a source of income.
2. Exempting the Public Wakfs from the purview of the rent control laws so that the wakf authorities can refix the rents which were fixed decades ago.
3. Exempting the Public Wakfs from the purview of agricultural and urban land ceiling or acquisition

laws so that the wakf properties are not whittled down.

4. Vacating all the wakf properties which are unauthorisedly occupied by the Government itself or its attached or subordinate offices or Government-controlled institutions. It is recalled that Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi had drawn the attention of the Chief Ministers to this aspect but to little effect.

Unfortunately, the recently passed Wakf Act 1995 does not provide for any of the above steps. The Act should be amended, as promised by the Minister of Welfare on the floor of the Parliament, and wherever necessary, executive instructions should be issued by the Central and the State Governments, if the Government is indeed serious about raising the income of the Wakfs so that the functionaries of the Masjids are well-paid throughout the country.

Paying the Imams

Editorial, The Indian Express, 4 January, 1996

The scheme of wakf boards paying the salaries of the imams attached to their mosques announced by the Union Welfare Minister, Mr. Sitaram Kesri, is unlikely to succeed because most of the boards cannot even pay salaries to their own regular staff...

The only commendable aspect of the scheme is that the Centre has steered clear of any financial commitment in its implementation. At one time, it toyed with the idea of paying the imams from the State exchequer. However, neither the Muslim community, which saw it as an un-Islamic practice, nor mainstream public opinion, which could not understand how a secular state could take such a responsibility, endorsed the idea. Except for some of the imams who would have benefited, the Muslims also nursed the apprehension that such a system was a prelude to the Government's interference in their religious affairs. The fear that the BJP would project it as yet another instance of appeasement of the minorities also forced the Government to retrace its steps. While nothing concrete will emerge from the new scheme, the Muslim community must realise that it cannot shirk its responsibility to provide necessary financial support to the imams... However, neither the court nor the Government can do much in this regard.

Rakesh Bhatnagar On Salaries to Imams

At last the Supreme Court's two-year old directive regarding payment of salaries to imams who lead prayers in the mosques has been implemented. At least 1.15 lakh imam alim, imam hafiz, imam nazrah and muazin would get about Rs. one lakh each towards back-wages and arrears since the court accepted the All India Imam Organisation (AIIO)'s plea for fixing their salaries so that they can also live with some amount of respect.

AIIO's counsel Mukesh K. Giri... says about 2.35 lakh imams have been left out of the scheme. However, he feels that the decision to pay arrears and salaries on par with the Punjab and Haryana Wakf Board employees would give a boost to the sagging spirits of the imams...

Although the government's decision has been viewed as a "move to woo" the imams when elections are round the corner... a trend has been set now for others who perform various religious places like temples, gurudwaras and churches. Priests who manage religious affairs in such places have long been looking forward to a systematic arrangement where they, and their families of course, can enjoy some economic stability. The Supreme Court's directive, which has not been welcomed by some who consider it as an interference with the religious rights of the Muslims, has however, widened the ambit of Article 21 (which) envisages that the right to live with dignity includes right to earn so that one can lead a decent life.

The government's decision to frame a salary scheme for imams has been made despite the attorney general's strong dissent that the state can neither promote a religion nor have one to nurture it. This opinion was made in view of the court's directive to the government to fix regular pay scales for the imams. On the other hand, a bench headed by Mr. Justice K. Ramaswamy, which passed the significant directive, categorically rejected this contention and asserted that the imams must be paid their dues since December 1, 1993.

All the mosques under the Wakf Boards control or which are registered with a Board of Wakfs and being run by mutwallis have been covered by the scheme. But those mosques which are being controlled by the government or which are not registered with the Wakf Board but managed by the local inhabitants or which are managed by mutwallis or the Muslim community or such mosques which are not managed by members of Islamic faith have been excluded from the salary scheme, the implementation which may cost over Rs. 500 crore to the exchequer. ...

Though imams have acquired the status of "employees" their exact relationship with the employer has been vague. Mr. Giri says in case the imams do not get their arrears and pay, they can knock the high court's door under the Civil Procedure Code. They can seek attachment of the Wakf properties and put them up for auction in order to recover their wages and arrears...

AIMPLB: Statement of President Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, Lucknow, 23 December, 1995

If the Government pays emoluments to the Imams, it is also certain that it will try to take political advantage from them and use him as a pawn on the political board. Even in Muslim countries, the Imams are not permitted to receive salary from the government because the Shariat does not allow it.

Presently, the maintenance of the Imam is the responsibility of the Millat. This is an old tradition which should continue.

The decision of the Government to pay the emoluments to the Imams is really a deep political conspiracy against the Muslims.

"The Government was apprised of the mandatory rules of the Shariat in this regard. Yet the government appears to be taking a decision in disregard of the opinion of the AIMPLB but the Muslims will not accept such an arbitrary decision. No Imam shall be permitted to take one naya paise from the government."

(Agency Reports)

(Contd. from page 73)

there has not been a persistent trend in the incidence of divorce in all religions during more than fifty years. There has been, however, a persistent rise in divorce upto 11 to 20 years before the survey. After this there has been a marked decline in the incidence of divorce. The sharp rise in the incidence of divorce during 21-30 years and 11-20 years prior to the survey is particularly noticeable. These were the period of war, partition and other conditions of instability in the country. These events had an impact on the marriage institution as well.

In fact, these events, especially partition, had a more devastating impact on Muslims which tore... their established social fabric.... The above discussion leads one to conclude that divorce is a social fact which is caused by various inter-related socio-economic factors. Normally, it has existed everywhere. But no society (can) tolerate the abnormal rate of divorce which emerged during the period of rapid social changes. No law, howsoever stringent, can control proneness to divorce in adverse social circumstances. Only the cohesiveness of the structure of the family and society restrain peoples from breaking off marital ties.

(Source: The Mainstream, 16 September, 1995)

However, considering the prevailing sorry state of affairs in the Wakf Boards, which have been made responsible for payment of salaries under the scheme, it has been felt that it would take some considerable time to execute the scheme.

... 1.15 lakh imams who are the beneficiaries of the court's order have not been informed about their changed status and their entitlement to regular salaries and perks. Unless, the scheme is widely publicised... its benefits will continue to elude the hard-pressed and lowly paid.

(Source: The Times of India)

Shahabuddin's Letter to Dalit Voice, 23 January, 1996

Your editorial "Cow belt Moulanas Opposing Backward Muslim Demand for Reservation" in your issue of 16-31 January, 1996 suffers from internal contradiction, lacks a positive approach and plays into the hands of a non-entity who has been sponsored by his father-in-law to chalk out a Backward Muslim constituency for his political projection in his fading days.

While Ejaz Ali and his BMM base their entire campaign on the existence of 3-way caste-based division in Muslim society - Ashraf, Ajlaf and Arzal, your editorial calls it 'one of the big lies... propagated by the Hindu Nazis'.

You appeal to Maulana Syed Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, who scholarship apart, is a pucca Syed!

You have not cared to check the proportion of the so-called 'Ashraf' (Syeds, Sheikhs, Pathans etc.) among the Ulema and the Imams of Masjids. I believe they form a small minority; the vast majority belong to what Ejaz Ali would call 'Ajlaf' and 'Arzal'.

The provision for reservation in public employment and legislatures for Muslims included in the Draft Constitution was for the Muslim community, as a whole and not for some Muslim castes only. Similarly, the discrimination and deprivation faced by the Muslims in public employment is based on their being Muslims, irrespective of whether they are Syeds or Rayins (the caste group to which Ghulam Sarwar belongs). And the consequent alienation and affection is in the Muslim community as a whole due to their systematic exclusion from due corridors of power at all levels and is not limited to any particular section.

The question is if the Muslims have been systematically deprived when competing against the high castes Hindus, are they likely to get their due share when they (at least two third majority of them) have to compete against the Hindu intermediate castes (Shudras or OBC's) or when group-wise they compete against the intermediate castes (Shudras), the Scheduled Castes (the Achhuts) and the Scheduled Tribes (the Adivasis)?

Theoretically, they may be entitled (at the central level) to 4.2% out of 27% quota for the OBC's, 2% out of 15% for SC's and 1% out of 7.5% for ST's. They shall near get their due share, unless they have a separate sub-quota in each of the three categories. And a fourth sub-quota in the quota for High Castes which has also been mooted.

Further more, will the SC's and ST's agree to comparable Muslim sub-communities being included against their quota? As for the OBC's, already dominated Shudras are rebelling everywhere against the dominant Shudras and demanding a separate quota e.g. the Kurmis and the Koeris in Bihar and UP.

There are many ways of cutting the reservation cake - horizontally and vertically but every cut makes it more of an administrative maze. The fairest solution would be

to have a Muslim quota as envisaged in the Draft Constitution but recognise the preferential claim of the notified Muslim OBC's (both Ajlaf and Arzal) on the question and make only the unutilized balance available to the 'Ashraf'. Also the universally applicable 'creamy layer' cut-off will largely eliminate the Ashraf candidates from the Muslim quota (though it may also eliminate the progeny of rich and well-placed Ajlaf and Arzal like Ejaz Ali and Ghulam Sarwar).

The size of the Muslim quota should be based on the population and index of backwardness of various Muslim sub-communities. Roughly it would be as follows:

	Share of Population of India	Weight- age	Quota
27.5% descendants of			
Sawarnas/foreign immigrants	3.3	33%	1.1
50% descendants of Shudras	6.0	50%	3.0
15% descendants of Achhuts	1.8	100%	1.8
7.5% descendants of Tribes	0.9	100%	<u>0.9</u>
			6.8
Total:	12.0	i.e.	7.00

But if we take into account the fact that in each category, the Muslims are educationally, economically and socially more backward than the Hindu counterparts, they should have a higher weightage. This may raise their quota to 9%.

I would request you not to lionise motivated individuals and organisations which are trying through hate propaganda to destroy what remains of Muslim unity; Whether reservation is conceded for Muslims as a whole or only for the Backward Muslims, it shall need the undivided support of the entire Muslim community alongwith those of well-wishers like you.

Supreme Court

On Reservation in Single Promotional Post

Chetna Dilip Motghare Vs Bhide Girls Education Society, Nagpur

This case is the result of a Review Petition filed against this Court's judgement in Bhide Girls Education Society Vs. Education Officer, Zilla Parishad Nagpur (November, 1992).

While deciding that case this court considered the judgements it gave in Dr. Chakradhar Paswan Vs State of Bihar, AIR 1988, SC 959 and Arti Roy Choudhary Vs Union of India (AIR 1974 SC 532) where in it has been squarely laid down that if there was only one post in the cadre, there could be no reservation under article 16(4) of the Constitution. And the petition seeking review of the earlier judgement was dismissed.

(Source: AIR 1994, Supreme Court 1917)

Government Statement On Subsidy for Pilgrimages

Subsidy given to Haj pilgrims was:

1992	-	14.43 crores
1993	-	25.59 crores
1994	-	24.43 crores
1995	-	17.05 crores

No subsidy is given to pilgrims belonging to other religions for their visit to various shrines in foreign countries.

However, Government provides facilities to Kailash-Mansarovar pilgrims which include medical assistance, wireless cover, communication links with China, issuance of foreign exchange and serial evacuation of pilgrims in case of emergency. Cost towards publication of advertisement, establish of communication links and serial evacuation are borne by Government. Financial assistance is provided to Kumaon Mandal Vikas Nigam, which is responsible for logistics on Indian side.

Ministry of External Affairs coordinates the visit of Sikh pilgrims to Holy Gurdwaras in Pakistan on four occasions in a year and Hindu pilgrims to Shadani Darbar at Hyat Pitaffi in Sindh once a year and to Shree Kataraj twice a year.

(Source: LSUQ No. 1287 dated 4 December, 1995 by A.P. Singh)

Malaysia: Haj Management System

"Tabung Haji", a semi-Government organisation whose members are appointed by the Prime Minister's Office in consultation with the Islamic Community Centre makes arrangements for the Haj. Members are appointed from professors, academicians, doctors, religious elders, etc.

The financing of the body's operation is generated through its own funds collected from pilgrims which is further subsidised by Government.

Enrollment for Haj is announced normally in December/January every year for Muslims of Malay nationality. The amount charged is RM 5000.00 per head (approx. Rs. 60,000) which has not changed during the last five years. Expenditure over and above this, if any, is met by Tabung Haji.

Pilgrims are allowed to deposit the amount in small sums every month in their account with Tabung Haji from their meagre savings. It is open to civil servants to finance this through regular deductions from their salaries.

Some private companies are also allotted quotas by Tabung Haji they can charge an amount not exceeding RM 8000.00 per head (approx. Rs. 96,000). Pilgrims are selected on first-come-first-served basis.

Pilgrims undergo a preparatory course for the Haj.

Shahabuddin on Reservation for Muslims Letter to Welfare Minister, 27 Dec., 1995

Pressure is being built up to carve a Backward Muslim quota out of the OBC quota of 27%.

Assuming the same social demographic pattern among the Muslims as among the Hindus, out of 12% that the Muslim community forms of the national population, 8% may well belong to the sub-communities which correspond to SC or OBC's. Their quota would be 5%, giving full weightage to the SC-component (2%) and 50% weightage to the OBC-component (3%).

I feel that the Muslim community is not going to benefit much either by being bracketted with the SC or with the OBC, who are educationally and economically much more advanced and politically far more influential, any more than being being bracketted with the High Castes in the General List.

In my view, the entire Muslim community in the country forms a Backward Class. Moreover, I do not think you would like your Government and Party be accused of dividing the Muslim community.

I, therefore, propose that the Muslim community, as a community, be deemed as a Backward Class but the individual beneficiaries coming from the poor families or from the sub-communities declared as a Backward Class in any State should be given priority against the Muslim quota, subject only to the minimum qualification, as prescribed and **only the remaining vacancies be made available to other Muslim candidates in order of merit**, other than those who have qualified for the General List.

The Muslim quota should be 9%, assuming that their notional index of backwardness is found to 75, with SC/ST=100 as the base.

Visas are arranged by Tabung Haji for all pilgrims whether registered with them or the private companies.

Tabung Haji appoints public relations officers, doctors, religious advisers and other logistical staff to accompany the groups where they are assisted by the Malaysian Consular staff in Mecca. Malaysian Foreign Office sets up a temporary Consulate Office in Tabung Haji hostel in Mecca every year which interacts with the Tabung Haji Public Relations Officer.

All pilgrims travel by air to Saudi Arabia. There are no sailings from Malaysian ports for the Haj.

Tabung Haji owns a very large hostel in Mecca consisting of four to five blocks. Accommodation required in excess of hostel facility, is arranged through the local Saudi authorities.

There is no practice of sending an Haj Goodwill Delegation from Malaysia to Mecca with the pilgrims.

Shahabuddin's Letter on Revision of Electoral Roll in Assam

I have just seen the article "A Lonely Battle in Assam" by Kuldip Nayar. In my view it presents only one side of the picture. While theoretically the AASU does not distinguish among illegal migrants, on ground of religion, in actual fact, the brunt is borne by Muslims only who in addition to being dubbed "illegal immigrants" have been the descendants of those who had migrated from the erstwhile Bengal into the then Assam upto 1950, who are by descent and by birth Indian nationals. Every Bengali-speaking Muslim resident of Assam has been by now subjected to screening no less than four times. It is not only a case of double jeopardy but a case of 'quadruple jeopardy' to be asked to prove one's citizenship status again and again. It is indeed morally and politically preposterous.

I would like to present to Mr. Nayar one fact. The proportion of Muslims in Assam's population has remained more or less constant at about 25 per cent which can mean that earlier there has been no immigration at all or out of four illegal immigrants, only one is a Muslim. Secondly, the rate of growth of Assam's population over 1951-91 is comparable to that of the country as a whole, if one takes into account 2 to 3 lakh Muslims who had migrated to the then East Pakistan after communal riots in 1950 and had not yet returned to Assam when census was taken in 1951.

One cannot deny that the border is porous and that the artificial partition of the country has not stopped social or economic intercourse. There may even be some human seepage and sedimentation but the quantum of infiltration is exaggerated into a political bogey.

The essence of the Assam situation lies in the fact that the high caste dominance of Assam society has been shattered in every walk of life, including politics, by the emergence of the lower castes and the Bengali-speaking 'majority', if all Bengali people decide to declare their language as Bengali. It is this shift of power which has roused the AASU activists and the Assamese elite and which gives birth to an anti-Indian campaign by the Assam nationalists and a communal campaign by the Sangh Parivar.

Recently, the Supreme Court passed an order in the case of revision of rolls in Bombay which applies equally to all parts of the country. It makes a clear distinction between the claim of a stranger to be excluded from the electoral roll and the demand for exclusion of someone who is already included. In the first case the onus lies on the claimant. In the second case the onus lies on the administration (and the complainant). Any person suspected of being a foreign national by the administration suo moto or on receipt of a complaint

which has a prima facie basis must be taken to a competent judicial or quasi-judicial authority and if the object of the complaint is found to be foreign national, his name can be struck off at any time. This is in addition to the exclusion under the electoral law where the onus again falls on the administrative machinery to prove that a person whose name appears in the rolls is not an Indian national and should be excluded.

The rule of law must be preserved at any cost. Similarly, the international boundary must be sealed against infiltration. But one cannot accept continuous harassment of a member of a particular group merely because he professes a particular religion or speaks a particular language. I am confident that Mr. Nayar would agree.

MUSLIM ORGANISATION

Anjuman-e-Islam, Bombay

Office Bearers:

Dr. M. Ishaq Jamkhanawala	President
Mrs. Homai A. Peerbhoy } Mr. Aziz H. Ahmedbhoy }	Vice-Presidents
Mr. Ridwan Harris }	
Mr. Abdul Majeed E. Patka }	Hon. Gen. Secretary
Mr. A. Sattar Zariwala }	Hon. Joint Secretary
Mr. S.A.R. Kadri }	
Mr. Yusuf C. Dalal	Hon. Treasurer

Members of the General Council:

Dr. M. Ishaq Jamkhanawala	Mr. Sayeed Dadarkar
Mrs. Homai A. Peerbhoy	Mrs. Hakim S. Abdul Rahim
Mr. Aziz H. Ahmedbhoy	Mr. Rizwan Farooqui
Mr. Ridwan Harris	Dr. N.S. Gorekar
Mr. A. Majeed E. Patka	Mr. Abbas M. Hetavkar
Mr. Y.H. Murad	Prof. A.A. Kazi
Mr. A. Sattar Zariwala	Mrs. Rashida A. Kazi
Mr. Yusuf C. Dalal	Dr. Zahir I. Kazi
Mr. S.A.R. Kadri	Dr. M.A. Gaffar Khan
Mr. Aarif Khwaja Mohamed	Mr. M.A. Khandwani
Mr. Mushtaq Antulay	Mr. Sami Khatib
Mr. A.A. Khatkhatay	Dr. Sumar A. R. Suleman
Mr. Firoz Jainuddin Mantri	Ms. Kamila Tyabji
Mr. R.G. Matadar	Mr. M.R. Vanoo
Mr. Yusuf Miaji	Mr. K. Ziauddin
Dr. A.M. Naik	Mrs. Kumu Hafizka
Dr. F.T. Padaria	Mrs. Vazir S.F.B. Tyabji
Mr. Bashir Moosa Patel	Mr. Sayed Gafoor
Mr. Moinul Haq Chowdhury	Mr. A.R. Antulay
Mr. G.A.R. Shaikh	Mr. Syed Abdul Manan
Dr. M. Shafi Shaikh	Mr. Khan I. Yusuf 'Tablib'
Mrs. Camar F. Sikander	Mr. M.I. Patel
Mr. Akbar Pranji	

Parliamentary Standing Committee's Report On Maulana Azad National Urdu University Bill, 1995

The National Policy on education (NPE) emphasises that the minority groups, which are educationally backward, need greater attention in regard to educational facilities, in the interest of equality and social justice. The NPE also reiterates the recommendation of the Kothari Commission that University education should be imparted in the regional languages. ... The Task Force on Minority Education, headed by Shri Aziz Qureshi, recommended the setting up of an Urdu University. To give effect to this recommendation, the Government constituted an Expert Committee which was, again, headed by Shri Aziz Qureshi to examine and recommend the form and content of such a University. The Committee submitted its report to the Government in June, 1993. The Bill ... has been drafted in the wake of the Qureshi Committee's report.

Urdu is one of the richest and most powerful languages, born in India as a result of the constant interaction between the Persian language and a variety of Indian languages. It has, in fact, remained one of the commonly spoken languages in India for centuries together, the lingua franca of not only the North Indian and Dakhani Muslims but of many from other communities too. Indeed, Urdu was being used as a medium of instruction for engineering and medical courses even in the nineteenth century (sic). But, regrettably, with the passage of time, Urdu has got relegated to the background in India's educational and cultural scene, in spite of the fact that Urdu is the mother tongue of a large number of Indians.

The root cause for this appears to be the special position Urdu occupies in the linguistic map of India. For although Urdu-speaking people are distributed all over the country, Urdu is not the primary language in any ... State of the Union. In such a situation, the responsibility for the promotion and development of the Urdu language falls on the Central Government... Hence, the need for an Urdu University at the national level.

The Committee has been informed that the proposed University would concentrate on higher education through the medium of Urdu. It would also impart education and training in vocational and technical subjects to develop skills, particularly of women, who are not able to prosecute their studies in the conventional institutions adequately due to social reasons. That is why the mode of distance education had been suggested by the Qureshi Committee... It has been decided that the Urdu University will use the material and facilities of the Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU), as far as possible, and will avoid creating parallel arrangements for the production of material and audio-visual programmes. These decisions have been welcomed by the Committee.

The Department of Education has stated that the Expert Committee... had envisaged a very large brief for

the University, including powers of affiliation. The Department thought that one institution would not be able to solve all the problems; rather, it should concern itself with matters or subjects it can handle efficiently. Otherwise, it might prove to be counter-productive. In this perspective, it was felt by the Department that in the main campus the Urdu University should concentrate on vocational/language education. In other disciplines, it should reach out to the rest of the country and if necessary abroad, through distance education. **The proposed University would be a single campus University with no provision for affiliation.** It would offer an opportunity to Urdu-knowing people to prosecute higher education in that language and use Urdu as a vehicle of science and technology, commerce and social sciences. These clarifications were welcomed by the Committee.

Currently, Urdu is being taught in 43 Universities, but in no University is it a medium of instruction, except in courses in Unani medicine and certain classical languages. Besides imparting education and training in vocational and technical subjects through the Urdu medium, the University would also provide wider access to people willing to pursue higher education and training in the Urdu medium. The proposed University would, therefore, teach other general subjects also and make appropriate arrangements to adopt enough study material in Urdu language for technical subjects. During the course of evidence, members of the Expert Committee, which recommended setting up of the Urdu University, protested that some of their main recommendations did not find place in the Bill. ... As any amendments at this stage would take a long time, they suggested that the Bill might be passed so that the process of setting up the University was not further delayed. The Committee trusts that the Governing Body of the University would bear in mind all relevant suggestions of the Expert Committee while finalising the courses in the new University.

... It was generally agreed that this long delayed measure would prove fully effective only if it was conceived as a part of a larger endeavour to restore Urdu to its due place in society by expansion of Urdu education at the school level, specially for elementary education, and the provision of adequate employment opportunities for graduates passing out in the Urdu medium.

Some members felt that if the said objectives could be achieved by strengthening and developing the Urdu departments in the existing Universities or by creating a separate wing for teaching in Urdu medium in the Indira Gandhi National Open University or by setting up an institute/centre without giving it the form of a University, ... that instead of spending a huge amount... on establishing a separate University... the same could be

distributed to various Universities and institutions so as to enable them to achieve the objectives... Other Members, were of the view that... the establishment of such a University would be an important step towards evolving an integrated strategy for the restoration of Urdu to its deserved place in contemporary India.

... It was clarified by the Ministry of HRD that the Departments of Urdu in the existing Universities were mainly concentrating on literature and the emphasis, by and large, was confined mainly to writing/teaching literary criticism, fiction, poetry, etc. Besides, almost all the existing Universities and Colleges provide teaching in media other than Urdu. There is a sizeable section of Urdu-speaking people whose needs require to be met through a University like the proposed one. With the distance education mode, the reach-out of the University would be at the all India level, which would give opportunity to Urdu speaking people, particularly women, to pursue higher/vocational education and training through the medium of Urdu.

... Representative of the Department of Education submitted... that IGNOU had not been able to fulfil, so far, its mandate in English and Hindi. It has to fulfil mandate first before it can take up another language.

Some Members... expressed their apprehension about the job prospects of students, trained particularly in technical and vocational subjects through the medium of Urdu. Other Members stressed the importance of integrating University level education with job opportunities in different sectors and that incentives should be provided for availing of the new educational opportunities offered by the Urdu University. It was contended by the Department that students coming out of this University would have no problem in the job market as a majority of them were expected to be absorbed in self-employment. ...

As regards watering down the recommendations of the Qureshi Committee in the Bill, the representative, Department of Education, accepted that the Bill was "not the exact reproduction of all the recommendations made by that Committee". The Bill, in fact, was drafted after taking those recommendations into serious consideration. He stated:

"This is a small but an important gesture towards the legitimate demand of a sizeable number of people. This may not meet all their hopes and aspirations, but it, no doubt, is a significant step towards that end."

In view of the nature of the distribution of the Urdu-speaking people and the Central Government's commitment to help educationally backward minority groups and also keeping in mind the longstanding demand for teaching technical subjects through Urdu medium in an open University system, the Committee recommends that the Bill be adopted subject to the observations made by it in the preceding paragraphs. The Committee also hopes that the new University would be brought into existence by the time the nation celebrates the 50th anniversary of its independence.

All India Urdu Editors Conference, 10 & 11 January, 1996 Summary of Resolutions

That the Paper Mills may be required to reserve a fixed ratio of total product as levy for the small Urdu papers utilising upto 200 tonnes of paper per year... to be provided on concessional rates... through Public Distribution System.

That the previous practice of ... STC supplying News Print with service charge of 2% may be continued for small Urdu papers...

That the time of Urdu news on DD may be raised to 20 minutes...

That ... the headlines of Urdu papers and their opinions may also be telecast.

That Urdu journalists may be invited to participate in discussions...

That... for provision of computers and other modern equipment to Urdu Press, the National Minorities Finance and Development Corporation may create a Special Fund.

That the National Council for Promotion of Urdu, established by the Ministry of Human Resource Development may have a department exclusively for the development and improvement of Urdu press and reserve a special fund for this purpose and run Urdu Computer Training Centres in the existing Calligraphy Centres.

That the Mass Media Terminologies Project may be completed and published without any loss of time and the same may be provided to the Urdu Press and electronic media. That the UNI should replace its old teleprinters with new equipment...

That the DAVP may adopt the Advertisement policy of the Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism for the award of advertisements to Urdu Press to the extent of 10% of the total advertisement budget...

That payment for advertisement should be made within 60 days of the submission of bill and all outstanding bills should be cleared... by March 31, 1996.

That the advertisements must be issued to Urdu Press in Urdu language only with the space limit should be calculated at 1-1/2 times of that fixed for the English Press...

The DAVP may be directed to accept the delayed publication of advertisement as before...

That the negative or positive film may be supplied to dailies or periodicals which have offset facilities as per their demand...

That the practice of some Ministries/Departments giving advertisement through private agencies rather than DAVP should be discontinued with immediate effect.

That the National Urdu Promotion Council may provide fifty per cent subsidy to all Urdu papers to avail of the Urdu service of the UNI and that the facility may be extended to the entire country without any delay.

That... the UNI should make this service more effective and all-comprehensive to cater to all the needs of Urdu Press...

Bal Raj Madhok, President, Jan Sangh on the Indianisation of Urdu

... Urdu is a style of Hindi... What distinguishes it from Hindi... is its overload of Turkish, Persian and Arabic words and Arabic script in which it is written.

... As is clear from its name, Urdu, which is a Turkish word for army, was developed in army camps of the foreign Turk soldiers. Like Tommy Hindi of the British soldiers in later days, it is Turki Hindi.

During the time of later Mughals, Urdu began to take the place of Persian as language of conversation and entertainment in Mughal courts as also in the provincial capitals like Lucknow and Hyderabad. Good many Hindu scribes and courtiers also gained proficiency in it. Urdu poetry with its Persian flavour became particularly popular and poets like ... Ghalib and Mir gave it respectability. The last titular Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar himself wrote poems in Urdu.

When the British took over power in India, they... continued the use of local languages in the lower rungs of administration in different provinces. But in Bihar, the United Province of Agra and Audh and Punjab they gave this position to Urdu.

Even after Urdu became the language of elementary education and administration in these provinces, the common people, including Muslims of Indian origin stuck to their mother tongues like Bhojpuri, Oudhi and Braj written in Devnagari script. In course of time, Khadi Boli Hindi which comprehended all the variations of Hindi gained currency as the common language of the people of these provinces. But Muslims of foreign origin who had mainly settled in these provinces and had forgotten their original mother tongues - Turkish and Persian - took to Urdu with gusto and began to own it as their mother tongue.

With the growth of political awakening and urge for freedom from British rule, demand for making Hindi in Devnagari script as the language of education and administration began to grow in UP and Bihar. With the introduction of dyarchy in 1921 and provincial autonomy in 1937, this demand became irresistible.

Majority rule and elevation of Hindi in Devnagari script as the language of administration created resentment among Muslims of foreign origin who adored Urdu not only as their mother tongue but also as a symbol and legacy of Muslim rule. Some of them... thought that they could not fit themselves in democratic Hindustan with the majority Hindu rule....

... Some others began to toy with the idea of creating an Islamic homeland - Dar-ul-Islam - within India where Islam, Islamic Shariat and Urdu may have a place of pride. They got encouragement from the British. That led

to the rise of the Muslim League and demand for partition. "Islam in danger" and "Urdu in danger" were the two main slogans of this movement for partition of India and creation of Pakistan.

The Urdu-speaking elite of Bihar and UP and teachers and students of Aligarh Muslim University played major role in building up this movement and creating frenzy for Pakistan among Muslims...

According to ... Ambedkar, exchange of Hindu and Muslim populations left behind in Pakistan and truncated Hindustan was the "logical corollary of Partition". Jinnah shared this view. It was possible at that time. ... But because of opposition of ... Azad, Gandhi and Nehru, this was not done. But forcible eviction of almost all Hindus and Sikhs from West Pakistan and Muslims from East Pakistan did take place.

A large majority of Muslims, who voluntarily migrated to Pakistan from other parts of India, were Urdu-speaking Muslims of foreign origin... They saw to it that Urdu was declared the official language of Pakistan to the exclusion of Punjabi and Bengali, the two major languages of Pakistan. Mohajirs looked down upon Sindhis and their language and instead of learning Sindhi and getting assimilated with the Sindhi people, began to assert their separate identity. A similar attitude towards Bengali Muslims and Bengali language was adopted by Urdu-speaking Bihari Muslims in East Pakistan.

The reaction Urdu created in East Pakistan resulted in the movement for separation from Pakistan. Thus, politics of Urdu led to vivisection of Pakistan in 1971 just as it had contributed to the vivisection of India in 1947. It also lies at the root of the Muhajir problem in Sindh.

Urdu is now fighting a losing battle in Pakistan. Sindh and NWFP have adopted Sindhi and Pashtu as their state languages. Demand for making Punjabi the state language of Punjab is gaining ground. This has isolated Urdu-speaking Muhajirs who have failed to take roots in Pakistan just as they had failed to take roots in India. They now want to carve an Urdu-speaking Muhajiristan out of Sindh. This may lead to not only another vivisection of Pakistan but also its total disintegration.

... Having lost ground in their land of promise, the Urduwallahs left behind in truncated India, have again started using Urdu as an instrument for working up separatism among Indian Muslims. Thanks to vote bank politics of the Congress and its off-shoot parties, like Janata Dal and Samajwadi party... and confused thinking of BJP, Urdu has once again become a live issue of Indian politics. Demand is being made for making Urdu second state language in a number of states Urdu

academies are being set up, creation of an Urdu university is on the anvil and special... concessions are being offered to the Urdu press which has become synonymous for Muslim press.

But this is neither going to help Urdu nor bring voters to the Congress because Urdu has no appeal for large majority of Muslims of Indian origin. Jammu and Kashmir is the only Indian state which has adopted Urdu as its state language. But, according to the Linguistic Survey of India, 1991, only about 3,000 people of that state registered Urdu as their mother tongue... Those Muslims who study in Urdu schools and neglect Hindi and their respective mother tongues, not only get cut off from the regional and national mainstream but also suffer academically...

... Arabic script, which is a difficult and unscientific script known to few people, has retarded the progress and adversely affected the popularity of Urdu. Its identification with Islam and Muslims has made things worse.

The only effective way to popularise and give a new lease of life to Urdu in India is to Indianise it by using Devnagari script for writing it... If the Government is really concerned about the propagation of Urdu, it must take steps to use Devnagari script for Urdu publications of Government-sponsored and supported academic organisations.

It is wrong to think that Urdu will lose its identity if it is not written in Arabic script. Roman script is the common script of most of the European languages. But every one of them has a distinct identity of its own... A beginning can be made by giving option to write Urdu in Devnagari script. Therefore, the only effective way... is to Indianise it and not to politicise it. Those who are playing politics with Urdu... are doing more harm than good to Urdu and undermining national unity...

(Source: The Hindustan Times, 6 January, 1996)

Government Statement On Promotion of Urdu

A Centrally Sponsored Scheme of financial assistance of Appointment of Modern Indian Language Teachers (other than Hindi) which includes Urdu in Hindi-speaking States/UTs was launched in 1993-94. The Eighth Plan outlay for the scheme is Rs. 3.00 crore. No expenditure has been incurred till date as no proposals have been received from the States.

(Source: LSUQ No. 2495 dated 12 December, 1995 by S. Shahabuddin)

Kuldip Singh Arora On Urdu Press

The Urdu Press in the country which had shrunk in shape and size since independence is undergoing a turnaround.

Prejudice, apathy and even hostility towards Urdu mainly on communal account, and above all lack of advance in Urdu printing technology had resulted in the negative growth of the Urdu Press.

The situation, however, has been changing for the better in the recent years. This is mainly because of technological upgradation and a general improvement in the content, coverage and presentation of news and views in Urdu newspapers. ... United News of India (UNI) launched its Urdu teleprinter service three years ago.

Calligraphy is no longer essential for page-making. Computers perform this task nowadays. ... After independence, Urdu began disappearing from schools... and as a result Urdu newspapers stopped attracting best of the brains...

Things began looking up in the past two decades for three reasons: (1) vote seeking politicians realised the importance of Urdu as vehicle to reach the Muslim community; (2) invention of Urdu teleprinter, and (3) events unfolding themselves in post-emergency era which increased political awareness among the Muslim community. ...

The circulation of Urdu newspapers like "Inqilab", "Urdu Times", "Hindustan" (Bombay), "Salar" and "Pasban" (Bangalore) and "Siasat" and Rehnumai Deccan" (Hyderabad) is increasing the liberal approach towards the promotion of Urdu language in these States has played a pivotal role in the popularity of the Urdu Press.

Established Urdu newspapers have an average circulation of 20,000... However, the challenges before the Urdu Press are the same gauge newspapers. They include rising newsprint cost and dwindling advertisement revenue... The increase in circulation of Urdu newspapers is not as fast as in the case of Hindi or other regional language newspapers.

In the matter of Government advertisements Urdu newspapers have been at a disadvantage. The DAVP showed that Urdu newspapers got almost one per cent of the total advertisement budget till December 1994.

Urdu editors stoutly deny that their newspapers fan communal passions. ... Attempts are being made to make Urdu newspapers complete, as Urdu editors nowadays give quite a lot of space to sports, commerce and cultural and literacy events. A lot of positive writing appeared in Urdu newspapers which was not brought to the notice of

(Contd. on page 56)

Bal Raj Madh Arora

... Urdu is a stylized script which has had shrunk in the last few years, from Hindi... is it... of Arabic words and... which is undergoing a... Turkish word... administrator, the foreign... campus of the British soldi... the last few... During... Urdu... proved that at the... the placing... changed... capital... vested interests have firmly... scribed... in the AMU campus... poe... the university, with its vast tracts of... ant because of unplanned expansion, has... prime hunting ground for land sharks. They are... financing a section of the students leadership, using its influence to encroach on prime university property... Compounding AMU's woes are the cliques created by employees filling up vacant posts with their relatives.

What's worse, nearly 23,000 students are crammed into the university's 13 hostels, which makes it difficult for the authorities to weed out people with criminal antecedents... The lack of proper fencing further helps criminals to slip in and out of the campus with impunity. Even though the police have been given permission by Rehman to enter the campus to flush out criminal elements, few students volunteer to help spot them....

Despite initiating such reforms as abolishing the highly politicised students' union and stopping admissions based on recommendations, Rehman's tough, almost abrasive style has antagonised even many of his well-wishers. Several of his decisions have come in for criticism. For one, he did not change his administrative team, a holdover from his predecessor's time... Rehman's habit of making unilateral decisions has been ill received... If last fortnight's incidents are any indication, AMU's troubles are likely to outlive the current VC as well.

(Source: The India Today, 15 December, 1995)

Government Statement On Unani Medicine

It has been decided to set up a National Institute of Unani Medicine at Bangalore on 55 acres and 2 guntas of land provided by the Government of Karnataka, free of cost. The foundation stone for the building has already been laid on 8.11.1995 and a provision of Rs. 100.00 lakh has been made for the Institute during the current year.

(Source: L.S.U.Q No. 3667 dated 20 December, 1995 by C.P. Urs)

Hamdard Institute of Historical Research Ghalib Academy, Nizamuddin West, New Delhi-110 013

The Hamdard Institute of Historical Research, a non-governmental and non-political organisation, registered under the Societies Registration Act of 1860 (S-20374 of 1990), is an autonomous research-cum-study centre. It has been sponsored by the Hamdard National Foundation, New Delhi, to foster objective, rational and scientific study of the history of South Asia such as will inculcate an informed appreciation of the composite cultural heritage and of the anti-colonial struggle for freedom in the region as also to promote and support compilation and publication of source-material... in respect of the Region. It also purports to promote interaction between scholars and institutions engaged in historical research on the Region in different countries.

Governing Council

President:

1. Hakeem Abdul Hameed, Chancellor, Jamia Hamdard

Hony. Director:

2. Prof. S.A.I. Tirmizi, Formerly Director, National Archives of India

Treasurer:

3. Mr. Abdul Mueed, Treasurer, Hamdard National Foundation(HNF)

Members:

4. Prof. Satish Chandra, Formerly Chairman, University Grants Commission
5. Prof. M.S. Agwani, Vice-Chancellor (VC), JNU
6. Prof. Mohammad Amin, VC, Jamia Hamdard
7. Prof. Bipin Chandra, Professor, JNU
8. Dr. Prem Kirpal, Formerly Secretary, Ministry of Education, Government of India,
9. Prof. Ziaul Hasan Faruqi, Formerly Professor, Jamia Millia Islamia
10. Prof. V.N. Datta, Professor Emeritus, Kurukshetra University
11. Mr. S.A. Ali, Dean, Faculty of Islamic Studies and Humanities, Jamia Hamdard
12. Mr. Arshad Ali Kidwai, Secretary, HNF
13. Qazi Irshad Husain, Superintendent, HNF

Publications: ... Cultural Interaction in South Asia: A Historical Perspective was brought out and released by Janab Hakeem Abdul Hameed on 19th February, 1993.

Work on Research Project: Partition of India: A Documentary Study, 1857-47 has been initiated.

Panel Discussion: A Panel Discussion on "South Asia: Pluralism and Composite Culture" was organised at Centre on 19th February, 1994 with Mr. I.K. Gujral, Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan, Mr. Praful Bidwai and Prof. S.A.I. Tirmizi.

Government Statement on Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies

The Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies has been established to signalise the memory of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad:-

- (i) by acquiring of the Maulana's dwelling in 19A, Ballygunge Circular Road to be organised as a personalia museum and International Scholars Guest House;
- (ii) by setting up an Institute for advanced research and library with contemporary data bank and documentation facilities on the 1 acre land to be granted by the Government of West Bengal in Salt Lake City;
- (iii) 3 major areas be focussed on specialisation in Asian Studies:
 - (a) West Asia - with particular reference to Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan;
 - (b) Central Asia - With particular reference to the CIS Republics;
 - (c) South Asia - Bangladesh

The objectives for establishment of the Institute are as follows:-

- (a) to be a Centre for research and learning with focus on social, cultural, political and economic movements in Asia from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, with special emphasis on their links with India and the life and works of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad;
- (b) to establish and maintain a library of books, pamphlets, newspapers, periodicals, microfilms, still photographs, motion pictures, sound recordings and other materials having a bearing on the secular traditions of Modern India with special reference to social, cultural and political movements and events from the middle of 19th century onwards;
- (c) to establish and maintain a personalia museum at the former residence of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in Calcutta. The Museum would highlight the life and works of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad as a distinguished national leader and thinker; ...
- (e) to organise, undertake, conduct, encourage and promote study and research in the field of secularism and universal brotherhood and the life and work of Maulana Azad; ...

Expenditure:

Year	Expenditure	Year	Expenditure
1992-93	Rs. 75,000	1993-94	Rs. 30,39,000
1994-95	Rs. 25,54,000	1995-96 (BE)	Rs. 25,00,000

Staff Strength:

S.No.	Cadre	Sanctioned Strength	Staff in Position as on 1.10.95
1.	Director,	1	1
2.	Sr./Associate Fellow }		
3.	Pes. Fellow/Associate }		
	Sr./Jr. Research Fellow }	8	8
4.	Professional Fellow	3	-
5.	Visiting Fellow	2	-

6.	Corresponding Fellow	6	-
7.	Librarian	1	1
8.	Documentation-cum-Information Officer	1	-

Achievements

Quarterly News Letter: The Institute publishes a Newsletter of about 32 pages every quarter of the year from the year 1994-95. 5 issues (upto December 1995) of the Newsletter have been published and one more issue will be out by 19.12.1995. Articles and other materials of the Newsletter have been mostly contributed by the research fellows and academic staff of the Institute; each issue has had a guest article, the first one of which was by Shri Salman Khurshid.

Publication: Following 3 Azad Institute Papers also published:

1. Dr. Ranabir Samaddar: Many Histories and Few Silences - Nationalist History of Nationalism in Bangladesh.
2. Dr. Barun De: Central and North-West Asian Geopolitics in Post-USSR International Relations.
3. Mrs. Suchandana Chatterjee: Regional Rivalries in Tajik Politics : The Current Scene.

Lectures: ... Lectures ... by Prof. Anisuzzaman, Dhaka University, Bangladesh on "Identity, Religion and Recent History of Bangladesh" (published as a book).

(Source: LSUQ No. 3483 dated 19.12.1995 by S. Shahabuddin)

Shahabuddin's Letter to MOS for Education and Culture, 22 December, 1995

I am shocked and surprised to note that against an outlay of more than 57 lakhs, what we have received so far, are a few issues of a quarterly newsletter, three papers (which have nothing to do with Maulana Azad's mission or vision) and one book on Bangladesh which may have some bearing on the political philosophy of Maulana Azad. The work of this Institute hardly does honour to the memory of the great Maulana.

I would like to know whether the premises 19-A Ballygunge Circular Road, have been converted into proposed museum and guest house.

I would also like to know whether any specific work has been done on the political, philosophical and religious vision of Maulana Azad or is under way. I have a feeling that the charter of the Institution which makes it mere a centre for regional studies needs to be revised, to focus on Maulana Azad. Even as a Centre of regional studies, it cuts out the Arab world and therefore such of the Islamic world with which Maulana interacted. ...

I would also like to know whether the Director and research staff at present working at the Institute possess an adequate knowledge of Urdu, Arabic and Persian, the three languages in which Maulana's thoughts were largely expressed. If not, I feel that the qualifications of the permanent staff of the Institute should be properly defined.

Analysis of Madras Riots, September, 1995

Editorial in the Hindu, 5 September, 1995

The violence that broke out on ... September 3 in Madras during the procession of Vinayaka (Ganesh) idols for immersion in the sea may not exactly be a throwback to 1990 in terms of the human lives lost or the damage... But that does not make the... violence less condemnable, nor does it detract from the high risk potential the annual event, carries for communal harmony.

Trouble started when processionists forming the rearguard broke the security cordon and fought a pitched battle with the police, forcing the latter to lob teargas shells and use the lathi... and the provocation was that some of the idols were stopped near a mosque en route. That all the jumbo-sized idols would pass the communally hypersensitive point before... the evening prayers in the mosque concerned was a commitment the organisers had given to the police. When that did not happen, the police had necessarily to intervene and see that the prayers went on as scheduled and undisturbed...

The question arises as to why the organisers did not stick to the agreed schedule in the first place. There have indeed been suggestions of a "deliberate" slowing down... Even if one were to discount that theory, the organisers cannot absolve themselves of blame for not honouring a commitment that was so critical for the smooth passage of the procession as well as for the maintenance of communal peace... Nor would it do for them to escape responsibility by throwing the blame on "anti-social elements", the all-too-familiar generic term that provides a convenient escape route. It is precisely because of the enormous scope that religious processions - especially when taken out in a highly polarised situation as has evolved in Tamil Nadu in recent years - provided for mischief that the secular-minded citizens and organisations have been strongly pleading against such massive demonstrations and this year also an appeal was issued. **It is to the credit of the minority community and its concern for public peace that it responded positively by cancelling the procession it used to take out on the occasion of Meelad-un-Nabi - in 1992 one person was killed in violent clashes during the Meelad procession.**

The absence of a reciprocal gesture from the organisers of the Vinayaka (Ganesh) idol procession, who have been not only adamant about holding the "show" but also about staging it along a route dotted with mosques, exposes the fundamentalist elements of the majority community to the charge of provocative posturing. Given that the practice of huge idols being taken in processions from various parts of the city for immersion in the sea was not known to Madras till the Hindu Munnani-RSS groups introduced it, there can be little doubt that the annual event is indeed an integral part of the Hindutva outfits' sinister design to raise the communal temperature

in Tamil Nadu - a State that has enjoyed an enviable reputation for communal harmony - and also to secure some political space, and this in turn fits into their all-India strategy as evidenced by their campaign for the so-called "liberation" of temples in Varanasi and Mathura in brazen defiance of Central law protecting the places of worship all over the country. **More than the disturbances per se, it is the militancy of the fundamentalists of the majority community which they exemplify that is a matter of grave concern and as such needs to be addressed in all seriousness and urgency.**

Spurt in Communalism

Editorial, The New Age, 10 December, 1995

The third anniversary of the perfidy committed by the hordes of the Sangh Parivar on December 6, 1992 at Ayodhya has once again proved that the evil forces which have played havoc with the nation's unity and integrity during the last one decade in the name of Mandir-Masjid controversy are not going to leave us alone. Rather, they are going to intensify their aggressive campaign for communal polarisation of Indian masses.

Bharatiya Janata Party, the political wing of the RSS tribe, had gone into remorse after the demolition and its liberal face Atal Behari Vajpayee had even expressed regret over the "unfortunate event"... Now, on the eve of the Lok Sabha elections, BJP has done a somersault and called for observance of the anniversary as "Rashtriya Gaurav Diwas" (national day of pride)...

BJP's game is clear. It wants to stick to the old mascot of aggressive Hindutva which had brought dividends to it during the elections... during the last decade.

More astonishing is the fact that the Muslim community ... perfidy was attempted to be dragged to the agitational path again by certain Muslim organisations, mostly patronised by the ruling party at the centre. ...

... The first salvo... on the eve of the anniversary was fired by none other than... Home Minister Chavan. On November 26... (he) announced "there is no question of the Congress or anyone in the government tendering any apology" for the demolition of the Babari Masjid. "The incident... committed in connivance with BJP and its allies". Though the Home Minister has not elaborated on who connived with BJP and its allies, the whole world knows the faces and names of these collaborators. After all, it was not for nothing that Maharashtra's BJP deputy chief minister Gopinath Munde assured continuance of Chavan as the Home Minister after BJP captures power at the centre!

... The secular forces, particularly the Left, rightly observed the anniversary with campaigns for intensifying the movement in defence of secular democracy...

Akhilesh Upadhyay on Hindu-Muslim Riots

... Kathmandu's intelligentsia has been shaken by the Hindu-Muslim riots - the third such incident since the '70s - that rocked the west Nepal town of Nepalganj in the last of October, 1995.

The town, bordering the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh, came to a virtual standstill between October 26 and October 30. A minor quarrel between a grocer and his customer over vegetable prices flared up into violent Hindu-Muslim riots that left over 15 injured. The police resorted to lathi-charges and tear gas and had to finally fire several rounds in the air. Overnight curfew was clamped on the Terai town until sanity prevailed and members of both the communities took out peace rallies.

The first Hindu-Muslim riots in Nepal took place in the Terai district of Rautahat in 1971. Remembered as Gai Kanda (the Cow Incident), the unrest began when local Hindus were angered by reports of cow slaughter. A more serious - but less violent - protest erupted earlier this year, when Padma Ratna Tuladhar, a Buddhist and member of the ruling United Marxist-Leninist cabinet made some innocent remarks about cow slaughter at a human rights gathering in Parsa, yet another Terai district with a large Muslim population...

... Is Nepali society beginning to lose its age-old character marked by communal harmony? "It's a natural backlash against the long Hindu dominance," says Ganeshman Gurung, a sociologist. "It is also the manifestation of a growing sense of unease in the ruling Hindu elite." High caste Hindus - the Brahmins, Chhetris and the Newaris - dominate almost all walks of life, including the legislature, the judiciary and the bureaucracy. While other classes feel they have been deprived of their fair share of privileges, Muslims, constituting about 3 per cent of the nation's population and not part of the traditional class structure, often feel like pariahs.

Nepal's Muslims, largely Sunni, constitute a heterogeneous group. The Kashmiri Muslims, who have been in the country since the late 15th century, engaged in different occupations as musicians, manufacturers and bangle suppliers... Other groups from different parts of northern India also settled in Nepal during the 16th and 17th century at the invitation of hill rulers to manufacture armaments. These Muslims remained in the hills and a majority of them are now farmers. The largest community however are the Terai Muslims - those living in the plains bordering India - who constitute 90 per cent of the total Muslim population. They are concentrated in the districts of Banke (Nepalganj is the district headquarters), Kapilavastu, Rupandehi, Parsa, Bara, Rautahat, Saptari and Sunsari from east to west Nepal.

In 1990, when Nepal was drafting its new democratic

constitution, it could have set the ancient Hindu order right by giving all communities their due... Unfortunately, the nation let the historical moment slip by. But others claim that the constitution well embodies the pluralistic nature of Nepalese society and if the word 'Hindu' is mentioned it is because an overwhelming majority of the people in the country are Hindus, giving Nepal its distinct identity...

A high-level government commission set up to look into the clashes hasn't made its findings public yet... The influx of Bangladeshi Muslims, which is beginning to throw the traditional Hindu-Muslim equation off balance, could be one reason for the recent communal strife.

Significantly, unlike in neighbouring India, Hindu-Muslim clashes in Nepal have never before gone out of control.... As a minority, Muslims have preferred to keep a low profile... What is a matter of concern ... is that the Nepalese intelligentsia could well be overreacting. As S. Sharma, Sociologist points out: "The Hindu intelligentsia largely feeds on the writings of Indian politicians, scholars and journalists which are laden with as yet unarticulated anti-Muslim biases". If these sentiments are allowed to permeate Nepal, the little nation could have a big problem on its hands.

(Source: The Outlook, 22 November, 1995)

Shahabuddin's Letter to Home Minister On Winding up of Sri Krishna Commission, 27 January, 1996

With reference to the decision of the Government of Maharashtra to wind up the Sri Krishna Commission of Inquiry on Bombay Disturbances of December, 92 - January, 93, it is obvious that the State Government has acted in a malafide and motivated manner because the inquiry was reaching a stage where the direct involvement of the Shiv Sainiks in the Bombay holocaust would stand exposed.

Since the excuse made by the government is its inability to meet the expenses in continuing the Commission, I would like to suggest that in view of the national importance of the inquiry the Central Government should offer to the State Government to meet the cost of the Commission w.e.f. 1.1.1996.

If this is not technically feasible, the Central Government should set up a fresh Commission of Inquiry which should take over the records of the Sri Krishna Commission. Perhaps the Central Government may appoint Justice Sri Krishna himself to constitute the new Commission.

In any case, the responsibility must be fixed and the crimes must be exposed.

Shariq Alavi on U.P. PAC

"It would be wrong and unfair to conclude that PAC as a whole is communalised force which always acts willfully against the Muslims when deployed for duty during communal riots -" observed a high powered Committee constituted in 1987 under the chairmanship of Mr. J.A. Kalyankrishnan, Chief Secretary, UP, with Director General of Central Reserve Police and Inspector General of UP PAC as members. The Committee viewed that any striking force which is required to act in crisis situations invariably gets labelled as partisan or communal. Such allegations have been made against other para-military forces and sometimes even against the army. In contrast to this acquittal was Maulana Asad Madani's observation. Madani, a Congress Member of Parliament and staunch nationalist, after his tour of the riot riven Meerut in 1987 remarked that role of PAC in Meerut reminded him of Nazi atrocities on unsuspecting Jews. He attributed the reign of terror unleashed by these 'khaki' killers to the encouragement it received from the state. A distraught Madani advocated the winding up of the force. ...

The PAC... has in 1995 expanded to 34 battalions with about 33,000 jawans... Because of its effectiveness many states like Andhra, Assam, Jammu and Kashmir, Nagaland and Tripura asked for its services and appreciated PAC's role in helping the local administration in containing the demon of insurgency. ... Delhi administration is even today withholding 20 Companies of UP PAC for law and order duties in Delhi.

It is unfortunate that a force establishment of which was conceived by a known nationalist and secularist, Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, nursed and brought up by veteran Muslim Police Officers like Mr. Islam Ahmad IP; Mr. Sirajuddin Ahmad IP; Mr. Qamrul Hasan IPS; Shah Aziz Alam IPS; Syed Akhtar Abbass IPS (all are now dead) and others is being branded as an anti-Muslim and a communal outfit. Muslims dread its name and avoid any interaction with it. They have reason for their scepticism. The PAC had let them down miserably in many a riot situation. In 1978 for the first time PAC was stigamised as communal during the riots that had broken out in Aligarh... After the riots the investigation of 13 cases of alleged brutality and accesses registered against the PAC was entrusted to the Crime Branch of the C.I.D., UP. Even on the face of definite and direct evidence the CID is said to have handled the matter in a rough-shot manner and exonerated the PAC of all the charges. This inept handling of the first incident of PAC's biased behaviour by the power that be estranged Muslims who lost faith both in PAC and CID... (This) encouraged the PAC and resulted in their getting embroiled in 1980 riots on I'd day in Moradabad. Here too PAC was accused of losing all sense of balance in dealing with situation. The Meerut riots in 1987 culminated in the brutal killings of men of a

particular community by PAC in Hashimpura and Maliana. However, this time Crime Branch of CID could not come to their rescue, may be because of changed political scenario and also the deposition of the eye witnesses of the massacre and charged them of committing the heinous crime. Infact it is after the indictment of the force by CID that efforts of introspection to rejuvenate the PAC have begun. (No PAC personnel has yet been prosecuted for Hashimpura and Maliana killings - Editor).

During the agitation launched by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad on Ram Janambhumi issue in 1990 and again in 1992.. their soft peddling with Hindu agitators added fuel to the fire. If the PAC was perceived as a Muslim killer by the minorities during riots its caste and communal composition was more alarming. The statistical analysis of the composition of the PAC shows... lately the reservation for backward classes has started showing telling effect on its heterogeneous image. Muslims representation had been negligible so far but now it is said that about 5% Muslims have found place in this... force.

Why Muslims are annoyed and afraid of PAC? Is this stereotype of the force justified? ... Bureau of Police Research and Development in the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India conducted a study in 1980 on communal riots in UP between 1975 and 1979 in which PAC was deployed. In the period under review it was found that 124 persons lost their lives in 1966 communal riots in which 55 were Hindus and 69 Muslims. Out of 504 injured 273 were Hindus and 231 Muslims. The number of persons arrested was also revealing. Out of 4181 number of Hindus was 2456 and of Muslims 1725.

What can be done to restore the good name to PAC... The PAC like Army should remain confined to barracks and come out only when it is required to 'strike'... Frequent exposure of the Force to public loses its fear. Moreover, the personnel of the Force to get 'polluted' by their interaction with unscrupulous elements... The heavy deployment of the PAC deprives its personnel of their regular exercises and also training... The reorientation courses of behaviour are must for such a force. Emphasis on avoiding cruelty, over zealousness and instilling in them awareness of Human Rights are some important points which they must imbibe. ...

The stress management in PAC is a vital issue. Often tired, overworked and agitated PAC men lose their calm and act brazenly. Playing on the psyche of the people is an art which PAC must learn... In the eventuality of confrontation... those injured... must be provided First-Aid by PAC and seriously injured persons be rushed to Hospitals... Donation of blood, if necessary by PAC jawans, should also be encouraged...

(Source: The Azad Academy Journal, 1-31 August, 1995)

Rajasthan: Cow Service Commission
Prasanna Mohanty in The Statesman,
13 January, 1996

The Bharatiya Janata Party's fixation with the "holy cow" simply defies logic. In a State where thousands of children die of malnutrition every year and the infant mortality rate at an official 82 per 1000, remains the fourth highest in the country with nothing being done about it, the ruling party has constituted a high-power commission for the protection of the cow.

On January nine, the Governor of Rajasthan, Mr. Baliram Bhagat, gave his consent for setting up a 15-member "Gau Seva Commission". The State Government took immediate measures and appointed members the very next day. With this, the Rajasthan Gau Seva Ayog Act of 1995 came into effect.

That it indeed is a high-power body needs no emphasis. Of the 15 members, six are senior IAS officers of the Secretary level, one Vice-Chancellor and the Director-General of Police. They are empowered to depute somebody else on their behalf if they so desire, but the representative cannot be less than a Deputy Secretary or Inspector General of Police.

... The Rajasthan Government had passed two Acts to protect cows, the Rajasthan Preservation of Certain Animals Act, 1950, banning cow slaughter and the Rajasthan Bovine Animal (Prohibition of Slaughter and Regulation of Temporary Migration or Export) Act, 1995, banning transportation for the purpose of slaughter or export...

There is also a high-voltage State Government-sponsored programme to improve cow breed, called the "Gopal" scheme, which trains youth and engages them in villages for the purpose.

Organizations and schemes looking into the welfare of the "holy cow", thus, far surpass those taking care of the health needs of human beings who deserve immediate attention. A look at the "State Plan of Action for Children", published and circulated last year by the Rajasthan Government itself, proves the point.

The report provides a vivid picture of the extent of malnutrition, the high infant mortality rate and of how the poverty-stricken people of Rajasthan still go in for child marriage... So do we have a Malnutrition Prevention Commission? Or an Infant Mortality Reduction Commission? No, thank you. We are in a BJP-ruled State.

It is time the two countries became more open about cultural exchanges.

- Pakistani Singer Nusrat Fatch Ali Khan

Total Ban on Cow Slaughter Uneconomic -
Prof. S. N. Mishra, Former Director of the
Institute of Economic Growth

Ban on cow slaughter has adversely affected the dairy economy in India.

... Lifting of the restrictions on cow slaughter might be politically difficult, but without such a measure the dairy industry would face erosion.

The elimination of non-productive animals would not only spare the costly cattlefeed for milch cattle, but also provide income to farmers through sale of meat... Due to the ban, farmers were starving... non-productive animals to death. Is it not greater cruelty to animals.

... Advanced countries in the dairy industry like the Netherlands maintained strict quality control and even a marginal reduction in the milk yield could send the animals to the slaughter house. Such a measure was required in the country to save the dairy economy from ruination. ...

(Source: The PTI, 12 January, 1995)

Eating Habits of Urban Households
(Total Polled: 16,948 households)

Vegetarian	21.1%
Only eggs	3.7%
Non-Veg.	74.2%

Eating Habits Within Income Groups
(As a Percentage of Households
Polled within Each Group)

	Monthly Income		
	Upto Rs.500	Rs.1001-2500	Above Rs.4,000
Non-Veg.	83.8	75.3	62.6
Only eggs	3.2	2.8	7.8
Vegetarian	13.0	21.9	29.6

What Meat is Cooked in
Non-Veg. Households

Mutton	91.5%
Fish	82.6%
Chicken	76.0%
Beef	12.7%
Pork	2.7%

(Source: IMRB's National Food Survey, 1992)

The minorities perceive that Narasimha Rao is responsible for the Babari Masjid demolition and so don't want him.

- C.K. Jaffer Sharief in Outlook

Iqbal A. Ansari on Hindu-Muslim Differences

... Sources of such conflicts between any two large communities living together may be traced to a clash of real or perceived political and economic interests, as well as to the varying perceptions on socio-cultural and religious-civilisational issues. The level of conflict periodically crosses danger mark leading to violence, which itself contributes to the sharpening and widening of conflict.

The Constitution and the institutions established under it provide mechanisms for the resolution of conflicts. The provisions on equality of citizens, coupled with the incorporation of the principle of affirmative action for deprived and disadvantaged groups and those on the educational and cultural rights of minorities, may ideally be considered adequate to take care of inter-group conflicts. But if ideal conditions for the working of the Constitution do not exist, the reasons may be sought in the culture of power politics, the judicial system and the law-enforcement machinery, besides the non-egalitarian traditional base that makes us accept unfair and unjust treatment of the other communities.

Even if conditions on the ground improve enabling the constitutional scheme to become a reality, the sources of conflict may not disappear. There are grey areas in the constitutional provisions related to freedom of religion, secularism, cow protection and minority rights whose content and implications do not appear to have been settled either by the judiciary or through political consensus. There is also a mismatch not only between institutions created by the Constitution and India's traditional social, cultural and political institutions, but also between the secular nation state's goals and the civilisational aspirations of the people.

Among the issues that have the potential to be used in aggravating communal divide are: (i) history, especially that of medieval India in the context of the role of Islam (ii) Ayodhya, Kashi and Mathura as special cases of the legacy of history (iii) characterisation of one by the other community as malicha and kafir (iv) conversion (v) cow protection (vi) separate domains of Hindu and Muslim religious cultures and common areas of secular regional cultures (vii) communal riots (viii) the status of Urdu (ix) perception of discriminatory practices against Muslims and perception of their appeasement (x) Muslim Personal Law and uniform civil code (xi) Muslims loyalty to India (xii) perception of threat of ... Islamic fundamentalism... by Hindus and of assimilation by Muslims.

Issues like these being interrelated, an effort towards reconciliation can be expected to influence the future course of Hindu-Muslim relations by a wider sharing of insights and by involving community leaders in favouring a comprehensive agreement. There is a need ... to undertake a study of these and similar issues with a view to advising community leaders as to how to resolve them.

It should, for example, be possible for Muslims to voluntarily declare that they will not slaughter cows for any purpose, and also to reassure Hindus that there is no design to induce conversion of weak and vulnerable groups of Hindus and through lure of money and jobs in the Gulf. Banning cow slaughter by a Central legislation may come into conflict with the demands of secularism, but its coming into effect through a compact will not pose any problem.

Similarly, the demand for repeal of the constitutional provisions under Article 25 to propagate religion will be a retrograde step violative of basic norms of democracy, but it should be possible for the two communities to declare that neither is politically motivated to convert... others by fair and foul means. Further, it may be an exercise worth attempting to understand what makes small sections of Muslims behave in a way that seems unpatriotic to the average Hindus. It should also be possible to ensure that Urdu enjoys the right to survive as a language in its traditional script, especially in UP, without undermining any legitimate interests of Hindi.

Given the right perspective, it should not lie beyond the realm of the possible to amicably resolve the issue of Ayodhya - if Muslims can be reasonably assured that compromise will yield permanent peace dividends in terms of impartial enforcement of law to protect their lives and honour and also in terms of their due share in national life....

(Source: The Indian Express, 19 January, 1996)

(Contd. from page 71)

also been received from the RBI... Requests are being made for some more branches with a-view to help the weaker sections... An extension counter to collect fees etc. was approved in a college premises at Aurangabad.

Computerisation: The Bank has created a Department for development of Computerisation... Most of the branches have been provided with computers, which helped in improving the Management Information System and services to the customers.

Human Resources Development: During the year Shaikh Mohamedally Allabux Urban Banking Development Institute conducted 29 programmes with 629 participants, including 66 participants from other Co-operative Banks... The Institute continues to make academic contribution in the field of Research and Development.

Board of Directors

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Mr. Ghulam Ghouse | 2. Mr. R.A. Farooqui |
| 3. Mr. E.H. Turel | 4. Mr. Zulfeqar Husain |
| 5. Mr. M.H. Contractor | 6. Dr. A.U. Shaikh |
| 7. Mr. S.E.H. Rizvi | 8. Mr. Mir Nasrullah |
| 9. Dr. A.A. Raval | 10. Mr. W.A. Azmi |
| 11. Mr. K.G. Saleh | 12. Mr. Jashbhai U. Patel |
| 13. Mr. M.H. Parkar | 14. Mr. Shamim Kazim |
| 15. Mr. T.A. Khan | |

Annual Report of Salar Jung Museum Board, 1993-94

... The Salar Jung Museum and Library is managed by the Salar Jung Museum Board... Sri Krishan Kant, H.E. the Governor of Andhra Pradesh is Ex-officio Chairman...

The following are the members of the Board.

Ex-officio Members:

1. Secretary to Govt. of India, Department of Culture
2. Mayor of the Municipal, Corporation of Hyderabad
3. Vice-Chancellor, Osmania University, Hyderabad
4. Accountant General (A&E), A. P., Hyderabad.

Nominated Members:

5. Nawab Abbas Yar Jung
6. Dr. Saroj Ghose, Director General, National Council of Science Museums in India
7. K.S. Rao, Ex-M.P.
8. Gulam Mohammed Sheik, Head, Deptt. of History & Arts, M.S. University, Baroda replaced by Dr. Geeti Sen, Editor, India International Centre, New Delhi.
9. Principal Secretary (H.E.), Education Department, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.
10. Director I/C, Archaeology & Museum Govt. of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

The Salar Jung Museum Board is assisted by the:

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Executive Committee | 2. Finance Committee |
| 3. Publication Committee | 4. Welfare Committee |
| 5. Building Committee | 6. Museum Dev. Comtee |

Visitors:

10,80,385 persons including children, servicemen in Uniform, organised Kisan parties and students etc. visited the Museum.

Income

	(Rs.)
i) Sale of tickets	19,28,711.50
ii) Sale of publications	92,582.40
iii) Other receipts	2,77,643.00
iv) Interest from investments	22,81,733.20
v) Grant received from Govt. of India	40,66,600.00
vi) Income from Other Sources	45,80,670.10
Total :	13,22,7,940.20

Expenditure:

Plan

	(Rs.)
i) Public Works (Building)	47,89,009.00
ii) Development	4,18,064.00
iii) Re-Organisation	5,39,287.00
iv) Preservative	57,815.00
v) Cultural	55,198.00
vi) Pay and Allowances of Officers/Staff	41,315.00
Total :	59,00,688.00

Non-Plan

i) Pay and Allowances	1,05,45,280.00
ii) Deposits and Advances	1,14,600.00
iii) Other Charges	18,44,920.00
Total :	1,25,04,800.00

Activities:

Birthday Celebrations of Salar Jung-III: The 107th Birthday Celebrations of Salar Jung-III were inaugurated by Nawab Abbas Yar Jung, Member, Salar Jung Museum Board and observed for a week from 7th to 13th April, 1993 including the following:-

1. A Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts Vol. VII was released.
2. A temporary Exhibition on "Asian Ivory in Art" was inaugurated.
3. Salar Jung Memorial Lecture (1993) on "Architecture of Nawabs of Oudh" was delivered by Shri M.C. Joshi, Director General (Retd.), Archaeological Survey of India.
4. Following Lectures were also organised.
 - i) "Museum as an Instrument of Education" by Prof. Radha Krishna Sarma.
 - ii) "Salar Jung-III and his Times" by Mr. Hasnuddin Ahmed.
 - iii) "Rock-cut Monuments of Western India" by Prof. S. Nagaraju.
5. Cultural Programmes like Mushaira, Sham-e-Ghazal were organised. Best Workers Awards were distributed.

The 108th Birthday Celebrations of Salar Jung-III (1994) were observed from 27th March, 1994 to 2nd April, 1994. It was inaugurated by Shri Krishan Kant, the Governor of A.P. On this occasion a special exhibition on "The Salar Jungs - Founders of the Museum" was arranged.

Two Salar Jung Memorial Lectures were delivered:

- i) "Life and Times of Nizams and Salar Jungs" by Prof. Radha Krishna Sarma.
- ii) "The Nizam's Contributions to the Art and Culture of Andhra" by Acharya Tirumala Ramachandra.

A two-day seminar on the theme "The Salar Jung Museum - its Cultural Content" was held in which 9-Scholars presented papers.

Museum Week: The Museum Week was observed from 8th to 14th January, 1994. A special exhibition on 'Children's Art' was the highlight in which paintings and sketches drawn by physically and mentally handicapped children were displayed.

The Museum organised a 7-lectures series on the "Concept, Policy and Planning of Museums in India"

Mobile Exhibition: A Mobile Exhibition on "Monuments of Hyderabad" covered 72-educational institutions.

Library: During the period 308 books purchased and 166 books were received as gratis.

Conservation of Art Object: During the period 1534 art objects and 34 miniature paintings were chemically treated... 5 oil paintings were restored.

Gift of Manuscript: A rare and precious Quran Sharif, finely decorated with Persian translation by Qutub Shahi Calligrapher was recently (27th December, 1993) presented to the Museum by Sri Anurag Sharma, Deputy Commissioner of Police, Hyderabad who recovered it from a search. This is a most valuable Urdu MSS with eight excellent miniatures and belongs to Qutub Shahi period (17th Century A.D.)...

Government Statements On Supply of Arms to Pakistan New Delhi, 13 November, 1995

US Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs, Ms. Robin Raphel, visited India from November 4-14, 1995.

Secretary (West) reiterated the clear and firm position of the Government of India against the proposal to supply sophisticated military equipment to Pakistan through the mechanism of the Brown amendment, and apprised her of the strong adverse reaction that this has caused in Indian political circles and the public. ...

Assistant Secretary Raphel urged that India and Pakistan should engage in a dialogue to discuss outstanding bilateral issues. Secretary (West) informed Ms. Raphel that India was willing to hold direct bilateral talks on all Indo-Pak issues, without any preconditions. We have not seen any evidence of Pakistani willingness to engage in such talks. Instead, it was engaged in sponsoring terrorism in India and in internationalising the J&K issue.

Finally, the Assistant Secretary was also briefed on the current situation in Jammu and Kashmir and on Government's efforts and programmes to firmly combat Pakistan-instigated terrorism, restore normalcy and development activities, promote further strengthening of political processes leading to elections.

On Maritime Boundary

8 rounds of talks have been held between the Government of India and the Government of Bangladesh on demarcation of maritime boundary in the Bay of Bengal from November, 1974 to January, 1982. Despite these talks, no substantial progress has been achieved due to differences of approaches and viewpoints of the two sides on substantive issues. No progress has been achieved on this issue in the last three years.

The Government of India is committed to resolve this issue through dialogue with the Government of Bangladesh.

Five rounds of discussions have been held between India and Pakistan for the demarcation of the India-Pakistan maritime boundary in the Sir Creek area. The last round of talks were held in New Delhi from 5-6 November, 1992 during which the two sides had a detailed exchange of views. However, differences in the interpretation of the boundary in the Sir Creek area persist.

Government have since conveyed to Pakistan certain constructive and specific suggestions which can form the basis of a comprehensive and meaningful dialogue on this issue.

(Source: LSUQ No. 2209 dated 11 December, 1995 by B. Passi)

K.P. Nayar

Foreign Policy: Narasimha Rao's or BJP's?

Three months after P.V. Narasimha Rao was sworn in as Prime Minister, the Bharatiya Janata Party's National Executive met in Thiruvananthapuram to adopt, among other things, a 4-page Resolution on Foreign Policy.

Four-and-a-quarter years later... it is illuminating to re-read the BJP's Thiruvananthapuram resolution.

The document is important for foreign policy analysts in this election year for three reasons. It is the most comprehensive foreign policy analysis by the BJP in 10 years: the previous occasion when the party had adopted any foreign policy paper even remotely as analytical was in April 1981, when its national executive met in Kochi.

Secondly, it espoused the BJP's position on international affairs for the first time since the end of the Cold War....

Re-reading the Thiruvananthapuram resolution today, it is difficult to overlook the startling fact that the ... Congress government has implemented almost everything that the BJP wanted done in the area of foreign policy. ...

In 1991, the BJP's national executive demanded the establishment of full diplomatic relations with Israel. It not only sought normalisation of relations with China, but also a dialogue with Beijing on "international and regional issues of mutual interest and concern". ...

Ten days ago, leaders of the Janata Dal, the two Communist parties and the Forward Bloc issued a joint statement which dwelt on India's policy options on disarmament and the nuclear question. Their views also bear a striking resemblance to those expressed by both the BJP and the Congress leadership.

In an election, in which security issues and foreign policy are expected to figure much more than in any previous campaign, this raises interesting possibilities.

Despite doing almost everything that the BJP has demanded in foreign affairs, the Congress will be very much on the defensive during the campaign.

That the main Opposition intends to put the ruling party on the defensive is obvious from a 4-page foreign policy "agenda" which the BJP released on October 30, which is an indictment of the Rao government's record in external affairs. ...

The only consolation for the ruling party may be that the National Front and Left Front have shown much less interest in foreign affairs and may thus leave foreign policy as an issue to be fought out between the Congress and the BJP.

(Source: The Indian Express, 2 January, 1996)

Rashmee Z. Ahmed on Muslim Identity in U.K.

For a multi-cultural society, even so innocuous an exercise as a survey of popular baby names, can be a disturbing reminder of a demographic time bomb inexorably ticking towards a thousand guernicas. So also Britain's recent discovery that Mohammed was its most fancied name for baby boys. Not entirely unaccountable, of course, for Britain... has a surging population of 1.2 million Muslims and available growth trends indicate that the figure would double sooner rather than later.

Still it continued to view the future with only the vaguest intimations of unease, hoping perhaps against hope that Prime Minister John Major was right when he once said there would "always be an England, with spinsters cycling to communion on Sundays". Today, however, it is another Tory MP's remark that bears repeating. "In reality", retorted Winston Churchill, "it will be Allah's faithful going to the high street mosque".

Explosive Mix

That there certainly seems to be a "British Islam" ... is because of several factors. Statistics, the continued intifada of the local Mullahs and the ebb and flow of the geo-political tide have alloyed into an explosive mix. The perceived threat within Britain first flashed on to TV screens when Bradford's believers burnt a book. So it was that the heresy of confessed apostate Salman Rushdie gave purpose and fire to a scattered community. Unashamedly they prostrated before the ranting absolutism of the 'pure' and in a single moment the racial label of Asian Muslims was submerged into their religious identity.

The perception of threat has only intensified coming through clearly in even so bland a document as the 1995 edition of the Central Statistical Office's population report. It reads: "The number of those belonging to Muslim religious bodies in 1992 was as large as the combined membership of Sikh, Hindu and Jewish religions". But the note of warning is entirely natural, as John Esposito analyses in his book, *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?* Indeed, Britain, where Islam is the third largest religion, and France, where it is the second largest, are constrained to respond with xenophobic fury to a threat they can barely understand. This in turn, evokes a backlash like when the Islamic Party of Britain was set up some years ago. it was led principally by white British converts, including Yusuf Islam (pop singer Cat Stevens) in a bid to beat institutionalised British political parties at their own game.

Fanatics' Witch-hunt

Soon after, a Muslim "Parliament" was set up as well and rabid radicals like the Hizb-u-Tahrir began policing university campuses to deal with blasphemers against faith.

This was, indeed, a movement, but not so much a

revivalist movement as a search for identity. It is important to make a distinction between religious revivalism and a community's politicisation in search of its self. Sociologists generally agree that the concept of people going back to religion is essentially Western; it hardly applies to those from the East, who never left their faith in the first place.

For many British Muslims then, it was less a quest for faith as a voyage of discovery to find out, as Edward Said meditatively said of the Palestinian people and displaced communities in general: "Do we exist? What proof do we have? What did we become a people? When did we stop being one?"

The young particularly are torn between twin polarities - the narrow certainties of their co-religionists and the broader, secular values of their compatriots. This confusion is compounded by having to work out... an identity - Asian and Muslim; minority within minority. In the last decade or so, many chose Islam to fill in the gaps, more as an ideology and a complete social system than as the ritualistic faith of their elders. ...

(Source: The Times of India, 15 January, 1996)

Philippines: Establishment of Autonomous Region for the Moros

Moro National Liberation Front's leader and Philippine officials signed an interim agreement on 1st December, 1995, at Jakarta after five days of talks...

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, in his concluding speech to the meeting, urged the Philippine government and Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) to close the gap on the two remaining issues blocking a final peace agreement... Indonesia which is acting as mediator ... would convene a fourth round of talks "very soon" but no time has ... been set.

The third round of talks, sponsored by the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC), began on 27 November... The interim agreement covered the areas of education, economic and financial systems, mines and minerals, the administrative system, the executive, the judiciary and the introduction of Shariah law.

A joint communique said 123 points had been approved... But the amalgamation of Moro activists... with the Philippines (armed forces) as well as the ... provisional government for the proposed autonomous region were unresolved....

There was an agreement on an autonomous region on the island of Mindanao, 800 kms south of Manila, but not on the designation of the head of the region. ... The potentially more dangerous but smaller Moro Islamic Liberation Front as well as the more militant Abu Sayyaf and National Islamic Command Council radicals (did not participate in the) talks.

Chronology of the Month

(16 December 1995-15 January 1996)

NATIONAL POLITICS

*Parliament approves President's Rule in Uttar Pradesh (15 Dec). *PM hints at general elections in April (6 Jan). Former PM Chandrasekhar sees hung Parliament.

*Supreme Court elaborates definition of Hinduism and meaning of Hindutva. Rules mere mention of these terms in election speeches do not constitute appeal to religion or corrupt practice. BJP leader Advani hails Judgement as confirmation of cultural nationalism. Legal Pundits consider Judgement as opening door for massive religious propaganda by BJP in election campaign. Congress (I) G.S. B.P. Maurya criticises Judgement (26 Dec). Eminent Jurist Tarkunde sees threat to secular and democratic principles since it legitimises campaign for Hindu Rashtra (28 Dec). Samajwadi Party Leader Mulayam Singh demands amendment of Constitution to annul Supreme Court ruling (2 Jan). A.I. Momins Conference calls for review (2 Jan). Election Commissioner Gill considers Judgement no bar to Commission doing its duty under existing law (4 Jan). Arjun Singh endorses Supreme Court's views and accuses BJP of misinterpretation of Hindutva (9 Jan).

Congress Party: *Party launches multi-front campaign for regaining lost Muslim votes. Sitaram Kesri considers suspicion of Muslims shameful. Government function in Kanpur ostensibly to release commemorative stamp on the founder of Bareilvi sect, Ahmed Raza Khan, disrupted by violent protests and demand for apology for demolition and for reconstruction. U.P. Congress (I) President sees ISI hand in Kanpur disturbances. *Union Home Minister, Ramlal Rahi forced to stop his speech in Hyderabad (5 Jan). PM's Adviser and Personal Astrologer N.K. Sharma participates in graduation ceremony of Darul Uloom (Wakf), Deoband. Shaikhul Hadith Anzar Shah Kashmiri appeals to Muslim not to let demolition of Babari Masjid affect country's future (7 Jan). A.I. Momin Conference President H.R. Nomani admits weakness of Congress in Hindi-speaking region (14 Jan). Pranab Mukherjee admits alienation of Muslims from Congress (15 Jan). Civil Aviation Minister G.N. Azad accuses Government of Maharashtra for anti-Muslim stance (28 Dec). Indira Congress President N.D. Tiwari rules out re-union with Congress under P.M. Narasimha Rao.

Sangh Parivar: *Advani announces BJP decision to field 475 candidates and claims to be front-runner. Defines main issues as Corruption, Criminalisation Vote Bank Politics and National Security (17 Dec). BJP reverts to Hindutva plank (23 Dec). BJP decides against alliance with any national Party but to negotiate with 4 regional Parties in Haryana, Bihar, Punjab and Maharashtra.

*BJP Leader Vajpayee begins Parivartan Yatra (1 Jan). BJP Vice-President Sikander Bakht endorses Hindutva as bedrock of

Indian nationalism (8 Jan). Advani projects Vajpayee as next Prime Minister (14 Jan). *BJP Minorities Morcha meets to formulate minority package for election manifesto (26 Dec).

*VHP announces Hindu Agenda and offers to extend support to parties on its basis (2 Jan). VHP decides to revive agitation in Ayodhya, Mathura and Varanasi as well as for total ban on cow slaughter (4 Jan). Bajrang Dal announces agitation for total ban on cow slaughter and observance of 'Save Cow Year' from March 20, 1996. Threatens to shed human blood to save cow (4 Jan). *Samata Party (Fernandes) National Executive decides to have electoral alliance with BJP (23 Dec). George Fernandes moots 4th Front to oust Congress. Shahabuddin denounces the move as indirect support to BJP (5 Jan). *Shiv Sena Leader Bal Tackeray opposes public holiday on Id-e-Milad-un-Nabi and threatens to make life difficult for all visiting Pakistani teams (14 Jan).

Janata Parivar: *Former P.M. V.P. Singh pleads for unity of Dalits, Backwards and Minorities (23 Dec). Reiterates resolves neither to contest election nor hold Government position (5 Jan). Janata Dal (JD) Leader Hegde calls upon Rao to take initiative to unite NF-LF and Congress. JD Minorities Committee expresses dissatisfaction with Party Leadership and demands better representation in organisation and electoral lists. *Mulayam Singh Yadav rules out patch up with Bahujan Samaj Party (9 Jan). JD leader Sharad Yadav expresses reservation on alliance with Samajwadi Party at cost of Bahujan Samaj Party (9 Jan). JD Political Affairs Committee reiterates commitment to alliance of Mulayam Singh but desires to include B.S.P. with Mulayam Singh's consent (11 Jan). *Samajwadi Janta Party woos Muslims in Haryana. U.P. State Executive rules out alliance with BJP (4 Jan). *AIADMK denies move to join NF-LF (18 Dec). *Nine Dalit organisations and parties join to revive Republican Party of India to fight Hindutva forces and to regain lost ground in Maharashtra (29 Dec). *National League Leader Sulaiman Sait considers third front imperative (22 Dec). *CPI(M) considers JD-SP alliance vital to defeat BJP in U.P. (17 Dec). Cautions JD on stand on TDP (13 Jan).

TDP: *Telugu Desam Party leader and founder N.T. Rama Rao passes away, Laxmi Parvathi, new President denies possibility of electoral alliance with BJP or with Samata Party (Fernandes).

KASHMIR SITUATION

*Parliament extends President's Rule in J&K by 6 months up to July 17, 1996 (19 Dec). PM reiterates determination to hold Parliamentary and Assembly elections at any cost in 1996 (24 Dec). Parliamentary Standing Committee on External Affairs urges Government to expose effectively Pakistan's role and mobilize world public opinion on human rights situation in Pakistan-occupied-Kashmir (20 Dec).

*State Congress organises 2-day Workers Camp in Jammu addressed by ministers J.N. Mishra, G.N. Azad, Manmohan Singh, R.L. Bhatia, and General Secretary Madhav Sinh Solanki (19-20 Dec). P.M. in his message assures adequate flow of development resources.

*BJP Leader A.B. Vajpayee reiterates deletion of Article 370 and opposes restoration of pre-1953 status (12 Jan). Shiv Sena calls for imposition of Army rule (29 Dec).

*National Conference leader Farooq Abdullah opposes third Party mediation but supports meaningful dialogue between India and Pakistan and demands for autonomy to curb secessionism (18 Dec). Reiterates demand for autonomy (19 Dec). Offers to participate in elections after announcement of political package (21 Dec). Denies sabotage of elections but considers PM's offer unsatisfactory (4 Jan). National Conference holds first Workers' Convention in 6 years (10 Jan). Convention demands inquiry into the alleged violation of human rights by security forces.

*Jamaat-e-Islami - Kashmir leader Geelani's ancestral house bombed allegedly by militants (19 Dec). Chief of J&K Islamic Front killed in encounter with security forces (8 Jan). Militants gun down 15 non-Muslims in Doda (6 Jan). Massacre condemned by Mufti Muhammad Saeed, Farooq Abdullah and Shahabuddin. Chief of Al-Jihad Force killed in encounter (19 Dec). D.C., Rajouri's office blasted just before arrival of Union Minister Sibte Razi (25 Dec). Four foreign hostages remain in Al Faran's hand. *All Party Hurriyat Conference reported divided on question of independence or accession to Pakistan (17 Dec). Geelani charges Government with conspiracy to kill Kashmiri leaders (3 Jan). Lone endorses charge (4 Jan). Local dailies decide to suspend publication as protest against pressure by militants despite assurance by Hurriyat (7 Jan). Normal life disrupted by Hurriyat's call for general strike (12 Jan).

*Ikhwanul Muslimoon leader Shirazi holds press conference in Delhi and denounces militants acting for foreign agencies to divide State (4 Jan). Kashmiri Pandits organisation 'Banun Kashmir' demands creation of Union Terr. in Valley for their rehabilitation (23 Dec).

BABARI MASJID QUESTION

Government: Liberhan Commission of Inquiry reportedly at standstill because of petition filed by some witnesses against summons. *AIMPLB Committee on Babri Masjid, BMMCC and AIBMAC jointly observes the anniversary of illegal occupation of Babari Masjid on 22-23 Dec., 1949 and demand vacation of unlawful structure constructed on Babari Masjid site, reconstruction of Babari Masjid on its original site, expeditious hearing of pending title suit and other proceedings and prosecution of VHP Leaders for offensive speeches (22 Dec). World Muslim League, Makkah, expresses solidarity with demand for reconstruction of Babari Masjid. *Union Welfare Minister Sitaram Kesri accepts responsibility of Government for demolition of Babari Masjid (10 Jan). Shankaracharya Swaroopanand reiterates construction of Ram temple on Babari Masjid site and sees no reason for Muslims for taking offence

(11 Jan). *Ex-P.M. V.P. Singh reveals that the Government had given no instructions to R.A.F. to protect Babari Masjid.

OTHER MATTERS OF CONCERN

Reservation: *A.I. Backward Muslim Morcha stages dharna in Delhi to demand recognition of 'Dalit' Muslims as Scheduled Caste(SC) on basis of professional parity (20 Dec). Bharatiya Sadhu Samaj opposes inclusion of Dalit Christians as SC List (19 Dec). Muslim Leaders of JD demand higher representation of Muslims in Party organisation and in Party tickets (21 Dec). Addressing closing function of Al Taleemi Caravan, Welfare Minister Sitaram Kesri upholds Muslim demand for reservation on ground of backwardness (25 Dec). BJP criticises Samajwadi Party, Bahujan Samaj Party, JD and Congress for supporting reservation for Muslims and Christians (4 Jan). Union Minister for Welfare Aslam Sher Khan opposes reservation for Muslims based on religion (13 Jan).

Personal Law: *Supreme Court defers hearing of review petition questioning earlier order calling upon Union Government to report on progress towards introduction of uniform civil code (21 Dec). A.I. Muslim Personal Law Board organises Shariat Protection Week in various places (23 Dec). In Jaipur the Week concludes with massive public meeting.

Wakfs: *Central Government decides to formulate scheme for payment of emoluments to 1,15,000 Imams and Muezzins at an annual cost of Rs.243 crores (17 Dec). Leading Imams in Bombay reject Government's offer (19 Dec). Government of Rajasthan opposes official payment of emoluments (19 Dec). BJP considers Government's scheme as political opportunism for securing votes. *AIMPLB President Maulana Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi considers government decision anti-Shariat and a political conspiracy against Muslims (23 Dec). *Government submits a scheme for gradation and fixation of scales of pay for Imams and Muezzins and payment of emoluments by Wakf Boards out of their own income (2 Jan). Welfare Minister Sitaram Kesri denies any plan to provide government funds for emoluments to Imams and any intention to interfere in religious affairs (2 Jan). Imams Organisation considers scheme partial victory but accuses Government of not doing justice to Imams (3 Jan). Shahabuddin demands effective measures for increasing income of Wakf estates so that each Wakf should be in a position to give better emoluments to Imams of Masjids, if any. Considers Wakf Boards legally and theologically incompetent and financial bankrupt to pay Masjid functionaries (4 Jan). Delhi Wakf Board headed by BJP Leader Siraj Paracha demands vacation and restoration of over 680 wakf properties in Delhi under unlawful occupation of Central Government and its offices (4 Jan). Samajwadi Party National Executive opposes interference with Muslim Personal Law (6 Jan).

*Bukharis begin construction in Jama Masjid campus without clearance from Wakf Board or Delhi Development Authority or Delhi Municipal Corporation. Receives notice from DDA (15 Jan). *Mamta Banerjee, M.P., Congress (I) demands CBI inquiry into sale and settlement of Wakf properties in West

Bengal by CPI(M) Leaders (5 Dec).

Haj: *Haj Committee's Review Conference in Delhi addressed by P.M. and G.N. Azad (17 Dec). Shahabuddin demands enactment of new Haj Committee Act and shift of Haj Committee to Delhi.

Communal Situation: *Non-bailable warrant of arrest issued against BJP MP B.L. Sharma 'Prem' for objectionable speech in December 1990 (7 Jan). Special Court sentences to life imprisonment 20 accused in Bhagalpur massacres, 1989 raising figure to 60, of whom 50 are Muslims. Only 21 out of 800 cases decided so far. 86 cases filed for lack of evidence. No action taken against indicted civil and police officials (18 Dec). Bihar Vidhan Parishad discusses progress (20 Dec).

Assam Rolls: *Election Commission orders summary revision of electoral rolls by February 1996 (20 Dec). AASU threatens to intensify agitation (31 Dec). Undertake 100-hour hunger strike (6 Jan).

Institutions: *President, Vice-President and Prime Minister offer greetings on Christmas (25 Dec). *Govt. of Gujarat decides to upgrade existing Minorities Board to autonomous corporation (13 Jan). *President forms Committee of Governors for minority affairs.

Urdu: *PM inaugurates Seminar on Parliament and Urdu Press organised by A.I. Minorities Front and calls for expanding Urdu's reach (21 Dec). *A.I. Urdu Editors Conference meets in Delhi and adopts several resolutions for promotion of Urdu journalism (13 Jan). Re-elects M. Afzal as President. *Delhi Government introduces Bill to give Hindi status of first official language and English and Punjab that of second official languages. *Seminar held on Firaq Gorakhpuri in Delhi (16 Dec). Ghalib Academy observes birth anniversary of Ghalib (9 Jan). Ghalib Institute organises 3-day programme for celebrating silver jubilee (21-23 Dec).

Education: *A.I. Taleemi Caravan organised by U.P. Rabita Committee concludes in Delhi (23 Dec). Saiyid Hamid claims success in making Muslim masses conscious of need for education.

Aligarh Muslim University: *AMU remains closed. Court meeting postponed. Executive Council decides take legal action against some teachers and officials for financial irregularities.

Terrorism: *Six persons killed at least 34 injured in bomb explosion in Sadar Bazaar, Delhi (3 Jan). Responsibility claimed by J&K Islamic Front.

Muslim Organisations: *A.I. Quami Tanzeem Working Committee considers consolidation of minority votes essential for secularism (8 Jan). *A.I. Muslim Forum appeals to Muslim organisations to form common platform (16 Jan). *Milli Parliament holds session in Patna and demands separate electorate and reservation of 119 Lok Sabha seats for Muslims (6 Jan). Shahabuddin considers Milli Parliament activities as rhetoric injurious to national and Muslim cause.

Other Minorities: *Akal Takht forms World Sikh Council (12 Jan).

Indo-Pak Relations: * Union Minister R.L. Bhatia rules out war against Pakistan (30 Dec). P.M. Benazir Bhutto offers meaningful dialogue with India (31 Jan). Foreign Minister Pranab Mukherjee welcomes Benazir's offer (1 Jan). BJP wants talks to focus on Pakistan-occupied-Kashmir (4 Jan).

Mohajirs in Pakistan: *Rising concern in India on alleged extra-judicial killing of Mohajir Qaumi Movement workers in Karachi by Pakistan security forces. MQM Leader Altaf Hussain appeals to Pakistan authorities to hold impartial inquiry (1 Jan). Considers atrocities in Karachi worse than in Kashmir (3 Jan). Muslim League and MQM jointly call for toppling Benazir Government (5 Jan).

Obituary: *Badriddin F.H.B. Tyabji, 88, eminent educationist and diplomat, former V.C., AMU passes away in Delhi (29 Dec). Prime Minister among others offer rich tributes. Buried in Jamia.

*Anwar Jamal Kidwai, eminent Administrator and Educationist and former V.C., Jamia Millia Islamia, 79, passes away, also buried in Jamia (4 Jan).

*Former U.P. Minister and Chief Editor, Quami Morch, S.R. Ansari, 52, dies in Varanasi (31 Dec).

*Kwaja Ahmed Farooqui, Urdu scholar, 80, passes away in Delhi (31 Dec).

*Eminent architect Habib Rahman passes away in Delhi (19 Dec).

Commemoration:

*Death anniversary of Freedom Fighter Ashfaqullah Khan observed in Faizabad (18 Dec). Death anniversary of Hakim Ajmal Khan observed in Delhi (26 Dec). Birth anniversary of Saifuddin Kitchlu observed in Delhi (15 Jan).

CPI(M): Polit Bureau Statement On Decision to Wind up the Sri Krishna Commission, 24 January, 1996

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the decision of the Shiv Sena-BJP government in Maharashtra to wind the Sri Krishna Commission... The Shiv Sena-BJP, which played a key role in instigating the riots and launching the anti-Muslim pogroms, are now worried about the truth coming out. The decision to wind up the commission is a crude and brazen effort to hush up the role of the guilty persons. The state government has taken this openly anti-democratic step which will further heighten the insecurity among the minorities...

The Polit Bureau demands that the state government immediately rescind its decision and the commission should be allowed to complete its work and submit its report.