

IDP's Second Note To APHC For Discussion

I

1. The post-Lok Sabha poll scenario in Jammu-Kashmir has brought no succour to its suffering people. While the miseries, troubles and hardships of the people all over the state have increased, those of the Kashmiris know no bounds. The rate of killings, custodial deaths, rapes, burnings, beatings, detentions and humiliations have doubled in the valley after the so-called peaceful poll. The burning of Kashmir and the bleeding of the Kashmiris has become bigger in size.

2. The government blames the Pak sponsored militancy for this state of affairs. But the newly appointed Union Minister of State for Home has, only a week ago, put the responsibility on the pro-government militants who have, according to him, made peoples living highly distressing.

3. The pre-poll official claim that once the valley goes through the electoral exercise, the peace will dawn on its turbulent horizon and all sorts of difficulties will go down the drain, has proved a flop.

4. Elections is, and has been, the most rational and effective method of resolving complex problems or conflicts in our times. But it is a game which can properly be played only through a consensus on its rules among its players. An imposed election by the dominant side on the dominated one through force is only a dictation and not a free and fair expression of the will of the weaker side. Elections on the terms of reference of one party is only a formality.

5. The Indian political and media nobility's perception—that about 40% poll percentage in the valley and the adjoining Doda district, giving four seats to the Congress and one each to the JD and the BJP, cannot be achieved by mere coercion—represents only a prejudicial and sectarian national view. Because, it ignores the past Jammu-Kashmir electoral experience where about eight

rigged elections had been arranged with nearly 60% of poll. Similar manipulative electoral exercises had also been conducted in some other parts of the world (e.g., in South Vietnam under the US).

6. Earlier, the Indian political and media nobility had ignored the questionable nature of the Lok Sabha elections in Jammu-Kashmir, as alleged by the leaders of the NC, Panthers Party, JD, BJP and a host of other concerned persons. But now when the Central Home Minister has admitted the dubiety of these elections, all theories about their genuineness stand discredited.

7. Common sense tells that, while considering the Kashmiri participation in the recent Lok Sabha elections, the proper question which could provide us the clue to see actual reality was as to what new factor did emerge which might have ended the Kashmiri alienation and induced them to vote the pro-establishment parties, especially the BJP.

8. Had a stage managed election been a lasting solution, the Jammu-Kashmir problem would have since been resolved. But the Indian mainstream politicians and the top scribes have always ignored this historical truth in the name of national unity which, according to them, can only be defended by showing a pro-India vote, whether by fair means or foul. And it is under the spell of this false sense of nationalism that they have now given the call for the holding of Jammu-Kashmir Assembly elections.

9. True, every country in the world today thinks in terms of upholding its national interests. But, the experience shows that the national interests of any country can only be served by defending truth, justice and fairness. Falsehoods and trickeries have always harmed social communities throughout history.

II

10. Having arisen as a tragedy of the 1947 partition, the Jammu-Kashmir problem, while charging a very high price from both India and Pakistan in various forms (five decade long cold war, three armed wars, militarisation, loss due to stoppage of mutual trade, paucity of resources for economic development, etc.) and while imposing even a far heavier burden on the Kashmiri people has so far defied all solutions. The principal reason lies in the disregarding of its basic nature and the ground realities.

11. The basic nature of the Jammu-Kashmir problem, as accepted by the UN and all the countries (including India and Pakistan), is that it is a bilateral dispute between India and

Pakistan which is to be, and can only be, resolved by the involvement of the Jammu-Kashmir people. That is to say, it is a trilateral dispute.

12. As regards the world ground reality, while the international development process requires a genuine peace with the diffusion of all tension points all over the globe, the UN is yet too weak to achieve this objective and the powerful countries are so engrossed in securing their own interests that they make no distinction between right and wrong apart from the consideration of their personal gain. The developing countries could not afford any initiative outside of their own frontiers.

13. As regards the sub-continental reality, both India and Pakistan, blocked by their 1947 mindsets, are unable to visualise the common future of the two countries and the destabilising consequences of the cold war in the post-cold war era.

14. As regards the Jammu-Kashmir ground reality, its two features are quite evident.

Firstly, Jammu-Kashmir is a plural entity, marked by about eight ethno-regional identities, with varying urges and aspirations. That is to say, it is neither a nation nor a single social community.

And secondly, its democratic movement for the peaceful resolution of the Jammu-Kashmir problem is not sufficiently united as required by the complex situation. The democratic movement in the valley, while commanding almost the entire mass support, faces the challenge more from inside and less from outside. The non-involvement of the people in the valley has resulted in inertia and confusion among the masses, providing a fertile ground for the smooth operation of various types of anti-social elements. The absence of a state level organisation formed on the basis of a common programme is the principal weakness of the democratic movement today which has also affected the democratic movement in the valley.

III

15. Proceeding from the above-stated nature of the Jammu-Kashmir problem and its ground realities, the most essential and urgent requirement for the peaceful resolution of the Jammu-Kashmir problem is the adoption of a realistic agenda, comprising the following five fundamentals:

One: A clear goal, both short-term and long-term.

Short-term goal: to work for the averting of the fourth Indo-Pak war and the creating of a consensus on Jammu-Kashmir's

future setup among various ethnic communities.

Long-term goal: to stand for the establishment of a semi-independent Jammu-Kashmir state under either Indo-Pak or a SAARC Condominium (responsible only for Jammu-Kashmir's defence, foreign affairs and currency) and based on a fully federal system guaranteeing equal autonomy to all ethnic regions.

Self-determination, plebiscite and trilateralism are only means to an end and do not signify any aim.

Self-determination and trilateralism are quite dissimilar concepts. While the former gives the exclusive right to a single community, the latter provides equal rights to all the three sides.

The idea of organising the state on a religious basis does not, and cannot, fit with the plural nature of the Jammu-Kashmir state and the parameters of a global human society.

Two: A distinct path or to uphold peaceful means for the resolution of Jammu-Kashmir problem under all circumstances.

Three: Corresponding to its goal and path, a firm strategy, incorporating the following points—

(a) To balance the interests of the three sides, i.e., (i) the national interests of India and Pakistan, (ii) the interests of India and Pakistan, on the one hand, and of the Jammu-Kashmir people, on the other, and (iii) the interests of Jammu-Kashmir's eight ethno-regional identities.

(b) To regard all those who agree with its agenda as its political forces; the different ethno-regional groups as its basic forces; the democratic forces in India and Pakistan who lend support to the trilateral option as its active supporters; and the international peace loving forces who want a peaceful solution to the Jammu-Kashmir problem as its sympathisers.

(c) To consider all those who characterise the Jammu-Kashmir problem as a military issue and opt for a military solution, kill innocent people, commit atrocities on the masses and violate human rights as its adversaries.

Four: A federal type mass organisation or front on the state level, with its units in every ethnic region from the regional down to the village level.

Five: A peaceful political process bringing the entire people within its fold.

On the political plane: to motivate all the people on the basis of its agenda, especially the goal, path and strategy and strive for ensuring the involvement of all just and fair minded people in India and Pakistan and the world in support of this agenda. To

make the defence of human rights and ensuring social justice as an important component of its activity.

In the economic domain: to mobilise the people for the redressal of their day to day problems.

In the cultural sphere: while welcoming and developing the different types of human culture, to support and organise the flourishing of each ethnic culture on a rational basis.

IV

16. In the fast deteriorating political and economic situation in India and Pakistan, the long suffering state of Jammu-Kashmir, being the world's most sensitive point today, can, if the peace-loving and democratic forces do not behave in an appropriate manner, develop into a nuclear tragedy, causing widespread destruction in the sub-continent and serious obstruction to the world development process.

30-07-1996

IDP's Third Note To APHC For Discussion

1. There is a marked decline in the resistance capacity of the people in the valley. This is obvious from the graph of mass defying power during the past few years. For example, the downswing in the mass resistance level of facing bullets en masse through heroic demonstrations comprising sometimes 10 lakh people around 1990 to positions like political gatherings consisting of a few hundred in the pre-1996 Lok Sabha election days, or the appearance of all the traditional pro-establishment parties in the valley and now the frequent mass gestures and signs of softness toward National Conference.

2. The underlying cause for the fall of mass morale has always and everywhere been the lack of a clear cut political line, denoting a given movement's vision, perspective, path, strategy, policy and organisation. If the people are not motivated by a correct political line and not involved in the required political process, they remain ignorant of the dimensions of their aspired for problem and the positive and the negative sides of its movement. In such a situation, the masses could not march with the rapidly changing events. The fast moving occurrences, complicated by the rival's subtle devices (like the creation of renegade militancy, various types of sops and concessions, Lok Sabha elections, appearance of traditional pro-establishment parties, economic packages, promises of enlarged autonomy, etc.), began to overtake the masses, jolting their high expectations about the rapid victory of their movement and the maturity of their political leadership.

3. The apparent cause for the above development may seem to be the increased state repression, supplemented by the renegade militancy (or the state sponsored terrorism). But, in actual fact, the increased state repression is merely the government's intensification of its military strategy to reinforce

the process of mass demoralisation.

4. The government has taken full advantage of the gradual change in the mass mood. By reviving its traditional process of manipulative elections, it has won the first round in the Lok Sabha elections, and is now preparing for winning the second round in the coming Assembly elections.

5. Thus, at the moment, the mass movement is, in brief, confronted with two very serious challenges whose likely course would determine the next phase of development. One issue is how to answer the coming assembly elections and the other is how to regenerate the mass morale. Both are interrelated and cannot be treated in isolation.

6. To respond to the afore-mentioned twin challenges, the following initiatives may be helpful.

(a) To formulate a realistic political line for the motivation of the masses through various forms, oral or written. To throw this line for general discussion among the masses through debates, seminars, public meetings, indoor meetings, leaflets, posters, etc. Efforts should be made to involve all sections of people in this campaign.

(b) To launch an agitation for the release of all those against whom there are no cases.

(c) To institute a non-official enquiry commission to investigate into the case of foreign hostages taken by Al-Faran.

(d) To establish a non-official judicial commission to enquire into all types of human rights violations, mainly the deliberate killings, including the custodial deaths, by the security forces.

(e) To set up an independent commission to enquire into the recent killings of Nepali and Bihari labourers, Rajasthani tourists and Doda Gaddis.

(f) To hold seminars on human rights to be organised by advocates, professors, writers, etc., inviting the members of Human Rights Commission, Judges, Advocates, Professors and Intellectuals from all the SAARC countries, including India and Pakistan.

(g) To chalk out a plan for mobilising the people of various Jammu-Kashmir regions for the peaceful resolution of the Jammu-Kashmir problem.

(h) To thoroughly investigate the question whether the people in the valley are at present inclined to taking up normal politics. And in that case to set up an independent front of certain principled people who should contest Assembly

elections on a concrete programme and act on its basis in the post-election phase.

(i) To chalk out a detailed charter of peoples socio-economic questions (specially of the poor and the deprived sections) in the valley in particular and the state in general and devise methods for the resolution of these problems.

(j) To prepare statewide conditions for the conduct of a referendum on the peaceful trilateral solution of the Jammu-Kashmir problem between India, Pakistan and the Jammu-Kashmir people.

04-08-1996

Jammu-Kashmir Assembly Elections Facts Speak For Themselves

I

1. After a 9 year interval, New Delhi has perceived the holding of Assembly elections in Jammu-Kashmir as the only right course to follow. A host of reasons are afloat to justify this measure. But three of them stand out as the most outstanding. These, in brief, are: (a) that the recently held Lok Sabha poll in Jammu-Kashmir did reflect the restoration of normalcy in the valley and the Kashmiris disgust with the “Pak-sponsored militancy” coupled with their desire to go back to a normal political way, (b) that the Assembly elections is the most rational response to the continuing Jammu-Kashmir tangle, and (c) that this election will serve the interests of the Jammu-Kashmir people and also the Indian nation.

2. Extraordinary claims demand unusual evidence, but this is something lacking in the above-stated affirmation. Therefore, in order to judge the validity of this assertion, let us look at the facts.

II

3. Turning to the first argument (i.e., the conclusions drawn from the recently held Lok Sabha poll in Jammu-Kashmir), five points are worth-considering.

One is that the credibility of the recent Lok Sabha poll in this state had been questioned not only by the entire foreign media and a major part of the Indian press but also by the main props of the New Delhi regime. The Central Home Minister, the number two in the Indian Executive, characterised it as of dubious nature. Farooq Abdullah, a leading pro-India politician in Jammu-Kashmir, called it rigged and unfair. Bhim Singh, an unofficial roving representative of New Delhi concerning Jammu-Kashmir, declared it as fraudulent. A stalwart of the BJP, Rishi Kumar Kaushal, stated it as unjust. Even the pro-government militants defined it as false.

The other point is that the assumption of normality in the valley has been contradicted by New Delhi itself. Just a fortnight ago,

the Prime Minister himself stated in the Rajya Sabha that the militant "violence" has increased in the valley in the post Lok Sabha elections phase. Coupled with this statement, the Indian Home Ministry's 1996 report released in July this year recorded that, in the year 1995, more people (including the militants and the security forces) were killed than in any of the previous years between 1989 and 1994 and that, in the first six months of 1996, the number of casualties was far higher as compared with the same period in 1995. Even, during the 2-1/2 months of UF rule, more than 600 lives had been lost and hundreds of houses burnt. Only on 12th of August, 1996, 39 persons were put to death.

The third point is that the supposition of Kashmiris disgust with the ongoing militancy and their desire for a normal political way is not confirmed by the post Lok Sabha poll behaviour of the masses in the valley, especially on the 15th of August, 1996, i.e., India's Independence Day.

The fourth point is that the armed forces can compel the people to do something even against their will for some period. But it cannot do this for all the time. It has the power to suppress the people within a given situation. But it can never change the peoples psyche under any circumstances.

The fifth point is that the strengthening of the tendency for a peaceful solution to the Jammu-Kashmir problem in the valley in contrast to the armed solution should not be construed as a change in the Kashmiris approach. An attitudinal transformation always occurs through ideo-political means and not coercion.

III

4. Coming to the second argument (i.e., the Assembly elections is the most rational response to the Jammu-Kashmir problem), the crucial thing to be kept in view is that New Delhi's continuation of its fake electoral strategy in Jammu-Kashmir (i.e., the general line of stage managing the elections as alleged by the present Union Home Minister and other top pro-New Delhi politicians) is going to produce the same old consequences as had accrued from the eight sham Assembly elections (except perhaps the one in 1977), held in Jammu Kashmir between 1951 and 1987.

5. The entire spectrum of India's top politicians and big media barons had earlier accepted that the depriving of the Jammu-Kashmir people from a free and fair poll and the scuttling of the democratic process had been one of the principal reasons for generating Kashmiri alienation and the armed militancy in the

valley, thus harming India's cause. But this whole lot again preferred to remain mum on the replay of the same old deceptive electoral exercise in the recently held Lok Sabha poll in Jammu-Kashmir and its intended replaying in the coming Assembly elections. Such a pragmatist and value delinked behaviour pattern being common in Indian political and media circles causes no surprise. But the most worrisome feature of the Indian democratic process is the total silence of all those who believe in genuine rationalism, democracy, human rights, social justice, gender equality, minority rights, Indo-Pak amity, etc., on the electoral farce being operated in Jammu-Kashmir.

6. The false moves may enable one to score a temporary gain. But in the long run they always damage the social cause, national, regional or international. This has been a lesson of history, whether old or recent (the cases of Richard Nixon in the USA, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in Pakistan and Begum Khalida Zia in Bangladesh).

7. No doubt, elections has, as accepted the world over, been the most effective and desirable method to ascertain a given peoples aspirations and mood. But such an elections demands a free and fair poll which can be ensured only on the basis of a consensus among all the electoral players concerning the elections supervising agency (i.e., the electoral rules, code and supervisory personnel, etc.) and the terms of reference of that elections (i.e., whether it is for the purpose of Constitution making, legislative business or government formation, eliciting public opinion on a single issue, deciding the future of a given people, and so on). This kind of electoral mechanism is recognised as the standard electoral norm by the UN and all the countries today. But such a poll (first necessitating dialogue and negotiations among all the concerned parties) cannot be fitted with a military directed electoral process.

8. The 49 year long experience of New Delhi's Jammu-Kashmir electoral process proves that neither its economic aid for its sponsored politicians, nor its military might and nor its manipulated poll had worked in Jammu-Kashmir. The more it had resorted to subterfuges and trickeries, the more it had lost its case in the valley.

IV

9. Taking up the third argument (i.e., the Assembly elections will serve the interests of Jammu-Kashmir people as well as the Indian nation), a few instances need to be pondered over.

10. The first instance is that, if New Delhi type of Assembly elections had been the harbinger of public interests, then the pre-1996 Assembly elections in Jammu-Kashmir would have turned the valley into a social paradise, enjoying peace, stability and prosperity. The actual reality, however, is that this geographically blessed land had been made a social hell on the earth.

11. The second instance is that, despite its post-1947 eleven general elections (which had been generally free but often unfair due to unscrupulous politics), India has yet to become a civilized society where there is less of civic evil, wickedness, crime, violence, incompetence, etc., and more of civic good, virtue, morality, piety, benevolence, compassion, efficiency, worthiness, etc. Though individual Indians have attained great heights in science, art, culture, economy, politics, etc., followed righteous ways in their living styles and promoted happy families, thus contributing to the building of present day India, yet, as a collective entity, India today stands as a sample of the top most criminalised, corrupt, communal, casteist, inefficient and double-dealing country in the world.

12. Whatever positive in the post-1947 India we have is due to the creativity of its 90 crore common people, while India's social, constitutional and legal system, its so-called mainstream models (i.e., majoritarian secularism, Nehruvian anti-poor socialism, *Hindutva*, *Mandalvad*, Marxian economic fundamentalism, etc.) and the mafia politics of its major parties and leaders have brought untold miseries to this land and are now pushing it towards the brink of disaster, with unpredictable consequences.

13. It is the common people of India who represent the motive force of the Indian nation, while the Indian social system and its political operators are the mainstay of anti-nationalism.

14. The third instance is the historical experience which shows that a social community (may be national, regional or global) can become civilised and strong only by upholding truth, justice and fairness and not by resorting to falsehood, swindling, cheating and suppression of other people.

V

15. History teaches three chief lessons to mankind. That is, (a) to draw correct lessons from the past, (b) to proceed from the existing social reality, and (c) to base one's vision on the newly emerging social reality.

16. Reviewing the post-1947 period of Indian history, the

principal lesson one extracts is that the politics of Indo-Pak confrontation (or cold war) is highly harmful not only to India and Pakistan but the entire South Asian region as well as the world. The sooner it is forsaken in exchange for peace, the better for all concerned.

The core issue of Indo-Pak confrontation is the state of Jammu-Kashmir (as contained in clause 6 of the Simla Agreement). A solution to this problem can be had through trilateral negotiations between India, Pakistan and the Jammu-Kashmir people. A just and viable option can be the one that reconciles the interests of all the parties concerned, e.g., the proposal of an Indo-Pak Condominium over Jammu-Kashmir in the matter of defence, foreign affairs and currency, on the one hand, and semi-independence to Jammu-Kashmir, with full autonomy to each of its eight ethnic regions, under a common elected Governor, High Court, Election Commission, Human Rights Commission, Environment Commission, etc., on the other. Trilateral solution alone is in the interests of Indian nation, Pakistani nation and the Jammu-Kashmir people.

17. Looking at the existing social reality of India, one observes that the main Indian trouble is the all round degeneration of its social system. This demands its restructuring on a fully democratic basis, containing the following essential features, i.e., rational humanism as its outlook, organising principle and style and upholding of the principles of global peace, a just world order, a fair, equitable and transparent Indian system, empowerment of the people, gender equality, social justice, human rights, elimination of poverty and unemployment, sustainable development of both human and material factors, value based behavioural standards, and so on.

18. Ascertaining the emerging social reality, one finds that its chief feature is the interdependence of countries of the world with common issues and similar priorities. No country can any longer afford to isolate itself from this movement. The sooner it makes itself an integral part of this inevitable process, the better for it. Advancing from this premise, India's vision, like any other country, should be the establishment of a global human society, with the organising of SAARC as its immediate regional concern.

VI

19. Going by the afore-mentioned facts, the Internationalist Democratic Party is of the opinion that, under the existing

circumstances, the Assembly elections in Jammu-Kashmir, unless preceded by a proper dialogue between all the parties concerned with the Jammu-Kashmir problem, cannot become a productive and meaningful exercise. Hence, it is not putting up any candidate in this election. However, it will fully involve itself in the electoral process to explain its above viewpoint in detail to the people. 16-8-1996

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Jammu-Kashmir Assembly Elections No Genuine Democratic Process Possible Unless Preceded By Trilateral Talks

I

1. Half a century is not a small chunk of historical time. Sociologically, it was quite adequate period for New Delhi to prove its worth by showing to Jammu-Kashmir people, particularly those in the valley, the benefits of becoming a part of the Indian Union. It was within the realm of possibility to usher in a real peoples rule in the state, enjoying a special status under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution. The huge sums of money that poured into the state during the past 50 years were more than enough to change the peoples living conditions for the better.

2. The existing social reality, however, is that the Kashmiris have become fed up with the Nehruvian democratic-cum-development model finally asking New Delhi to pack up and leave them to their fate.

3. There is nothing extraordinary about this happening. During the past five decades, the people in the valley had, with the exception of a few short durations, groaned under the jack-boots of the local aristocracies imposed by the centre through farcical elections. A major portion of development funds had been devoured by corruption, inefficiency and deteriorating law and order situation. Prices had continuously gone up. Poverty and unemployment had increased. Inequalities had widened. Poor had become poorer. The elementary necessities—water, electricity, roads, education, health, sanitation, etc.—had gone topsy-turvy. All this is evident from the decay and depression that prevails in the valley in general and Srinagar in particular.

4. Today, the Kashmiris are facing the worst times of their

history, burying about 10 of their kith and kin every day.

II

5. Where does lie the fault? Instead of going into this basic question, New Delhi has taken recourse to a simple device of accusing Pakistan for destabilising the “flourishing” political and economic process in Jammu-Kashmir by instigating militancy or starting a proxy war in the valley through hired agents. No one denies that Islamabad has been aiding and abetting the militancy in Kashmir in the similar manner as New Delhi has been doing in relation to the Chakama tribal militancy in Bangladesh or the Mohajir and Shia militancy in Pakistan or it had earlier done to the then emerging Tamil militancy in Sri Lanka. In fact, this conspiratorial pattern of relationship is embedded in the very approach of narrow nationalism, formerly represented by the colonial powers and now upheld by certain pro-cold war regimes. But to look at this aspect of reality as the source of one’s troubles is only to conceal their root cause, i.e., one’s own incompetence.

6. In the world today, if any country is unable to forge unity among its people or integrate its various constituent regions, remove mass poverty and unemployment or raise the level of peoples lifestyle, it is more due to the lack of vision, the defective perspective and the poor style of management and organisation of its politics, political parties and leaders than to any external factor.

7. Had New Delhi objectively tried to find out the genesis of the Jammu-Kashmir problem, it would have found that, while its basis lay in the 1947 communal partition, its short-term cause rested with New Delhi’s post-1947 centralised majoritarian nationalism—upholding politics of cold war externally (particularly directed against Pakistan) and the conflictual communal and casteist politics and a pro-rich economics in the internal relations. Retrospectively, if one delves deeper into the causes of partition, one can locate that the same majoritarian nationalism, then represented by Gandhian Hindu humanism, failed to tackle the problem of Hindu-Muslim relations in the united India—giving rise first to Jinnah-led pan-Islamic nationalism and then to the partition of India.

III

8. Refusing to learn from its past mistakes, New Delhi has again adopted its old gameplan of playing the farce of launching its so-called democratic process through one more manipulated

election in Jammu-Kashmir. But this election is going to prove a mere flop sooner than all the previous ones. If this is not the case and the ongoing electoral process is a really democratic exercise, then why did it reject the demand for foreign observers to monitor the electoral process, ignore talks with the Hurriyat Conference representing the valley's political viewpoint and introduce the same old set of politics and its practitioners?

9. Election is a very effective way to resolving complicated problems. But a credible elections always demands a consensus among the contending sides on the electoral terms of reference, its rules and code and the supervising agency. What is more, the electorates general willingness to participate in the electoral process is required to be sought. An imposed elections always loses its sanctity and does not help in the restoration of peace and the starting of a democratic process.

10. The post-1947 realities related to the Jammu-Kashmir problem necessitate that any genuine elections in Jammu-Kashmir should be preceded by negotiations among the parties concerned. These realities, in brief, are:

Firstly, all brands of autonomy—i.e., the pre-1953 maximum autonomy and the post-1975 eroded one—have not worked, resulting in one crisis after another, either between India and Pakistan or between New Delhi and the pro-autonomy Kashmiri leadership or between New Delhi and the anti-Indian forces.

Secondly, all types of bilateral deals, whether between India and Pakistan (e.g., 1947 ceasefire agreement, 1965 Tashkent Treaty or 1972 Simla Pact) or between New Delhi and Srinagar (e.g., 1952 Nehru-Abdullah Agreement, 1954 Constitution Application Order, 1975 Indira-Sheikh Declaration, 1986 Rajiv-Farooq deal, etc.) have proved unviable.

Thirdly, the politics of gun cannot be a solution to the Jammu-Kashmir problem as shown by the unworkability of three Indo-Pak wars, continuous Indo-Pak cold war, India's immense military power and the ongoing militancy in Kashmir.

Fourthly, the continual Indo-Pak cold war over Jammu-Kashmir poses a serious threat of a nuclear war in South Asia.

Fifthly, both New Delhi and Islamabad have made the Jammu-Kashmir issue, a question of their national survival and each of them is prepared to go to any extent for resolving the question in its own favour.

Sixthly, the political situation in Jammu-Kashmir is that, while the Kashmiris who have sacrificed about 50 thousands of human

lives and suffered great material losses want to opt out of India, the Dogras, Paharis, Ladakhis, etc., have their respective concerns.

Seventhly, in the present-day world political context, no country, however powerful, can keep an unwilling people under subjugation for long. The world does not tolerate the military suppression and human rights violations of a given people for long.

Eighthly, in the present-day world economic context, where the economic process has become highly competitive, it is not possible for any country to bear the economic costs of a forcible occupation of any region for a long time.

Ninthly, the newly emerged reality of the interdependence of countries has made the future of India and Pakistan common and together. If they will defy this social need, they are likely to suffer serious consequences.

IV

11. Given the above-stated realities, a genuine and viable option should be the one that adopts the strategy of trilateral talks between India, Pakistan and the Jammu-Kashmir people in order to determine the future of Jammu-Kashmir state. The fundamental point of the trilateral strategy should be the balancing of the interests of the three parties concerned.

12. Obviously, the trilateral option rules out all unilateral and bilateral solutions, e.g., accession with one country, an independent Jammu-Kashmir, division of Jammu-Kashmir, holding of elections by one side, etc., all of which breed politics of confrontation and keep Indo-Pak tensions intact—thus jeopardising the progress and prosperity of not only India and Pakistan, but also of the entire South Asian region and the world.

13. All initiatives on dialogue between the parties concerned can be useful. But a more appropriate starting point of the tripartite option should be the initiation of talks at two levels—one at the Indo-Pak level and the other at the level of various ethno-regional identities of Jammu-Kashmir, first on the Indian side, followed by the Pakistani side and then the two together.

14. A rational, fair and viable solution can be an Indo-Pak Condominium over Jammu-Kashmir (dealing with state's foreign affairs, defence and currency) and a semi-independent status for Jammu-Kashmir (with maximum autonomy to each of its eight ethno-regional identities).

15. The responsibility to explore this option also falls on the democrats and the people of Jammu-Kashmir, who can, by

evolving a consensus based proposal, help in the sorting out of a reasonable and practicable Jammu-Kashmir solution between India and Pakistan.

16. The Jammu-Kashmir consensus based proposal is also likely to assist in the forging of a general agreement of Jammu-Kashmir solution between India's three mainstream national models, represented by the Congress, BJP and National Front-Left Front.

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Jammu-Kashmir Assembly Elections Old Wine In New Bottles

I

1. Science and history reveal that nothing is absolute in the universe. Everything in nature and society is relative. Because it is connected with a given situation, i.e., a given space and time. When a situation undergoes a change, its relatives also get transformed. The phenomenon of elections too is not free from the law of relativity.

2. What does the law of relativity imply in regard to Jammu-Kashmir elections? It means whether these elections are rational, conforming to the given Jammu-Kashmir situation.

3. International electoral experience shows that a just, reasonable and sensible elections demands four conditions, namely: (a) Elections as a social need of the given situation, (b) A genuine motivation of the elections holding government, (c) A general willingness of the people to participate in that elections, and (d) A consensus among the given political forces on the terms of reference, rules and code and the supervising agency of those elections.

II

4. Turning to the first condition (i.e., elections as a social need of the given situation), one finds that the present state of affairs in Jammu-Kashmir in general and the Kashmir valley in particular is highly disturbing. The seven year old armed confrontation between militancy and the Indian forces in the valley and the destabilisation of the entire social structure has made life miserable for the Jammu-Kashmir people, especially the Kashmiris (including the migrants) who are daily confronted with death and destruction (which has already devoured thousands of lives, damaged property worth crores and kept thousands behind bars), with no words of sympathy from any quarter.

5. Coupled with the armed conflict in the valley, the increasing

cold war tension between India and Pakistan over the state of Jammu-Kashmir is causing worldwide anxiety about the danger of a new Indo-Pak war, with its nuclear dimensions.

6. Obviously, the social need of the people of Jammu-Kashmir today is not a military regulated electoral process but the initiation of a peace process with a harmonious agenda which helps in arranging an unconditional dialogue between the contending parties in Jammu-Kashmir, on the one hand, and India and Pakistan, on the other—finally leading to social stability not only in Jammu-Kashmir, but also in India, Pakistan and South Asia.

III

7. Coming to the second condition, it is necessary to study the state of three fundamental motivation conditioners—i.e., the general perspective, attitudinal principles and the functioning style—in order to understand the righteousness of the motivation of the election holding government.

A

8. As regards the general perspective of New Delhi and India's three mainstream currents (i.e., the Congress, the BJP and the NF-LF) about Jammu-Kashmir, it has always been one of double-dealing. On the one hand, they continue reciting for the domestic consumption their national standpoint of Jammu-Kashmir state being an integral part of India and a finally settled issue, and, on the other, they go on repeating in every international forum and with every foreign diplomat and media person the idea of a bilateral solution to the Jammu-Kashmir problem between India and Pakistan.

9. In December 1993, the Indian Parliament unanimously adopted a resolution to the effect that the Jammu-Kashmir state was an inalienable part of India and non-negotiable. But this parliamentary mandate had since been violated by none other than the two Indian Prime Ministers—first by Narsimha Rao and then by Deve Gowda, both of whom had written to the Pakistan Prime Minister for talks on the issue of Jammu-Kashmir. Already, New Delhi is internationally committed to resolve the Jammu-Kashmir problem on a bilateral basis with Pakistan under the 1972 Simla Pact. Previous to that, it had accepted the disputed nature of the Jammu-Kashmir state in the UN whose observers continue to stay on both sides of the ceasefire line in Jammu-Kashmir even today.

10. However, despite its double-dealing, New Delhi and its

three mainstream parties have made the first part of its perspective (i.e., the national standpoint of the Jammu-Kashmir state being an integral part of India and a finally settled question) as the touchstone of Indian nationalism or patriotism which alone can serve the national interests.

B

11. Guided by its theory of patriotism, New Delhi and its three mainstream parties ordain three attitudinal commandments (the number two motivation conditioner). That is, (a) the upholding of an anti-Pak stance (overt like the BJP and covert like the so-called secularists—i.e., the Congressites, socialists or Mandalists, Communists, etc.) in all matters, because, Pakistan being the principal competitor in Jammu-Kashmir, becomes, according to them, the chief enemy, (b) the endorsement of New Delhi's and the Jammu-Kashmir government's tough line towards Pakistan and hard policy towards the Kashmir valley, Doda, Rajouri and Poonch, and (c) the blind support to Indian Army's suppressive acts in these areas.

12. Whosoever disregards these commandments comes under the category of a traitor to the national cause.

C

13. Conforming to its concept of patriotism and attitudinal principles, the functioning style (the number three motivation conditioner) of New Delhi and its 2 mainstream parties in Jammu-Kashmir state has been one of manipulation and manoeuvring.

This is evident from a series of facts—e.g., eroding of the constitutional autonomous status of Jammu-Kashmir state, rigging of all elections, creating of cleavages between Kashmir and Jammu, Muslim and non-Muslim, Kashmir and Ladakh, Sunni and Shia, Gujjar and non-Gujjar, covering up of widespread political and administrative corruption in the state, demanding of complete subservience from every political leading figure in the valley, etc.

The recent happenings—e.g., the government's asking of the contingent of the International Red Cross stationed in the valley to leave the state till the completion of the Assembly elections, the disallowing of Amnesty International's request to visit the state, the refusal to introduce foreign observers to monitor the Jammu-Kashmir poll process (as has generally been done by many countries and recently followed by Nepal, Bangladesh and

Pakistan during their national elections)—also show their hush-hush and secretive style in the Jammu-Kashmir state.

Obviously, the foregoing facts do not speak high of the motivational sincerity of New Delhi and the mainstream parties concerning Jammu-Kashmir Assembly elections.

IV

14. Taking up the third condition (i.e., the general willingness of the people to participate in the elections), the following facts need close consideration.

15. The general outlook of the people in the valley and parts of Doda, Rajouri, Poonch and Kargil remains adverse to India. Because, the people of these places look upon the latter as the root of their troubles. Even National Conference leader Farooq Abdullah has, in order to show his distinction from New Delhi, avoided any direct alliance with every all India party, despite his closeness to the national parties.

Pakistan too has lost its credibility. The vast mass of the people is either non-committal or stands for independence.

16. The mass mood towards elections in the above areas is bitter and sullen. People view elections as a military operation. There has been no easing of tensions. The number of daily killings has broken the past seven year day by day record. The 38 day long general strike of the government employees and the students indicates the state of mind of the educated sections. No candidate or his supporter can move without the protection of gun-totting Black Cats.

17. During the past 7 years, the peoples social and economic conditions have considerably worsened. Many have suffered great losses in human and material terms. No one has attended to this side. Now there is a general desire to get the prevailing miserable social and economic position changed towards a better state.

18. Today, the issue of peace has become the topmost item of the peoples agenda in the whole state, particularly the valley. But the masses want it not on old terms but a new basis. After all, they have not sacrificed thousands of their kith and kin, borne great troubles and sustained material losses to bring back the traditional rotten wares. Definitely, they do not like the repetition of old fake elections, now being further reinforced by military direction, to rehabilitate the uprooted order and its operators.

19. As to the future expectations, the people in the valley are confused about their ongoing movement. Nor they have any trust

in New Delhi's promise or National Conference's agenda. The past record of both the National Conference and the Congress had been disgusting. It does not inspire any confidence.

V

20. Looking at the fourth condition (i.e., a consensus among the political contenders on various aspects of elections), it is evident that unless this requirement is met, the elections can, under politically and militarily surcharged conditions, have neither any acceptability nor credibility. Justice demanded that, in order to have a free and fair poll, New Delhi should have initiated a dialogue with all brands of political forces in Jammu-Kashmir to evolve a consensus. The only political force which counts in the valley and some other areas of the state today has been the Hurriyat Conference—a front of more than 30 Kashmiri organisations. Obviously, without its participation, the Assembly elections is not going to have any popular esteem. Elections on the terms of one party lacks fairness and justice.

VI

21. The foregoing analysis brings forth three fundamental facts: Firstly, New Delhi and its three mainstream parties refuse to learn from the modern world experience which says that a region where people have been bearing the painful effects of an armed conflict (proxy war according to New Delhi) for the past seven years, have sacrificed thousands of their dear ones and sustained huge material losses needs the process of negotiations between the contending sides.

Secondly, they reject the normal understanding that the gun only stops when the contending sides take up the agenda of peace and leave the one of confrontation. An elections imposed on the terms of one side, giving an impression of defeat to the other side, cannot unleash a process of peace. It only perpetuates the spirit of revenge in the weaker side.

Thirdly, they remain on the same old ideo-political wavelength which has been their mainstay since 1947—thus showing that the ongoing Assembly elections is merely an old drink in a new packing.

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Jammu-Kashmir Assembly Elections Neither Gun Nor Fake Elections Can Be A Route To JK Solution

I

1. Sociology shows that no human problem can be solved without properly addressing to its given social realities. Half-baked social technologies always end in a fiasco. Once this social rule is followed in relation to any case—may it be 300 year long South African apartheid question, 50 year old Palestine issue or something else—its social barriers fall into place.

2. The reason why the 50 year old tedious process of Jammu-Kashmir problem has defied all social methodologies lies in the fact that each of its two main actors, i.e., India and Pakistan, has tried to solve it on their own terms through the medium of arms, without caring for its social realities. Hence, none of the numerous social devices—namely, 1948-56 UN's active involvement, efforts by NAM, EU, ASEAN, OIC, SAARC and a number of other countries at different occasions, 50 years of Indo-Pak confrontation, three Indo-Pak wars, many New Delhi-Srinagar Accords, 1972 Simla Pact, eight Assembly elections, ongoing militancy, etc.—adopted to tackle this problem had become workable so far.

II

3. Having its origins in the 1947 partition of India and with 2/3rd of state's area in the hands of India and 1/3rd under the occupation of Pakistan as a result of the first Indo-Pak armed conflict in 1947, the Jammu-Kashmir problem has remained the core issue of contention between India and Pakistan, setting forth their respective national and international agendas, deciding their related internal and external priorities and defining the main contours of their concerned nationalisms. Consequently, the issue of Jammu-Kashmir has become a question of national prestige for the two countries with each prepared to make any

sacrifice for safeguarding its national honour.

4. From the very beginning of this dispute, each of the two countries has adopted the politics of gun as a means to its resolution. The five decade sharp cold war, compounded by three wars and a prolonged arms race, has imposed heavy economic burden on their fragile economies, throttled their growth and kept them as the world's marginal players. Many countries in Asia and Latin America, who were more or less at the same level as these two had been in 1947, have left them far behind today. The political process in each of these two countries is today characterised by communalism, casteism, corruption, violence, etc. The economic process is regulated by inefficiency, poor quality and high cost of production and the cultural process distinguished by double speak and unscrupulous behaviour. If the two do not revert from their respective present dangerous path, they are likely to face destabilisation.

5. In the respective Jammu-Kashmir areas held by the two countries, the one under the Indian control constitutes the really important region of the state in all respects, i.e., geographically, ethnically, economically and politically. India wants to retain its controlled area at all costs, while Pakistan is determined to seek a solution favourable to it. Each lays claim to the whole state, denying any right to the other. Islamabad's claim is based on the argument of the communal partition of India and the Muslim majority character of the Jammu-Kashmir state. New Delhi claims it on the basis of the Instrument of Accession signed by the Maharaja, as laid down by the British Act of Indian Independence. Both refuse to accept any third option. At the moment, while India talks of a bilateral solution under the Simla Agreement, Pakistan demands a settlement on the basis of either UN resolutions or the third party mediation.

6. The modern historical experience points out that, in the post cold war era, guns and violence provide no answer to any problem. Though the political rule of "might is right" has remained the general law up to the close of the cold war era (around 1987) and its occasional practice still intercedes the social process here and there (e.g., the recent US missile attack on Iraq), yet the methodology of negotiations, dialogue and discussion is day by day becoming the prevailing form. Armed struggles throughout the world are giving way to unconditional talk and peace accords. India, Pakistan and Jammu-Kashmir cannot remain aloof from this international peace trend for long.

7. The people on both sides of Jammu-Kashmir's ceasefire line remain discontented with their respective controlling regimes. While the dissatisfaction on the Pakistan side is still within the limits of control, that on the Indian side, especially in the valley, has since assumed armed proportions. Thus, the latter side has today become the focus of Indo-Pak contention and the world attention.

III

8. It was just in the beginning that Mahatma Gandhi saw the "ray of hope in the valley." Since then, the catch phrase of Kashmir as the cradle of Indian secularism became the watchword of Indian nationalism. It logically gave rise to the myth that the "secularist (i.e., pro-India) Kashmiris could do no wrong" and hence deserve wholesale support in all matters. Unrestricted power brought forth its own logic. Corruption, inefficiency, trickery, fraud, intrigue, etc., became the rule. Side by side with the misrule, the autonomy granted to the state was gradually eroded in the name of "national interests".

9. For about 40 years (1947-87), New Delhi and its local associates ran havoc in the state, particularly the valley. There were occasional protests. But nobody took them seriously, having been prejudiced by a traditional lie that the Kashmiris lack the nerve to stand up against authority.

10. The four decade cumulative foul play resulted in Kashmiris estrangement and disenchantment from New Delhi—providing the breeding ground for militancy. This again confirmed the historical fact that when a social system becomes incredible and illegitimate, guns come into play, no matter whoever the victim.

11. For 7 years, the militancy has been shaking the valley and some parts of Jammu region. New Delhi's bullet for bullet response has, with its emphasis on human rights violations and frightening of Kashmiris, only further perpetuated the latter's alienation.

12. In all these years, the security forces have, with all the top local politicians having gone out of the valley, been running the managerial show resulting in an all round social degeneration.

13. A lengthy troubled situation in the state demanded that New Delhi should have taken certain public confidence building measures. These might have been unconditional talks with APHC accompanied by a similar dialogue with all other sections of the people in Ladakh and Jammu, overhauling of the state administration and attending all the long neglected mass problems in the valley. Instead, New Delhi has suddenly rushed

into the holding of Assembly elections.

14. The recent worldwide experience of all types of armed struggle points out that the starting point of every settlement has generally been the negotiations process between the parties concerned. The elections or any other route to durable solution has followed the agreement between the contestants. So, the dire necessity of the Jammu-Kashmir social reality was, and is, the dialogue between the relevant forces.

IV

15. The Assembly elections is New Delhi's first political response to the 7 year old militancy in Kashmir. It is one more attempt to seek a solution on the terms of one party. The main purpose of its electoral exercise is to hoodwink the world public opinion about the restoration of normalcy in the valley. Next, it aims at creating a feeling of demoralisation among the Kashmiris by projecting its pet politicians as the elected representatives of Jammu-Kashmir. Again, it wants to demoralise Pakistan public opinion by showing that, despite Pakistan's support to militancy, its anti-election line did not work in Jammu-Kashmir. Further, it intends to show to the Indian public that New Delhi has been winning the "proxy war unleashed by Pakistan". Obviously, such elections ignore the basic and the ground realities of the Jammu-Kashmir problem.

16. Will the ongoing Jammu-Kashmir Assembly elections be a democratic exercise? Looking at its process up to the completion of its first phase, the following points deserve consideration.

Firstly, the conditions necessary for a free and fair poll do not obtain in the state. A congenial law and order situation is missing. The three sided threat of the gun—i.e., from the pro-government militants, security forces and the militants—makes free expression of opinion an impossibility. Also absent is a proper emotional climate as is obvious from mass electoral disinterestedness. New Delhi's elections theory is itself based on mass fatigue and tiredness and not on any change in public mind, lacking enthusiasm in electioneering activity. Nothing new has happened to motivate the people to take part in this activity. The change in the approach of an alienated people generally comes from a negotiated ideo-political package.

Secondly, New Delhi did not take even a single step to make the electoral process a credible activity. Almost all its electoral decisions are questionable and doubtful, namely, avoiding a

dialogue with APHC, allowing pro-government militants to create terror, sometimes harassing even the supporters of the pro-New Delhi parties, holding elections at a time when the level of violence in the valley is higher than at any time during the past years, detaining thousands of people without trial, denying the voters the right to act according to their conscience (i.e., whether to vote or not or whom to vote), restricting the voters freedom of choice by confining the contest to candidates of one school of thought, preventing the APHC in its anti-elections campaign, refusing the induction of foreign observers to monitor the poll process, disallowing permission to the Amnesty International to visit the state, asking the Red Cross to leave the state till the completion of the electoral process, conducting elections on the basis of defective voters lists, and so on.

Thirdly, the manner in which the first phase of polling has been conducted makes it a suspicious exercise. Allegations of false voting, booth capturing, use of force by the pro-government militants and many other irregularities have already been made by NC, JD and Panthers Party.

V

17. Will things change for the better in the post-poll phase?

18. The existing social indicators provide no clue to some significant improvement in any social sector.

In the realm of peace, the post-elections uncertainties in New Delhi and the formidable challenges in the valley would not permit any relaxation in the continuing Indo-Pak tension or normalisation in the state, particularly in the tense and surcharged situation in the valley.

In regard to democracy and development, an incredible, listless and issueless elections and a government elected with the help of the security forces, devoid of a mass base and always under the threat of the militancy, will not be able to provide a democratic rule to the people. So long as the army stays in authority under the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, the question of the revival of the democratic institutions will remain a cosmetic affair. In the continuing bad law and order situation and the persistent estrangement of the people, there is little possibility of toning up the administration, lowering the level of corruption, improving efficiency, carrying out development, reducing poverty and unemployment, tackling the issue of migrants, etc.

As to the question of the restoration of Jammu-Kashmir's pre-

1953 position, it is not going to be an easy and smooth affair. Nothing is specific about the Indian situation. Nobody knows how long the UF government will last. Constituted as it is, the Deve Gowda government cannot afford to go beyond Congress brief on the autonomy issue (i.e., 1975 Indira-Sheikh Accord position, as specified by Narasimha Rao government some months earlier). Moreover, any settlement on the quantum of Jammu-Kashmir autonomy will need the parliamentary approval by 2/3rd majority, a tough job in the face of the opposition by members of the BJP and its allied parties. Likewise, the question of getting 2/3rd majority decision on pre-1953 autonomous status for Jammu-Kashmir in the Jammu-Kashmir Assembly may prove equally troublesome. At the moment, the possibility of going to Jammu-Kashmir's pre-1953 position seems to be remote. At the most, what New Delhi may now concede is the 1975 position. Whatever some persons may demand, the majority of people in the valley would, however, like to have some proper and lasting settlement and not shortcuts like autonomy.

19. Surveying the whole process, one can observe that neither any new substantial factor has arisen nor is likely to emerge which may end the peoples alienation and weaken the militancy.

VI

20. The main reason why there is an unlikelihood of an improvement in the Jammu-Kashmir situation lies in three main factors.

(a) The Jammu-Kashmir election does not address to Jammu-Kashmir's basic and ground realities (which also include peoples aspirations).

(b) New Delhi's centralised policy, arising out of the Indian Constitution's centralised vision and the Indian mainstream parties' perspective of majoritarian nationalism, conflicts with Kashmiri aspirations of self-rule

(c) New Delhi's 50 years undemocratic record of conducting fake elections and ruling Jammu-Kashmir through force and fraudulent means, reinforced this time by army's election supervision and the fear of the gun, shows that the ongoing elections may be more deceitful than the earlier ones.

VII

21. Is it anti-Indianism (or anti-nationalism or unpatriotism) to call Jammu-Kashmir elections as irrational? No. anti-Indianism

means to weaken India in anyway.

22. What weakens India today is the prevalent politics of money and muscle power, scams, corruption, criminalisation, violence, communalism, inefficiency, double-dealing, etc.

23. Who is the practitioner of this politics? It is none else than the present top politicians of India who are running the Indian state and the mainstream parties. A number of them have been involved in various scams and scandals, while others are allied to them in the same parties—often acting as the former's protective shield.

24. Again, it is this bunch of politicians that is weakening India by upholding a Jammu-Kashmir policy which consistently follows the rigging of elections, the violation of human rights (custodial deaths, fake encounters, rape, burning of property, etc.), the imposing of a semi-military rule and the wasting of human and material resources in the valley in particular and Jammu-Kashmir in general.

25. Further, it is the same bunch of politicians that has weakened India by upholding a confrontationist external policy which involved India in four wars with the neighbours in a span of 24 years, from 1947 to 1971 (perhaps a record unbroken by any developing country in the world), and soured her relations with all South Asian countries.

26. Furthermore, it is the same bunch of politicians whose policies have turned India into the most violent, corrupt, inefficient and double-faced country in the world.

27. Today, the outdated sample of Indian nationalism, (i.e., renovated Nehruism, *Hindutva* and *Mandalvad*) sponsored by this bunch of politicians needs to be replaced by a new model of global oriented nationalism (or interdependent nationalism or rational humanist nationalism) which, while taking a pro-nature and pro-man standpoint, pursues a policy of cooperation and friendship with Pakistan and seeks a trilateral solution of Jammu-Kashmir problem—thus laying the foundations of peace, democracy and sustainable development not only in India and Pakistan but also in the entire South Asia. 16-09-1996

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Jammu-Kashmir Assembly Elections Ballot And Bullet Going Together

I

1. The science of democracy holds that ballot and bullet cannot exist together. But, the two rounds of polling in Kashmir show that both are marching hand in hand, with the gun in the lead.

2. The whole electoral process in the valley is dominated by the gun from the beginning to the end. The fear of the gun haunts the electorate from the day of the issuing of election notification to the casting of votes. Voter is forcibly taken to the polling booth. He is compelled to vote. Security forces bear the responsibility to ensure a proper percentage of polls.

3. The candidate comes out of his high security residence only under the protection of his special security staff. He moves only in a bullet proof car. Without the gun, it is impossible for him either to file his nomination papers or withdraw them, conduct election related activities or even go to bed. In his mass campaign, security men outnumber the audience in the public meetings.

4. The candidate's supporters campaign by covering their heads and faces, with their eyes peeping out of their masks. The campaigners generally conduct their propaganda through motorised processions, consisting of more gunmen than the processionists.

5. The returning officers too are a security protected lot. The polling stations are fully fortified.

6. The management of the whole electoral show whether concerning the EC, electorate, candidates and their supporters, returning officers, polling staff, etc., is the responsibility of the security forces.

7. Voters turnout had been low, according to foreign media and certain New Delhi based scribes. But the government claimed 50% poll. The reality, however, is that the people in the

valley are least interested in the whole affair. Their first priority is not to vote at all. But, if forced to vote, then to waste the ballot paper by indicating more than one preferences. If they can't exercise these options and are compelled to vote in a valid form, then their third choice is NC.

8. Full freedom of expression is available to the candidates and their supporters, representing pro-New Delhi position. The alternative viewpoint, as upheld by APHC, has been suppressed by all means.

9. Widespread allegations of coercion and intimidation of voters have been levelled against the security forces by the APHC and other smaller groups in the valley in the first two rounds of polling. Valley observed total bandh for two days in each round and witnessed broad protests on the polling days. The state government employees are on a 38 days general strike. Average daily killings rate continues to be around 10 since the start of the poll process.

10. Still the Jammu-Kashmir administration persists that the situation is quite conducive for the holding of elections, because the people are fed up with the ongoing militancy and ready to join the mainstream. And it goes on making the claim that the high poll percentage shows the free and fair nature of Jammu-Kashmir elections, despite all odds.

11. The common response is that the actual poll reality can only be seen if the government withdraws the security forces, disarms the pro-government militants and ends the imposition of Section 144 CrPC.

12. However, the security forces need to be reminded of the fact that their involvement in the poll process is unconstitutional and illegal which runs counter to national interests.

II

13. How will the whole poll process end? We may have the final answer in a few days. But, even midstream, serious allegations about electoral irregularities have been made by some of the most vociferous upholders of the Jammu-Kashmir poll.

14. Bhim Singh, the state president of the Panthers Party, sat on a dharna before the EC on September 13, 1996, in Srinagar, against the discriminatory attitude of the state administration and shouted that Jammu-Kashmir elections and other matters were a "fraud and black spot on democracy". Again, on September 16,

1996, he demanded the cancellation of polls in 100 polling stations in six constituencies of Jammu region.

15. Abdul Rehman, the state president of the BSP and the party candidate from Bhadarwah constituency, had in a press statement on September 15, 1996, stated that Jammu-Kashmir elections was not free and fair and appeared to be a "fraud and formality" as far as security arrangements and voters lists were concerned.

16. Saif-ud-din Soz, NC spokesman, had in his press conference on September 9, 1996, alleged rigging in Sonawari constituency in Baramulla and some other constituencies in Kupwara. He added that "NC cannot be a party to an election that was not fair."

17. On September 16, 1996, JD's election in-charge in Jammu-Kashmir, Manoj Jadav, and the state JD leaders alleged widespread rigging, particularly in Nagrota and Jammu East. Panthers Party leader, Uday Chand and Peoples Welfare Association president, Sunil Dimple, had also alleged rigging. Congress leader, Rangil Singh, complained of rigging and booth capturing in Gandhinagar constituency. The CPM has alleged rigging in Marh constituency, while the BJP in Vijaypur.

18. The final round is expected to bring forth more facts about the reality of the ongoing "free and fair poll" in Jammu-Kashmir.

III

19. Will the post-poll government work? Logic holds that whatever one sows, so does one reap. A government born out of a sham elections cannot be a legitimate act which has its own rules, often indulging in unreasonable doings. Though it is not possible for one to visualise the exact shape of things to come, but the given pointers in every situation indicate the general tendencies of that developing process. Thus, in regard to post-poll government, the below noted six points give us some inkling of that process.

20. One of these pointers is the Indian Home Minister's recent statement which reads: "Being a minister means nothing. There is nothing we can do to end the unholy nexus between criminals, politicians, policemen and bureaucrats. All (we) ministers can do is pass some legislations which cannot be implemented. I see no end to the problem in the country, especially as there are criminals in all sections of society." Obviously, a Home Minister's utter helplessness in today's scenario is something to be worried about.

21. Where does lie the cause of this deplorable state of India's

national affairs? Briefly, it rests with India's authoritarian system. This system pursues a centralised majoritarian nationalist internal policy and a hegemonic foreign policy (with cold war against Pakistan and big brotherly attitude towards smaller neighbours) to build the Indian nation. Such a constitutional or systemic perspective, characterised by two traditional unethical norms (i.e., "ends justify the means" and "might is right") has generated a criminalised and corrupt politics, parties and politicians. Similar has been the case with India's twin brother, i.e., Pakistan.

22. It is this perspective which, having conditioned the mass motivation of an unrestricted hunger for power and money, emphasised wrong national priorities and developed the double dealing style of saying one thing and doing another, is running havoc in the country. During the past five decades, it has become so strong that even the Home Minister finds himself ineffective to do anything except adjusting himself to it. Sheikh Abdullah, a towering personality, proved inefficacious to defend Jammu-Kashmir's legitimate constitutional autonomous status from the onslaught of this authoritarian system and its practitioners. It is highly difficult for anyone else to make a dent in this entrenched social mechanism (except by building a rational mass movement). This shows that the autonomy agenda may ultimately turn out to be a mirage.

23. The second pointer is the BSF Director General's recent statement which emphasises that the installation of a duly elected government is not going to affect the deployment of security forces in Kashmir. This indicates that the security forces would continue to manage the law and order situation in the valley, relegating the civil administration to the secondary position. Thus, the people will continue to be harassed in all legitimate movements.

24. The third pointer is the continuation of the pro-government militants patronisation by the security forces and the civil administration. Despite NC's threat that it would have to rethink about its decision to participate in the poll if the pro-government militants are not demobilised and despite the Election Commission's concern over the use of gunmen during electioneering, the state government has done nothing in this regard. This means that so long as the security forces continue to hold the responsibility of establishing law and order, the pro-government militants would go on as freelancers, getting extortions from the people.

25. The fourth pointer is regarding the equal sharing of power between all the three regions of the state. No one has detailed the modalities of this arrangement. But if the past is any guide, it may again remain an empty promise.

26. The fifth pointer is that, when the whole world is engaged in sorting out contentious issues through talks, both India and Pakistan are dead set on the path of confrontation. The politics of confrontation has led to the militarisation of their economies, putting a great burden on their meager financial resources and thus throttling their developmental needs. The Indo-Pak tension would continue to affect the Jammu-Kashmir situation.

27. The sixth pointer is that, since New Delhi is not likely to dilute its all parties consensus based tough law and order line towards the APHC and the militancy, the newly elected state government would become the main vehicle to carry it out. This will naturally turn the state government into a fire extinguishing engine of the central government, throttling all its own initiatives on this question.

28. All the above pointers tend towards one conclusion. That is, the newly elected state government may be able to make some minor changes here and there. But there is no likelihood of its bringing about any major transformation with regard to peace, democracy, development, poverty, unemployment, removal of inter-regional problems, restoration of pre-1953 autonomy, etc., in the state in general and the valley in particular. Whatever its twinkling and flash in the beginning, it will in due course adopt the same old beaten track of yes-man as adopted by all the post-1947 regimes in the state.

IV

29. What is to be done? The only proper course is to proceed from the newly emerging situation.

30. Today, the people in the valley in particular and Jammu-Kashmir in general are facing great hardships. The past seven years have seen a very high rise in their troubles and miseries.

Killings, fake encounter deaths, rapes, beatings, detentions, humiliations, poverty, unemployment, price rise, corruption, crime, etc., have made social living intolerable. People are anxious to have an honourable peace which alone can bring normalisation with dignity. This is the most desirable and urgent thing required by them. But, in this hour of trial and tribulations, they find no word of succor from anywhere.

31. New Delhi is trying its best to take advantage of this situation. It is making desperate attempts to impose a humiliating peace on them through its own agenda, i.e., the agenda of imposed electoral politics.

32. Democratic electoral politics is undoubtedly a highly positive social phenomenon. But it works only on the basis of a political consensus among all the concerned sides. New Delhi's politics of elections is only a dictated affair, being played through its fraudulent rules.

33. In old times when physical might decided the right and wrong, peace on the terms of one party was considered a proper act. But, today when right and wrong is decided by reasoning true and false, a one sided peace is looked upon as an unfair thing.

34. Thus, the given situation demands a proper response to the newly emerged social need of the people in Kashmir. And the proper response necessitates that the changing mass mood be equipped with an appropriate agenda of peace which, on the one hand, answers the immediate socio-economic needs of the masses, and on the other, mobilises them towards their basic political goal—thus combining the short and the long terms aims of the people.

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Jammu-Kashmir Problem Social Reality Demands A Politics Of Peace

I

1. According to Political Science, the concept of politics of peace implies a politics that is practised through peaceful means. It is an approach based on the toleration of dissent. It seeks the resolution of all disagreements through reasoning in debates and discussions, conferences, negotiations, etc. Politics, in brief, denotes the process of governance (or the structure of authority), while peace is a state of public harmony or tranquility which is free from violent conflict. The politics of peace is a part of the process of a genuine democracy or peoples rule.

2. The approach of politics of peace is fundamentally different from the approach of politics of gun (or war, cold war, confrontation) which is characterised by intolerance of any difference of opinion. It tries to sort out things by means of muscle power, i.e., pressure, cold war (or confrontation), conflict, resort to arms, war, etc. The politics of gun is a part of the process of an authoritarian rule (i.e., former clanism, tribalism, feudal monarchy and at present authoritarian democracy, military-led democracy, centralised democracy, etc.) which upholds the conformity of all to one standard.

3. The need for politics of peace arises from the present Jammu-Kashmir social reality, particularly the one in Kashmir valley, where the politics of gun has been hurting the people without impunity. The latter has led to the destabilisation of entire social life in the valley, with the government acting as an agency of violence to suppress the people by all means—political, economic and cultural—turning the entire valley into an inferno.

4. The politics of gun is not a phenomenon of recent origin in Jammu-Kashmir.

It was introduced here by the post-1947 gun politics of India

and Pakistan some 50 years ago. Since then, it has been with ups and down grinding the people without any let up. The New Delhi's politics of gun has, due to its direct rule, been the principle vehicle of this politics in this state. It has always demanded full conformity with the imperatives of its gun politics by every post-1947 Jammu-Kashmir regime. The deviationist has to go all at once.

5. The Kashmir militancy has been only a reaction to New Delhi's gun politics. It was the product of Kashmiris general disenchantment with New Delhi's centralised majoritarian nationalism (i.e., a nation-state, based on centralisation of authority and biased in favour of majority), though it has been supported by Pakistan.

II

6. Looking back into history, the politics of gun did not erupt all of a sudden in the year 1947 or only after the formation of the two states of India and Pakistan. It did arise from the confrontationist politics of the Congress (i.e., the centralised secular, but in fact majoritarian nationalism) and the Muslim League (i.e., Indian pan-Islamism). This religion oriented politics manifested itself in the form of communal violence—resulting in human killings and material destruction for a long time and finally to the 1947 communal partition of India. In the post-1947 period, the old politics of communalism has assumed the form of cold war politics of India and Pakistan, with minorities on both sides still screaming under its heavy weight.

7. As a matter of fact, the logic of the Indian and the Pakistani nationalisms has since proved irrational in the post-1947 period. The irrationality of the Pakistani Islamic logic was proved in 1971 when the emergence of Bangladesh revealed that Islam was not a good enough reason for Pakistan to hold together. The irrationality of the Indian secular logic was exposed in 1980s when the Indian state directly came into conflict with the Babri Masjid and the Swarn Mandir and now with the Boudh Gaya temple, followed by the taking up of arms by the militant sections among the minorities—i.e., the Kashmiris in Kashmir, the Khalistanis in Punjab, Christians in Nagaland, Mizoram and some other North-Eastern states.

8. The Indo-Pak confrontationist politics, with its ill effects of wars, stoppage of trade, unbearable expenditure on militarisation and arms race, has, by distorting the national agendas and

priorities of the two countries, throttled their development processes, thus deepening their respective problems of poverty, unemployment, price rise, illiteracy, disease, etc., and harming their public interests.

9. Though the politics of confrontation has, in the post-cold war era, generally given way to the politics of peace by transforming various armed conflicts into peace processes all over the world, yet India and Pakistan still continue to hold on to this dirty politics. The post-cold war era has emerged out of the social needs of an interdependent world which itself has arisen from the demands of a new social division of labour—a product of the latest scientific-technological-social knowledge (of space, bio-life, inorganic matter, energy, information, etc.).

10. Since Jammu-Kashmir is the core issue of the post-1947 Indo-Pak confrontation, the people of this state have been the main sufferers of all the negative results of this game.

III

11. Naturally, the question facing the Jammu-Kashmir people has during the past 50 years been: what should be done? The question did at different times get its answer from varying social formulae—i.e., 1947 ceasefire agreement between India and Pakistan, 1948-56 UN resolutions and initiatives, pre-1953 autonomy, 1965 Tashkent Accord, 1972 Simla Deal, 1975 Indira-Sheikh pact, post-1992 rounds of India-Pakistan talks, etc. But none of these prescriptions could become relevant. And we are again back to square one.

12. As regards the international scenario, there is deafening silence on this front. None of the various world bodies or any country (except Pakistan), despite their general consensus on Jammu-Kashmir problem as the most serious flashpoint of cold war now existing on our earth, seems to be in a mood to take any initiative on the Jammu-Kashmir question.

13. As regards the Indian scenario, the various Indian “patriotic” perspectives—ranging from the BJP’s cure of the abrogation of Article 370 to the “secularists” panacea of “short of *azadi*”—are one on the fundamental “nationalist” notion that Pakistan is the principal enemy of India and that it should be defeated by all means, chiefly by winning over the Kashmiris by hook or by crook—thus creating the conditions for Pakistan’s peaceful disintegration.

14. The democratic elements in India, despite their positive

work of stressing the need for Indo-Pak friendship and cooperation (by holding conferences), do not attend the core Jammu-Kashmir question by putting it as the last item on their agenda—thus taking a conciliatory position towards the “patriots” narrow nationalist approach.

15. As regards the Pakistani scenario, the various Pakistani nationalist perceptions—varying from PPP’s liberalism to Jamaat-e-Islami’s extremism—there is general agreement on acquiring Jammu-Kashmir state at all costs by routing their chief enemy, i.e., India, without which Pakistan cannot live in peace or make any progress. The case of Pakistani democrats is similar to that of their Indian counterparts.

16. As regards Jammu-Kashmir scenario, the focus of various “nationalist” assertions—going from BJP’s mergerism to NC’s maximum autonomy coincides on the anti-Pak plank.

17. Notwithstanding the above jingoist theorems, there are positive forces in India, Pakistan and Jammu-Kashmir, who, while standing for a democratic solution to the Jammu-Kashmir problem, continue to work on different fronts. This brings forth the need for forging a common platform of all such forces.

IV

18. The foregoing facts demand that, in this gathering storm of Indo-Pak confrontationist clouds and the organisational weakness of the positive forces, the responsibility of posing the Jammu-Kashmir issue in its correct perspective rests with the democratic forces in Jammu-Kashmir who should, by chalking out a correct course of thinking and action, try to hammer out unity among all the genuine forces not only in the state but also in India, Pakistan and the South Asia.

19. The APHC (including Shabir Shah) has taken a very positive stand, demanding of India and Pakistan to resolve the Jammu-Kashmir problem on a peaceful trilateral basis. Still it needs to sort out many other strategic essentials.

V

20. The international experience of all democratic movements shows that only a correct line, with a clear stand on all basic points, can ultimately win victory. An incorrect, confused and vague line giving a wrong perspective and parameters always ends in a defeat.

21. A correct line on Jammu-Kashmir should necessarily

proceed from a realistic study of the various dimensions of the Jammu-Kashmir problem.

22. As regards the basic nature of the Jammu-Kashmir problem, the UN as well as all the countries of the world, including India and Pakistan, accept the fact that legally it is a bilateral dispute between India and Pakistan which is to be resolved by the involvement of the Jammu-Kashmir people. Thus, the international communities, in terms of real politick and practicability treats it as a trilateral question. And this is the fundamental fact of the Jammu-Kashmir problem.

23. The UN or any other country of the world (including Pakistan as well as OIC countries) have, at no time or place, approved the idea of Jammu-Kashmir problem as a case involving the right of self-determination to the Jammu-Kashmir people or to the Kashmiris.

24. The UN did suggest at one time (1948-50) the mode of plebiscite as a way of ascertaining the opinion of the Jammu-Kashmir people in regard to two alternatives. That is, whether they want to accede to India or Pakistan. The UN or any other country, including India and Pakistan, has nowhere acknowledged any third option on this question during the past 49 years. However, the whole world community has always taken the position that India and Pakistan are fully entitled to evolve any sort of agreement on Jammu-Kashmir state mutually acceptable to them. Even today, neither India nor Pakistan agrees to the idea of the third option. India now outrightly rejects plebiscite, while Pakistan upholds it only with two alternatives even today. A year ago, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto had herself said that any third choice to the Jammu-Kashmir people would mean the handing over of this state to India.

25. Self-determination, plebiscite and trilateralism do not have an identical meaning. They imbibe different concepts. Briefly stated, self-determination is an inherent right vested in a given people (possessing the necessary features of a nation or nationality or community) to decide about their future. Such a people had not yet been able to constitute themselves into a state but are aspiring for the same.

26. Plebiscite and trilateralism are not inherent rights. Plebiscite is only a direct voting right of the people of a country granted by its Constitution or law to be exercised for or against any option which is referred to them by the plebiscitary authority. When UN, with the concurrence of the parties concerned, gives a plebiscitary right to a given people, it does not turn out into a right

of self-determination. In this case also, the people have the voting right, while the decision making power concerning the terms of reference of that option rests with the plebiscitary authority.

27. Trilateralism only means having three sides. Applied to the Jammu-Kashmir question, it implies that the three parties, i.e., India, Pakistan and Jammu-Kashmir people, are involved in this problem. In a political dispute, all the concerned parties are generally treated as equal, with no privilege to anyone.

28. Thus, while self-determination is not a dispute but an inherent right of a given people to decide their own future and have their own state, plebiscite is merely an acquired voting right of a given people to be exercised by them in regard to any issue referred to them by the plebiscitary authority, and trilateralism refers to an issue related to three parties, with no special rights for anyone.

VI

29. Coming to the various dimensions of the Jammu-Kashmir problem, the facts provide the following picture.

30. As regards the world ground reality, there is no possibility of any immediate new initiative on Jammu-Kashmir problem, unless a statewide peaceful democratic movement embracing all regions of the state or the danger of an imminent Indo-Pak conflict moves the world community to action.

31. As regards the sub-continental ground reality, both India and Pakistan, blinded by their cold war outlooks, disregarding the destabilising results of a prolonged cold war in the post-cold war era and negligent of a common future of the two countries in the SAARC community, are unable to take any fresh initiative to break their deadlock over Jammu-Kashmir.

32. As regards the Jammu-Kashmir ground reality, the state is a plural entity, comprising of eight ethno-regional identities with varying urges and aspirations and lacking statewide democratic organisation representing all these identities.

33. Proceeding from the above-stated nature of the Jammu-Kashmir problem and its various dimensions, it is necessary that a correct line takes a realistic stand on the following points.

(A) Goal

34. As regards the goal, it is necessary that it conforms to the basic nature of the Jammu-Kashmir problem, i.e., trilateral. To make it more specific, the goal may comprise of two parts, i.e., long-term and short-term.

35. A rational and viable long-term goal should, corresponding to trilateralism, be the one that reconciles the interests of three parties concerned, giving satisfaction to each that its aspirations and interests have been met within the limits of possibility.

36. The national interests of India and Pakistan should be balanced by establishing a joint Indo-Pak Condominium over the entire Jammu-Kashmir state.

37. The interests of India and Pakistan, on the one hand, and of Jammu-Kashmir people, on the other, should be matched by entrusting Jammu-Kashmir's defence, foreign affairs and currency to the Indo-Pak Condominium, on the one hand, and by leaving the rest within the Jammu-Kashmir's jurisdiction, i.e., a semi-independent status, on the other.

38. The interests of Jammu-Kashmir's different ethno-regional identities should be harmonised by adopting a federal Constitution of the Jammu-Kashmir state which should give maximum possible autonomy to each ethnic region, with a provision for further devolution of power to the district, block and village councils.

39. A single federal entity of the Jammu-Kashmir state can be kept by having a common Head of the State, a High Court, an Election Commission, an Environment Commission and a Human Rights Commission—all to be appointed by the ethno-regional councils, with one representative from each.

40. The options of independence, accession with one country or partition of the state on the line of actual control do not accord with the trilateral nature of the problem.

41. A reasonable short-term goal should stand for the averting of 4th Indo-Pak war and the creating of a consensus on Jammu-Kashmir's future setup among the state's various ethnic groups.

(B) Path

42. Corresponding to the two sided goal, it is necessary to adopt a peaceful path for the resolution of the Jammu-Kashmir problem under all circumstances.

(C) Strategy

43. In accordance with the goal and the path, it is necessary to include the following principles in the strategy. All those who agree with its agenda constitute its political forces. The different ethno-regional groups form its basic forces. The democratic forces in India and Pakistan who lend support to the trilateral

option make up its active supporters. And the international peace loving forces who want a peaceful solution to the Jammu-Kashmir problem consist of its sympathisers. All those who characterise the Jammu-Kashmir problem as a military question and opt for its military solution, kill innocent people, commit atrocities on the masses and violate human rights comprise its adversaries.

(D) Organisation

44. In conformity with its goal, path and strategy, it is necessary to have a federal type mass organisation or a front on the state level, with its units in every ethnic region from the regional down to the village level.

45. At the moment, a democratic movement for the peaceful resolution of the Jammu-Kashmir problem as required by its nature is not properly organised. The democratic movement in the valley, while having vast mass support, faces more challenges from inside than outside. The non involvement of the people in the democratic movement in the valley has resulted in confusion among the masses, providing a fertile ground for the smooth operation of various types of anti-social elements. The absence of a statewide organisation formed on the basis of a common programme is the principal weakness of the democratic movement today which has also affected the democratic movement in the valley.

(E) A Peaceful Political Process

46. Following its fundamental principles of goal, path, strategy and organisation, it is necessary to initiate a peaceful political process which tries to bring the entire people within its fold.

47. On the political plane, it should strive to motivate all the people on the basis of its agenda to ensure the support of all just and fair-minded people in India, Pakistan and the world and to make the defence of human rights and the securing of social justice for the people as an important part of its activity.

48. In the economic domain, it should mobilise the people for the redressal of their day to day demands.

49. In the cultural sphere, it should, while welcoming and developing the different types of human culture, support and organise the flourishing of each ethnic culture on a rational basis.

(F) On The Question Of Militancy

50. It is necessary to demand the initiation of an unconditional dialogue with the militants by New Delhi on the question of

arriving at an agreement on ceasefire, preceded by the withdrawal of all the security forces to the barracks, the ending of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act and the releasing of all those detained without any substantial charge. Further, it is necessary to demand the taking up of necessary steps by New Delhi for the start of trilateral talks on Jammu-Kashmir problem, alongside its dialogue with the militants.

VII

51. The trilateral solution to the Jammu-Kashmir problem does, in the fast deteriorating situation in India and Pakistan, hold the key for the unleashing of a general process of peace, democracy and progress in Jammu-Kashmir, India, Pakistan and other countries of South Asia, as it would generate conditions for the ending of regional tensions, stopping of arms race, strengthening of democratic institutions, boosting of economic development, improving of environment, decreasing of corruption, smuggling, communalism, crime, violence, and so on. 26-09-1996

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How Is Human Society Behaving Today

I

1. How is our world shaping up today? Or how is the human society behaving at present? There is an urgent need to study this question. Because, in the Space-Nano Technological Age, no social problem can be properly studied without the global context.

2. A close look at the global process of development shows its two sided motion. On the one hand, it represents a general movement towards peace, democracy (i.e., peoples rule), economic growth, humane culture and worldwide effort to combat environmental degradation and burgeoning population and, on the other, it exhibits a drift here and there towards confrontation, conflict and chaos.

II

3. Since the end of cold war (or confrontationist era) between the two power blocs led by the US and the former USSR respectively, the global peace process has been forging ahead step by step as can be seen from the below noted indicators.

Firstly, there has been a continuous decline in the global military spending. This has fallen by 36% from the peak of \$1.5 trillion in 1987 to \$840 billion in 1994. The number of world armed forces too had gone down during the same period. Only in the year 1993-94, their number fell by one million.

Secondly, there has occurred a great improvement in the global security due to the resolution of many regional conflicts (e.g., Palestine-Israel) and civil disputes (such as in Cambodia, South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, El Salvador, Haiti, etc., and recently in Philippines and Chechnya). All these peace processes have helped in the consolidation of global stability.

Thirdly, many disarmament measures, such as NPT, CTBT, ban on the use of chemical weapons, anti-missile regime,

reduction in the nuclear stockpiles of the US and Russia and the destruction of the nuclear weapons of Ukraine and Kazakhstan, etc., constitute further steps towards global peace despite the fact that some of them (like NPT and CTBT) are discriminatory in nature and not fully appropriate.

Fourthly, the evolution of a number of regional free trade areas (like the EC, ASEAN, APEC, NAFTA, etc.), regional defence arrangements and multilateral global organisations (e.g., WTO) have reinforced the global peace process.

Fifthly, a new realisation is growing among the people that the peaceful way has today become more fruitful and desirable than the armed one.

III

4. The global democratic process has further expanded and deepened during the past eight years.

Firstly, there has been a rapid transition in many countries from dictatorial, semi-military and one party rules to multi-party parliamentary forms of government. Today, almost the entire Europe (minus former Soviet Central Asian Republics), Asia (leaving Burma, Afghanistan, etc.) and Latin America (except Cuba and one or two more countries) have adopted multi-party type of government. In Africa, 45 out of 54 countries have changed over to parliamentary form of rule. Only a few states in the Middle East and Africa have yet to undergo democratic change.

Secondly, a number of UN initiatives on challenging global social issues have further strengthened the global democratic process. These issues are poverty, unemployment, social integration, gender equality and human habitat. The March 1995 Copenhagen UN Social Summit emphasised the need to tackle poverty, unemployment and social integration on a world scale. The September 1995 Peking Fourth UN Conference on Women adopted an agenda of full gender equality, applying it to property inheritance (requiring equal shares for daughters and sons) and recognising the link between political and economic factors. The UN sponsored Habitat I (in Vancouver, 1976) and Habitat II (in Istanbul, 1996) emphasised adequate shelter as a basic human right to be given due priority by every state, though the Habitat II emphasis on basic human right was somewhat diluted.

Thirdly, the emergence of the global trend of the formation of supra-national bodies on the regional level, on the one hand, and on the world scale, on the other, has given a new fillip to the global

democratic process. The first type of bodies comprise EC, NAFTA, Mercosur, Caribbean Community, Arab League, OIC, West African Community, SAARC, ASEAN, APEC, Commonwealth of some of the former Soviet Republics, Central Asian Economic Union, etc., while the global supra-national organisations are WTO, NPT regime, Missile Control system, UN Environment Programme, UN Development Programme (concerning human resources), UN Population Commission, UN Human Rights Commission, international currency markets, globalised media, international airways agencies, global banking and finance system, etc.

The status quoist forces in each country are raising great alarm against the erosion of their respective national sovereignty but finding it highly difficult to openly oppose this international imperative.

The formation of the supra-national bodies indicates the growing trend of the countries moving towards a borderless world.

Fourthly, the spread of human rights movement (which also includes the defence and the furtherance of the rights of the ethnic minorities and deprived sections) almost the world over has widened the meaning and scope of democracy.

Fifthly, the movements focusing on the rights of women and children, openness and transparency in all spheres, peoples right to know, anti-corruption campaigns, etc., have further deepened the democratic content.

Sixthly, there has been the growth of minority struggles in the form of either ethnic or religious uprisings against the dominant majorities. According to a 1993 estimate, nearly 73 countries were affected by such confrontations, mostly confined to the developing countries. The US and some other countries include the minority struggles in the category of global terrorism (which should comprise drug trafficking, money laundering, arms smuggling and other such acts which amount to violation of international law). But in fact these struggles are political in nature and mainly caused by minority discrimination and suppression. Their chief aim is to secure democratic rights for minorities. Already, the authoritarian system, suppressive of minorities, had resulted in the break-up of socially fragmented USSR and Yugoslavia. According to a US analysis, 16 multi-ethnic authoritarian countries, including both India and Pakistan, stand in the risky queue of ethnic explosions.

IV

5. The global economic process has surged forward at a

rapid pace.

Firstly, the economic liberalisation processes initiated by almost all the countries have, by bringing into being the relaxation of restrictions on trade and movement of capital, labour and goods, strengthened the global economic integration.

Secondly, the formation of the WTO, wielding more powers than its predecessor GATT, has created a powerful centre of global economic integration.

Thirdly, the IMF and the World Bank, despite their one sided market oriented approach, have—with their financial help to the needy member countries and their recent stand (though late) on issues of poverty elimination, removal of corruption, drinking water supply, environmental cleanliness, population control, reduction of poor countries debt, defence of human rights, social justice, etc.—made a contribution in the global economic integration.

Fourthly, the worldwide significant economic trend—(a) of the emergence of the East and the South-East Asian economies as the engine of global economic growth, setting forth the global economic agenda and thus defying all classical theories of economics (i.e., free marketism, socialism, communism, etc.), (b) of the transformation of the developing countries markets as a factor to the recovery of global economy, and (c) of the prolonged economic crisis of low growth rate and increasing unemployment in the developed countries (despite all their technological advancement), thus rebuffing the all out Western effort to remould the world in its own economic fashion—has greatly helped in the global economic integration.

V

6. The strengthening of the multi-sided global process of peace, democracy and economic growth has, coupled with the new technological inventions, helped in the development of a global humane culture which is, despite its overstress on violence and sex vulgarity, integrating the good qualities of all existing different cultures. The global media (both electronic and print), the global telecommunications and the global transport system is fastly globalising the various types of art, literature, law, music, dancing, architecture, customs, living styles, etc.

VI

7. The worldwide movement for combating environmental degradation and growing population has received a great impetus

from the multi-faceted global process of development. Firstly, the newly emerged scientific-technological-social knowledge has further enhanced the global public consciousness concerning these two problems. And, secondly, the UN has taken appropriate initiatives to address to them as strategic global threats. The 1992 Rio Earth Summit and the 1994 Cairo Conference on Population constitute two important UN actions in this regard.

VII

8. These positive developments are not sudden eruptions. They are mankind's actions and reactions concerning his social needs which themselves have arisen from the new social reality of an interdependent world brought forth by the new social division of labour as required by the new scientific-technological-social knowledge which requires a wider operational field, crossing national boundaries and demanding cooperation among countries. The human necessity of social cooperation is generating the many sided global process of peace, democracy, economic growth, humane culture and worldwide movement to stop environmental pollution and population explosion—requiring common markets, collective defence systems, common culture, joint management of schemes concerning water, power and other natural products, etc.

VIII

9. While generating many positive trends for the development of human society, the multi-dimensional global process is confronted with certain serious challenges which are either the leftovers of the old national model (e.g., environmental pollution, discrimination against minorities, etc.) or the creation of the still continuing theory and practice of that model. Wherever these had been properly managed, positive results have followed. The mishandling had led to trouble everywhere. These challenges in brief are:

Firstly, the post-cold war five big powers (i.e., the US, EC, Japan, China and Russia), following the national doctrine of the "balance of power," have, after the end of superpower contention, started a competition for their respective national supremacy in the world, ignoring the fact of their mutual interests wrought by the new era.

The US-China controversy over the question of human rights in China, mutual trade problems, US relations with Taiwan; the US-Japan trade dispute; the US-EC conflict over attitude towards Cuba, Iran, Libya; the US-Russian differences over

NATO expansion upto the latter's borders, Chechnya, Bosnia and nuclear matters; Moscow-Tokyo differences over Kuriel islands; China-ASEAN countries conflict over Spratly islands; etc., bring about a complex world picture.

Secondly, the US, being the only superpower in the present day world, acts as the self-appointed policeman of the world (e.g., its recent missile attack on Iraq). It seeks to establish a uni-polar world contrary to the multi-polar reality of the world. It subjects to bullying tactics of various kinds of countries which do not subscribe to the US world vision. For instance, it demands of all other states to support its threats of intimidation and economic blockade against countries labelled by it as the rouge states—Cuba, Iran, Syria, Libya, Sudan, etc. As is obvious from the foregoing paragraph, the US stands as the principal party and indeed the biggest one among the big five.

Thirdly, the existing poverty in various countries remains a daunting global problem. Though the average income in the developing countries has almost doubled in the past 25 years and the proportion of poor as a part of the total population has declined in the world, the number of poor (living on less than one dollar a day) has increased from 1.23 billion in 1987 to 1.3 billion in 1993, according to 1996 World Bank report. Ninety percent of the poor in the developing world live in South Asia, sub-Saharan Africa, Indo-China, Central America, Brazil and rural China. The six crucial areas highlighted by the report for ensuring the maximisation of the benefits of economic growth to the poor include: providing the polity and public expenditure framework for broad based labour intensive growth, ensuring the poor improved access to credit and land, increasing the productivity of the poor's land, skills and micro-enterprises, helping them to participate in market economies and reducing discrimination against the poor, investing in the health and education of the poor which increases their chances to participate fully in the growth of the economy.

Fourthly, the present state of (a) inequality in the world where a handful of the developed countries with 1/4th of the world population consume 80% of the world resources, leaving the remaining 20% for 3/4th of the world population living in about 125 developing countries, (b) a wide gap between the rich and the poor in each country, particularly the developing ones, and (c) the gender inequality, denying 50% of the population human rights is a highly inflammable global issue.

Fifthly, the emergence of the international gangs of criminals is a newly emerged global challenge. Such gangs launder about \$500 billion or 2% of the global GDP (i.e., \$25,000 billion), according to the recent IMF survey. The laundered money helps those who acquire wealth through illegal activities in particular countries and negatively affect both the domestic and the international allocation of resources and macro-economic stability.

Sixthly, the existence of (a) the special veto rights to big five nuclear weapon holding powers in the UN, (b) voting rights on the basis of one's financial weightage in the global financial institutions, like the IMF and the World Bank, and (c) the vesting of nuclear weapon monopoly in the five veto wielding states, are highly unjust norms, violating the globally accepted principle of universal suffrage—one entity-one vote.

Seventhly, the prevalence of money power along with its operational forms (i.e., political corruption, bribery, speculation, black money, etc.) in almost every country (whether developed or developing) and the domination of money-cum-muscle power plus primordialism in the developing world constitute a threat to human society.

Unless unscrupulous norms are rooted out, human society cannot develop at full speed.

IX

10. How should we respond to the existing global realities? The logical answer is that we need a two sided integrated social process which adopts the right, on the one hand, and discards the wrong, on the other.

11. The right is the social process—with its specific theory, practice and organisation—which balances the interests of nature and society, on the one hand, and of different social units within society (i.e., between society and its social institutions, between society and the individual, between the social institution and the individual and between one individual and the other), on the other. Corresponding to the present global reality, it stands for a rational, peaceful transition of this unfair world order into a just one.

12. The wrong is the social process—with its particular theory, practice and organisation—which perpetuates or creates a privilege based society, serving the interests of the few and neglecting those of the vast majority. Inevitably, the privileged will

encroach upon the natural resources and thus disturb the natural social balance on our earth.

13. Obviously, all those classical and modern social “truths”, based on the force theory and the unscrupulous practice, which had worked throughout history upto the end of cold war, are on their way to redundancy. Such classical truths include: “Might is right”, “End justifies the means”, “Everything is fair in war and love”, etc. The modern versions of these “truths” are: national hegemonism, authoritarianism, centralism, balance of terror containment, class struggle, casteism, communalism, North vs South, South-South line up, etc.

14. The question of how the unfair world order be changed into a just one or how the backward would catch up with the advanced cannot be solved either through force or doles today. In the classical times as well as the industrial era, the ruling elite used multi-form force to create wealth and the weak generally submitted calmly to fate. In the new global society, creativity and knowledge of the human resources as well as the individual will add value and generate wealth. The social need for a developed human resource will itself lead to the ending of all sorts of unfair and inequitable rules and practices everywhere on the earth—thus levelling up the weak and levelling down the strong to the same level. But here also the human ingenuity will blaze the trail.

If any country remains backward today, it is due to its own managerial weakness and not lack of resources or external pressure. The example of the East and the South-East Asian countries testify to this fact. National disparities and individual social inequalities will end not by getting free aid but by making the people talented and inventive. The life of the weaker social groups will finally change by developing their talent and resourcefulness, while providing them necessary social aid during the pick up period.

15. Given the foregoing facts, it is necessary that the present world order be, corresponding to the existing realities, step by step transformed into a fully democratic order on the basis of a reasonable and viable agenda through a consensual approach. The reforming measures may comprise:

(a) To accept the vision of a single human community and the fundamental approach of rational humanism for sorting out social problems.

(b) To restructure the UN and all other world bodies on a fully democratic basis within a specific time frame.

(c) To resolve all regional disputes between countries through peaceful negotiations, either on bilateral basis or with UN help.

(d) To settle all civil conflicts in different countries through dialogue, with an obligation on the part of each country to provide full information to UN.

(e) To initiate the process of disarmament along with the complete banning of all nuclear weapons within a specified time and vesting the control of the latter weapons in the UN during the transitional period.

(f) To develop the human and the natural resources by ensuring the observance of all UN Covenants, such as concerning human rights, environment, population, gender equality, minorities, poverty, unemployment, children, social cohesion, and so on.

(g) To set up a world economic council within the UN system for rationalising the world economic system, including the framing of a code for the TNCs.

(h) To prepare a code of rational norms of conduct to be followed by all democratic institutions at all levels in the world by a UN convened global summit.

16. A fair and just world order would only emerge if and when the world people become conscious of the need for such a social change. Without a transformation in peoples mindset, nothing new happens in society. 10-10-1996

India's Hour of Crisis

I

1. Is India in step with the march of the human community? Where does the country stand today in the 50th year of its independence? What has been its record of the past five decades which have brought about highly significant social changes in the world, namely, the breakdown of the colonial system, the collapse of the Communist bloc, the down-slide in the Western camp, the rise of the ASEAN and the East Asian countries as a powerful factor in the global economic growth.

II

2. As India proceeds towards her golden jubilee preparations for freedom, the public belief in country's future remains shrouded in doubt, suspicion and fear. No one is sure where the country is heading. The central point of this uncertain mass impression is the common perception that India has, as a collectivity, proved to be a second rate country, though Indians have, as individuals, distinguished themselves in many fields.

3. The fact of having been a second rater is obvious from our inability to ever having made anything to the top. For instance, strife torn Sri Lanka ensures a better quality of life for its citizens than we do. Once more backward than India and threatened by militancy throughout 1960s, Thailand today has a higher per capita income than we have. Marked by a 30 year civil war and devastated by the US bombing, Vietnam attracts more world capital these days than we get. At one time, as underdeveloped as India, China now has a productivity rate of \$11,000 per worker per year, while we subsist on only \$900. Even Pakistan is ahead of us with a productivity rate of \$1,500 per worker per year. Hongkong, having been at the same level as Calcutta had been around 1950, enjoys 30 times more per capita income than we attain. Tiny Singapore attracts 35 times more visitors a year than India, despite latter's far richer cultural and geographical diversity. Small countries, like Argentina, Saudi

Arabia, Nigeria, Cuba, etc., bag more Olympic medals any year than this country of over 920 million does. We go mad after winning a single bronze medal after over 30 years.

III

4. The prevailing Indian situation further strengthens the general feeling of uneasiness about their future among the masses. The country stands in the grip of serious crisis. A confused state of affairs exists in the democratic institutions. Moral values remain shattered at all levels. The executive and the legislature are in a condition of coma. This time the judiciary and the press have shirked to help the politicians bail out.

5. Deve Gowda government is confronted with troubles from all sides. The ruling United Front is composed of constituents who have no common ideology and pull in different directions. The Prime Minister comes from a party whose chief is involved deep in various scams and whose one leader after another (e.g., R.K. Hegde, Maneka Gandhi, Era Sezhiyan, Mufti Mohammad Sayyed, Jaipal Reddy, etc.) has been leaving the organisation. He belongs to a state whose government is continuously causing him headache (e.g., river water disputes with two neighbours, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu). The government's main support base, i.e., the Congress, is getting more and more discredited, with the revelation of one scam after another.

6. The main opposition party, the BJP, is also saddled with problems at all levels. A.B. Vajpayee confessed in a recent press interview that the party is in the grip of factionalism, contradictory pulls and pressures and strategic directionlessness. It has been in distress particularly in those states where it has been holding the reins of power, i.e., Gujarat, Maharashtra, Delhi, Rajasthan, etc. Its deputy leader in Lok Sabha, Jaswant Singh was accused of tax evasion, fraudulent manipulation of records and acquisition of benami assets by a Congress MLA in a press conference (31.8.96).

7. In such a fluid situation who can think of social stability in the near future.

IV

8. What has been India's biggest failure? It has been the neglect of the development of its human and natural resources.

A

9. Five decades after independence, all developmental

components of human resources present a dismal position. Still one half of India remains illiterate, 2/5th below the poverty line, 1/4th devoid of drinking water, 3/4th without proper latrines, 2/5th without adequate medical facilities, 1/3rd shelterless, 1/20th totally unemployed and 2/5th under-employed.

10. Despite 40 year long poverty alleviation programme during the eight Five Year Plans, there is no authentic figure available about the poor. According to different estimates, the percentage of people below the poverty line ranges from 25 to 40%.

11. The 1996 UNDP report says that in South Asia, notably India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan, 29% of the people were living in extreme poverty and more than 62% were living in conditions that could adversely affect their futures. The report ranks India 135 in a total of 174 countries, two numbers lower than even Pakistan.

12. The increase of 578 million population during the past 50 years (342 million in 1947 to 920 million today) has been resulting in serious social tensions.

B

13. The case of natural resources, i.e., land, forests, water, biodiversity, pollution, is no different from that of the humankind.

14. Out of its total cultivable area (i.e., 226 million hectares), 37% has become degraded (of which 45% has been turned into totally unproductive) today. One half of India's forest area has been denuded—resulting in millions of tonnes of soil erosion. Water logging, salinity and gushing rain water are causing further damage to the remaining cultivable lands.

15. Water availability is constantly decreasing due to the wastage of rain water and the over pressure and misuse of ground water. Already, the water shortage in towns and villages has become alarming. The quality of water (whether running, under-ground or ground) has been constantly deteriorating.

16. The use of toxic chemicals, automobile transport and use of coal in thermal plants and some other industries go on creating air pollution

17. Deforestation, land and water degradation and air pollution have created threats for India's genetic resources (comprising 45,000 plant and 75,000 animal species).

V

18. The second big failure of India has been the degradation

of its politics, parties and politicians. Based on the lust for power and money laundering and using the mafia technology of hook or crook, the mainstream politics has become a criminal industry, run by the top wily politicians, enveloped in Gandhian-Nehruvian packs and labelled as *Satyameve Jayate*.

19. Only in the first nine months of the current year, several cases of mega political graft have come on the surface. Some of these are: (a) Hawala scam (Rs 65 crore), (b) JMM pay-off (Rs 3.5 crore), (c) Housing allotment scandal (Rs 200 crore), (d) Urea scandal (Rs 133 crore), (e) Sukh Ram illegal money case (Rs 3.5 crore), (f) Petrol and gas agencies allotment irregularities, (g) Bihar *gawala* multi crore scam, (h) Bihar uniform scam, (i) Bihar Rs 1,000 crore bitumen (a material used in road construction) scam.

20. Last year, the Vohra Committee report stated that "Mafia is running a parallel government, pushing the state apparatus into irrelevance". Later, the Ramesh Chandra Committee verified the Vohra report's conclusion.

21. But Political money laundering business in our country is not a recent phenomenon. It has been a flourishing and the most profitable trade from the very beginning as can be seen from the following instances. (a) 1950 Jeep scandal (Rs 216 crore), with Krishna Menon as the main suspect, (b) 1956 Serajuddin affair, charges of impropriety against K.D. Malaviya, (c) 1958 Mundhra affair concerning sale of bogus shares to LIC, (d) 1971 Nagarwala State Bank fraud (Rs 60 lakh), (e) 1981 HDW Submarine contract, (f) 1982 court indictment of A.R. Antulay in cement allotment, (g) 1983 Churhat lotteries scandal with Arjun Singh as the main suspect, (h) 1987 FERA violations in Fairfax affair, (i) 1987 Bofors gun deal (Rs 1,600 crore) scandal.

22. The above list contains only some of the publicly known cases. The still covered up post 1947 corruption cases may run into thousands. Any number of instances can be cited which had made the Indian polity sick. The more crafty of the political money grabbers had escaped by sending their pay-offs abroad.

23. As early as 1951, the official Gorwala Committee report stated: "... grave allegations of a specific nature have been made by responsible parties against persons occupying positions of ministers of government. Such allegations have on occasions been the subject of debates in legislatures. The ministry as a whole and the party which has put it in power having thrown their weight behind the minister complained against, the debates have

either been inconclusive or have ended in a vote in his favour...the public feel that the influential always escape punishment.” The quote speaks for itself. It refers to the early times of India’s first Prime Minister, J.L. Nehru, the “apostle” of all “democratic virtues”, according to the Indian elites.

VI

24. The third big failure of India has been its inefficient economic process, both in quality and quantity. It is characterised by high cost of production, low productivity, poor quality, out-dated and anti-environmental technology and fiscal indiscipline.

25. It is in serious trouble. Constantly high fiscal deficits over consecutive years have retarded its GDP growth. Because the higher the fiscal deficit, the lower the GDP growth and vice versa. The channels of growth hit hard by fiscal deficit are national savings and domestic investments. It also affects cost and availability of finance and real exchange rate and international competitiveness, says an IMF study. And India’s financial deficit today stands at 10% of its GDP—too high a figure.

26. According to World Bank, India stands on the brink of an internal debt trap. As against loans and interest aggregating Rs 1,06,000 crore in 1994-95, the government’s total earnings were Rs 89,000 crore. In 1995-96, the government’s income was Rs 1,10,000 crore as against loans and interests totalling Rs 1,23,000 crore. Government’s borrowings and debt servicing had touched Rs 1,17,000 crore already this year.

27. The state of affairs of the Indian economy is bad enough. Now there is a perceptible slow down and the dominant possibility of a recession, according to experts.

VII

28. The fourth failure of India has been its foreign-cum-defence policy which aims at establishing a hegemonic position in the world by adopting a double dealing two fold policy— (a) a big brotherly attitude towards the neighbouring countries, and (b) a junior partnership approach towards big military and economic powers, particularly the US.

29. Militarily, India is one of the leading arms buyers among the developing countries. It has already fought four wars in a span of 24 years (1947-1971) with its neighbours. Today also South Asia is potentially the most dangerous region in the world.

VIII

30. The fifth big failure of India has been the vulgarisation of its norms of behaviour. Having been tagged to an unscrupulous politics, inefficient economy, hegemonic defence-cum-foreign policy, it, on the one hand, swears by truth, non-violence, peace, democracy, development, equality and justice, and, on the other, indulges in crime, fraud, trickery, double dealing and violence and shields all types of scoundrels. It patronises all types of obscurantism—primordial, casteist, communal and creates a confrontationist environment, resulting in communal & casteist riots.

IX

31. Obviously, the present state of affairs in our country, where every aspect of our social life seems to be in an upside down position, presents a depressing picture.

32. Though the judiciary and the press have played a positive role in the ongoing political crisis, yet it may be too much to expect a consistent approach from these two institutions—which have often leniently dealt with the mafia politicians. The political crisis itself is the outcome of conflicting political interests of the politicians. This time some honest junior judges have, by taking a legal stand in various cases, not helped them bail out. The press too has behaved half-heartedly.

Does the trial of politicians show that the rule of law prevails in the country? It definitely reflects a positive sign of the situation. But some recent developments—Prime Minister's midnight meeting with the Chief Justice of India, Law Minister's Letter to the CBI and its lawyer not to oppose Narasimha Rao's bail application and the recent pronouncements of the Supreme Court exempting Narasimha Rao from appearing in the court, shifting of the court premises for Narasimha Rao's trial, CBI Director's move in relation to Bihar scam, etc.—also create a doubt about the law taking its own course.

X

33. There have been numerous excuses for our national ailments. India's bigness, heterogeneity and diversion is the usual pretext, often quoted to explain our lack of excellence in any field. Minorityism, upper caste domination (i.e., denial of equal rights to *Dalit* and backward castes), or rich-poor gap, imperialist intrigues, etc., are the other reasons mentioned for our downward movement. But none of these stands the test of reality.

The first reality is that neither the neglect of our human and natural resources, nor mafia politics, nor inefficient economy, double dealing foreign-cum-defence policy, nor vulgar norms of behaviour have been thrown up by our size or diversity nor imposed on us by some external power. They are very much our own creations—the creations of our national model and its creators and operators

XI

34. The proponents of minorityism have been put to test for a number of times in various states and even at the centre. But they have nothing new to offer than outdated, tried and tested theocratic, communal model which has hardly ever differed with the basics of the Nehruvian model, i.e., centralised polity, politics regulated economy, public sector, unscrupulous norms of conduct, especially vote bank politics, anti-Pakistan foreign policy, continuous strengthening of military power, etc.

35. Similar has been the case with the exponents of upper caste domination and the imperialist conspiracy. The theory and practice of Mandalism, upholding revengeful caste justice, has proved futile as revealed by three facts.

One is the 50 year long experience of the SC-ST reservation which has benefitted only about 15% of the population of these castes, bringing them into the fold of the upper and the middle strata, while keeping the 85% at the lower rung of the ladder. The other is the practice of the post-1990 Mandalisation process adhered to by all the three mainstream models which shows no change in the condition of the *Dalit* and the Backward castes and their politicians who follow the same unscrupulous political norms as upheld by the traditional upper caste power brokers. Thirdly, the state of Mandalised social justice and equality and the condition of the *Dalit* and the Backward castes in Bihar, UP, Orissa, Karnataka and to a limited extent in Kerala and Tripura speaks for itself.

36. Surely, none of the old formulae can work. There is need to adopt a new agenda which, while learning from the past experience, bases itself on the new realities, global as well as national. The new global reality is the interdependence of countries through various technical and social processes and the national reality is the diversity of the Indian social life. Both these realities demand a two sided response—a short-term response to free our political process from the criminal politician nexus and a long-term response to restructure India as an interdependent state.

XII

37. Breaking the criminal-politician nexus means to free our political process from money-cum-muscle power based politics which sometimes adopts communal, sometimes casteist and sometimes populist colouring. The reforming measures may include:

- (i) State funding of all types of elections.
- (ii) Barring of all parties and candidates from incurring any election expenditure.
- (iii) Granting of the right to recall.
- (iv) Making of the securing of more than 50% of polled votes essential by a successful candidate.
- (v) Making of the parties accountable to the people by their public acceptance to delink their respective politics from religion, caste, etc., holding of regular election of their office bearers every two years and getting of their accounts audited under CEC's supervision.
- (vi) Introducing of the system of proportional representation for 50% of the Lok Sabha and the Assembly seats.
- (vii) Prescribing of strict legal punishment for all those violating the electoral law, rules and code.
- (viii) Setting up of an autonomous vigilance commission (Lok Pal), empowered to probe into allegations of graft against any central or state level elected representative, including the Prime Minister, along with the establishing of such state level commissions, with powers to enquire into allegations of corruption against panchayat and local bodies members.
- (ix) Enactment of law requiring all contesting candidates to submit a statement of assets held in their names as well as in the name of their relatives alongwith their nomination papers.
- (x) Setting up of a commission of jurists to investigate into all complaints of corruption against the judges from the lowest to the highest rank.
- (xi) Reforming of the law.
- (xii) Preparing of the codes of conduct for the executive, judiciary, legislature, administration, parties, media and NGOs.
- (xiii) Granting of people the right to information.
- (xiv) Repealing of all undemocratic laws such as Official Secrets Act, Contempt of Courts Act, special privileges to legislators, army's right to Court Martial, etc.
- (xv) Stopping of political interference in the administration.
- (xvi) Handing over of the broadcasting and the telecasting

operations to an autonomous body.

(xvii) Abrogation of all detention laws.

(xviii) Reforming of the jail system.

(xix) Reservation of all categories on the basis of poverty and not that of religion and caste.

(xx) Removing of all discriminations against minorities.

(xxi) Pursuing of a non-military development strategy.

(xxii) Sorting out of the mass problems—such as poverty, illiteracy, free education (with a rational orientation) and health-care to the poor, essential items at subsidised rates, gender equality, living wage, etc.—with the active involvement of the concerned sections of people.

(xxiii) Separation of state from religion and caste.

(xxiv) Ensuring of the upholding of the rule of law by all state agencies and their members.

(xxv) Cultivating of rational, humanist thinking and democratic behaviour among the masses and encouraging of sustainable mass lifestyle.

XIII

38. The long-term response to restructure India as an interdependent state means to construct our model in the light of new realities, both global and national. The essential elements of this model may be as under.

(a) **General Approach:** Scientific realism which bases itself on all-sided facts.

(b) **Social Approach:** Globalism or rational humanism.

(c) **Social Aim:** To establish a just and fair social order in India and the world which is nature-friendly, on the one hand, and people-friendly, on the other.

(d) **Democratic Order and Empowerment of the People:**

(i) To resolve all internal conflicts through dialogue;

(ii) To establish a fully federal structure, with maximum autonomy to all states and a special status to Punjab, Nagaland, Mizoram and a few other states in the North-Eastern region within the Indian Union;

(iii) To step by step decentralise power at all levels from the top to the bottom;

(iv) To set up new states in regions, like Jharkhand, Vidharbha, Telengana, Uttrakhand, Gorkhaland, Chhatisgarh, etc., where the people are making such demands for long;

(v) To introduce openness and transparency in all offices and

making them accountable to the people;

(vi) To step by step involve the people in decision making from the lower to the highest level;

(vii) To ensure full democratic and human rights to the people;

(viii) To step by step ensure social justice by ending all types of social disparities, e.g., rich-poor, gender inequality, urban-rural, literate-illiterate, racial, ethnic or religious and developed countries-under-developed ones.

(e) Sustainable Development:

(i) To improve the quality of environment (i.e., natural resources of forests, land, water, air, etc);

(ii) To make a sustainable use of the material resources and prepare an action plan in this respect;

(iii) To develop the human resources along with an action plan for effective population control;

(iv) To motivate and involve the people in the carrying out of the action plans for developing the material and human resources;

(v) To change over to pollution free, pro-nature and pro-man technology;

(vi) To globalise the Indian economy and increase its productivity through judicious mix-up of market mechanism and state planning;

(vii) To democratise the structure of the corporate sector and evolve a code for the TNCs;

(viii) To step by step ensure an equalitarian economic distribution system by evolving a fair wage system.

(f) Regional Security and Development:

(i) To seek a tripartite solution to Jammu-Kashmir question by establishing Indo-Pak Condominium over Jammu-Kashmir (dealing with state's foreign affairs, defence and currency), on the one hand, and vesting the rest of the sovereignty in the Jammu-Kashmir state, with maximum autonomy to each of its eight ethno-regional identities, on the other;

(ii) To end all disputes with the neighbouring countries;

(iii) To take all steps for the development of SAARC, resulting in a free trade common market area with a regional security system and a confederal political union.

(g) **Value System:** to promote rational humanist thinking and democratic behaviour.

(h) Foreign and Defence Matters:

(i) To follow international cooperation and friendship with

all countries;

(ii) To demand the step by step restructuring of UN and all other international bodies on a fair basis, i.e., one entity-one vote;

(iii) To ask for the complete destruction of the nuclear weapons within a prescribed time and the vesting of their control (not physical but operative) with the UN during the transitional phase.

39. The aforementioned measures can enable us to balance the interests of nature and society, on the one hand, and within society itself, i.e., between society and the individual, between one social institution and another, between the social institution and the individual and between one individual and another, on the other.

12-10-1996

IDP's Eleventh Congress

I

1. The 11th Congress of the IDP was held in Bikaner from the 18th to the 21st of October 1996. It was attended by delegates and observers (totalling 158 of which 10% were women) representing party units in five states (Jammu-Kashmir, Punjab, Rajasthan, Orissa and Bihar). A delegation of the IDP, Nepal, participated as a fraternal group. The Samajvadi Jan Parishad Leader, Kishan Patnaik, and the Convenor of People's Initiative on Kashmir, Bhavani Eklavya, shared the platform as guests. The party units from Haryana, Delhi, UP, Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh were unrepresented.

II

2. The Congress adopted its agenda in the following order: (a) International and national situations; (b) Party's organisational line & mass line; (c) Question of party's expansion in other parts of India; (d) Reports by the centre and the states, stating how far decisions of the Nabha Congress had been fulfilled; (e) Coming Punjab poll in February 1997; (f) Report on Jammu-Kashmir Assembly elections; (g) Possibility of mid-term poll in 1997.

3. The Congress held ten total sittings during the four day deliberations.

III

4. On the first day, two sittings were held. A document on the international situation came under discussion during which the various speakers made the following points.

(a) To always analyse a problem from the viewpoint of finding out its right and wrong. In social phenomena, to strive for understanding the positiveness and the negativeness of any process.

(b) Social positiveness is the one that properly conforms to the existing social realities and their future direction. Handling the

existing social realities with outdated social perspectives, having lost their relevance, results in social negativeness; Knowledge and skill both are important; A proper combination of theory and practice results in an increase in our productivity; Ends and means should always be linked; The concept of "Might is right" is on its way out; There is need to change our social system which is oriented by a non-friendly approach towards nature and mankind; It is one sidedness to talk of changing the world without changing oneself; Truth is multi-dimensional.

(c) The IDP upholds rational humanism, globalism, supra-national regionalism, interdependent nationalism, etc., in conformity with the newly emerged reality of the globalisation of social life; The emergence of UN in 1945 was the social need of those times; The realities of the ongoing decade demand its restructuring on a new social basis; To answer the new social reality with old social prescriptions creates complications; The world process of development is proceeding in a positive direction, marked by negative features here and there; The world is step by step moving towards a borderless world.

IV

5. The next day, the Congress took up the document on the national situation which was keenly discussed by the participants during the two sittings. The debate brought forth the following points.

(a) The society develops through a two sided interaction, i.e., between nature and society, on the one hand, and between different units within society, on the other (i.e., between society and the individual, between each social institution and society, between the social institution and the individual and between one individual and the other).

(b) IDP's general approach is scientific realism, while its social perspective is rational humanism. Humanism alone, without rationality, is an inadequate concept to deal with the present-day general reality.

(c) Nature acts and reacts upon society through various processes, environmental, scientific concepts and technological tools—all of which demand from society the observance of a given social division of labour generated by these three processes. Society acts and reacts upon nature through various processes of its given social division of labour.

(d) The recent nature-society action and reaction has led to the

globalisation of social life.

(e) The global society cannot be properly organised without the maximisation of democracy, or the empowerment of the people, and the evolving of a sustainable relation between nature and society.

(f) The present-day democracy should be based on consensus, because a consensus based approach is the most appropriate way to balance the interests of nature, on the one hand, and society, on the other.

(g) To evolve a consensus based rule in the world, it is necessary that society should be based on fair and just principles which level up and down all the unequal social factors in the world, i.e., rich-poor, gender inequality, rural-urban, literate-illiterate, developed countries-developing ones, etc.

(h) A confrontationist style is not the proper way to deal with the challenges facing mankind today.

(i) The present social realities show that the ongoing model of party based democracy cannot meet the newly emerged social needs, i.e., the needs of empowerment of the people and sustainable development which require the development of human resources, on the one hand, and the material resources, on the other. This, in turn, demands a transformation of the democratic model from a party based to a people based structure—a structure in which the people themselves wield the decision making power instead of transferring it to the parties. The empowerment of the people and the disempowerment of the parties may be a gradual process taking scores of years.

(j) Empowerment of the people means their mental as well as material empowerment or their political, economic and cultural empowerment. Already the movement concerning sustainable development, environment, gender equality, population control, destruction of nuclear weapons, poverty elimination, human rights, etc., represent steps towards the process of the empowerment of the people.

(k) Authoritarianism, free marketism, centralised state planning, over consumerism, etc., are all one sided and need to be rationalised in the light of the new social requirements.

(l) The biggest mistake of India has been the neglect of its human and material resources development. This neglect is the outcome of the defective concept of its majoritarian nationalism, centralised social system, muscle and money power based politics, inefficient economic style and unscrupulous behavioural norms.

(m) While the international situation has been taking a positive turn, the situation in India presents a depressing picture, having been characterised by criminalisation of politics, poor economic performance and degradation of norms of conduct.

(n) To properly respond to the challenges confronting the Indian society, i.e., social fragmentation, militancy in Jammu-Kashmir and other places, widening inequalities, social violence, corruption, etc., a broad based peoples movement is needed. A democratic movement involving the mobilisation of all poor, deprived and weaker sections should be our foremost task today.

6. The third sitting from 9 pm to 12 pm conducted the para by para study of the draft.

V

7. On the third day, the Congress carried its business in three sittings.

8. In the first sitting, it (a) compiled the questions raised during the readings on the two drafts, i.e., concerning the international and the national situations, (b) heard and discussed the reports of the centre and the states, and (c) debated the issue of party building and mass mobilisation.

9. In the afternoon sitting, (a) the questions arising out of the readings of and the discussions on the two drafts were sorted out and the two documents adopted by the house, and (b) the discussion on the issue of party building and mass mobilisation was resumed. The following points were stressed by the speakers.

(a) lack of initiative and check up at all levels,

(b) need for deepening the ideological, practical and organisational consciousness of the members,

(c) necessity of cultivating the new understanding on trade unionism in the party,

(d) neglect of giving due importance to the discussion and spread of party journal,

(e) ignoring the development of old members and the enrolment of new ones,

(f) disregarding of attending to the problems of members and the utilising of their full capacities.

10. The night sitting from 9 pm to 12 pm attended to two questions: (a) the building of a women's organisation, and (b) the reporting on the Jammu-Kashmir Assembly elections.

With regard to the question of building a women's

organisation, four points were decided:

(a) every state unit should undertake the task of perpetuating the consciousness of all our female members and sympathisers in the Party Programme and the Constitution,

(b) it should hold a State Conference of such female members and sympathisers,

(c) every party unit from the lower to the higher level should, according to its given conditions, take up the issue of building the women's organisation through our female members and sympathisers,

(d) the issue whether the women's organisation be a NGO type organisation or an independent one may be further discussed.

VI

11. There was only one sitting on the last day, i.e., October 21, 1996.

The issue of party building and mass mobilisation was discussed from various angles. The following points emerged during the discussion: members lack of study of various social processes; units inattention to sorting out concrete tasks for their members and sympathisers; neglect of mass problems, peoples mobilisation on public issues and raising the general mass consciousness; ignoring of the media; underestimation of the task of party building and mass mobilisation, etc.

12. The following theoretical points were highlighted.

(a) Theory, practice and organisation are the three elements of a single process. They form an integrated whole and the one cannot be separated from the other two.

(b) The US style of world policeman is closely related to its hegemonic theory.

(c) The Congress Party's centralism arises from its fundamental theory of majoritarian nationalism.

(d) Our party's norms of non-confrontation, dialogue and negotiations, consensus, self-critical attitude, proper ego management, etc., are flowing from our general theory of rational humanism-cum-scientific realism.

(e) In viewing the present social reality, it is necessary to analyse the social forces which are moving upwards as well as those going downwards. The process may take time but the rising and the declining social trends need to be identified. The growing social reality should be upheld, while the sinking one should be discarded. The relevancy and irrelevancy is connected

with the developing and the decaying social tendencies.

(f) The mistakes by members should never be magnified and always treated through ideo-political means.

(g) What is the reason of our poor performance? It is one of the following: either our social theory is defective or our understanding of the theory is vague and we adopt a style of functioning and organising that is inconsistent to our theory. Let us test this proposition in the light of facts, the principal one (i.e., the fact) having been that there has been an unbridgeable gap between our decisions and their implementation. Our criterion of self-examination should be rationalism and its principles and not pragmatism or the “art of the possible”, and its double-dealing norms.

13. The democratic process can be accelerated by performing a two sided task—the building of a conscious party and the democratic mobilisation of the masses. This fundamental task demands a constant practice and a deepening of our theoretical, practical and organisational knowledge.

14. Every task requires some elementary preparations. It is necessary that before embarking on a task we try to understand its preliminaries.

15. Our general habit has been to build castles in the air, i.e., the taking of big decisions, while doing very little.

16. It is essential that we strictly follow our fundamental behavioural dictum of integrating our thinking with saying and saying with doing. And perhaps this is the fundamental cause of our theoretical, practical and organisational weaknesses.

24-10-1996

Post-Election Jammu-Kashmir Scenario And Its Demands (A Note To APHC, November 26, 1996)

I

1. The post-election situation in Jammu-Kashmir in general and the valley in particular has further deteriorated.

2. Only 45 days after the formation of the Farooq Abdullah ministry, the valley's entire people—comprising the poor, the middle sections and the rich (the businessmen and the industrialists)—have become fed up with the new set up. The increase in cordons, searches, identity parades, disappearances, custodial deaths, firings, beatings, rapes, persisting poverty and unemployment, price rise, shortages and black marketing of essential commodities (including kerosene oil and cooking gas), frequent power failures, supply of inferior quality of milk, meat and articles supplied under PDS and the attempts to harass people by asking them to pay the seven year arrears of electricity and water fees and sales and income taxes, etc., have made social life more miserable than before.

3. In Ladakh, the resignations by the members of the Hill Development Council as a protest against the new regime's behaviour indicate the level of peoples feelings.

4. In Jammu, the pre-election expectations of the masses from the Farooq government have come down. Their earlier expectations about its better future performance in the valley have proved inexact. But they are still waiting that it might be able to do something in this region.

5. In the political sphere, certain important government measures—such as the reconstitution of the District Development Boards, the election of the Deputy Speaker, the formation of the Karan Singh Committee to negotiate with New Delhi on the issue of autonomy, nomination of the inter-regional autonomy committee, etc.—have shown its tendency to

monopolise power in the hands of the ruling party. No doubt, this has angered all the pro-New Delhi parties—BJP, Congress, JD, BSP, etc.—as is evident from their respective recent statements.

II

6. The reason why the Farooq government has to encounter mass unrest from the very beginning, while its preceding National Conference regimes had taken longer periods to reach this point lies in three newly emerged factors. One is the alienation of the Kashmiri people from New Delhi. The other is the ongoing armed confrontation between the Kashmiri militancy and the Indian security forces, and the third is the nature of the present government, i.e., a government sprouted from an imposed elections on the unwilling people in the valley. This sort of government is bound by its own logic, i.e., it is obliged to serve its benefactor and suspect the people as regards its interests. In the prevailing situation in the valley, it is liable to act as New Delhi's fire brigade.

III

7. There is little scope for this government to bring about any improvement, political or economic, in the prevailing Jammu-Kashmir situation, particularly in the valley. This is due to the following facts:

(a) New Delhi's gun based politics which shuns all democratic norms in the valley in particular and Jammu-Kashmir in general and gives unbridled powers to the security forces.

(b) Centralised and majoritarian nationalist nature of the Indian state which practises authoritarianism at home and hegemonism abroad—thus ruling out any meaningful autonomy to the state.

(c) Unscrupulous politics of India's mainstream parties which always place personal and party interests above those of the people.

(d) Weak economic and financial position of New Delhi which diminishes the possibility of any large scale developmental aid to Jammu-Kashmir.

(e) Speedily growing poverty (now running over 30%) and unemployment (numbering half a million of educated and over-half a million of uneducated) in the state.

(f) Increasing corruption and favouritism in Jammu-Kashmir.

(g) Monopolisation of power by National Conference.

(h) Unsettled political conditions in India and lack of any

political vision by the central government.

8. However, New Delhi can use the present Jammu-Kashmir regime as a tool to cause splits among various sections of the Kashmiri people. And this role is highly useful from the viewpoint of gun politics.

IV

9. Since Jammu-Kashmir is the core issue of the national agendas of New Delhi and Islamabad and consequently a very high tension point in the world peace process, their specific situations too have a direct bearing on Jammu-Kashmir affairs.

10. As regards the political state of affairs in India and Pakistan respectively, i.e., the ongoing political crisis in Pakistan and the present fluid political conditions in India, there is no possibility of any break in the long continuing Indo-Pak deadlock—a roadblock in the development of South Asia.

11. With regard to the international situation, none of the various world organisations (UN, IMF, WB, NAM, OIC, APEC, ASEAN, SAARC, etc.) or any country (except Pakistan) seems to be in a mood to take a new initiative on Jammu-Kashmir question.

12. Even the democratic forces in India, Pakistan and the world are pre-occupied with their own concerns.

V

13. The foregoing facts put a very high responsibility on the shoulders of Jammu-Kashmir democratic forces who can, by proceeding from the basic and the ground realities of Jammu-Kashmir tangle, sort out not only a just and viable solution to this problem but also contribute in the breaking of 50 year old Indo-Pak stranglehold—thus strengthening the world peace and development process.

14. But the above objective can be realised only by working out a correct line for the building of a mass democratic movement. The whole world experience emphasises the importance of a proper line for organising such a movement. Obviously, the chalking out of a realistic line demands a full clarity on the following questions:

(a) What is the identity of the given people? That is, do the Jammu-Kashmir people constitute a nation or a nationality, an Islamic group or a Kashmiri entity or are they composed of multi-ethnic identities?

(b) What is the nature of the given problem? That is, does the Jammu-Kashmir problem represent a national question, Islamic

question, Kashmiri question or disputed issue and whether this dispute is trilateral, bilateral or unilateral (i.e., a contentious issue between the centre and its unit within one country)?

(c) What are the long-term and the short-term aims of the given democratic movement? In our case, is it independence for the state as a whole or one of its parts or its accession as a whole with India or Pakistan or is it a solution envisaging a semi-independent status for the state as a whole, with maximum possible autonomy to each of its ethnic groups, under an Indo-Pak Condominium or SAARC control?

(d) What is the path of the given democratic movement? In our case, is it peaceful or non-peaceful?

(e) What are the various categories of the positive and the negative forces of a given democratic movement?

(f) What is the form of its organisation? In our case, is it a centralised or a federal one?

(g) What is the methodology of its mass mobilisation process? In our case, what is our central slogan and its supplementary tools to motivate the people?

(h) What is its approach towards groups waging armed struggle for a similar objective? In our case, what is our position in regard to militancy?

(i) What is the minimum possible agenda to build the broadest possible unity?

15. All the above points need to be discussed at a Joint meeting of all shades of democratic elements in the state.

VI

16. The IDP is prepared to take part in any conclave for the thrashing out of a common agenda, both maximum and minimum. However, at this moment, it holds the following views in regard to the afore-said points, which can be modified or changed in case more realistic alternatives are available.

(a) Point One: Jammu-Kashmir people are a collective of multi-ethnic identities.

(b) Point Two: Jammu-Kashmir problem is a trilateral dispute, comprising three parties, i.e., India, Pakistan and Jammu-Kashmir people.

(c) Point Three: Its long-term aim is to get the Jammu-Kashmir problem resolved under Indo-Pak Condominium (or the SAARC control), with semi-independence to Jammu-Kashmir and the maximum possible autonomy to each of its eight ethnicities.

Its short-term aim is to work for averting the fourth Indo-Pak war, lessening Indo-Pak tension, uniting all the democratic elements on the basis of an agreed minimum agenda in a common front and creating consensus on Jammu-Kashmir's future set up among Jammu-Kashmir's various ethnic groups.

(d) Point Four: Peaceful path.

(e) Point Five: As regards the positive forces, all those who agree with the nature of Jammu-Kashmir problem as trilateral dispute constitute the political forces; the different ethno-regional groups form the basic force; the democratic forces in India and Pakistan who lend support to the trilateral option make up its active supporters; and the international peace loving forces consist of its sympathisers. All those who characterise the Jammu-Kashmir problem as a military question, opt for its military solution, commit atrocities on the people and violate human rights comprise the negative forces.

(f) Point Six: Taking into account the multi-ethnic nature of Jammu-Kashmir state, it stands for a federal type of organisation, with each ethnic group to have its autonomous organisation.

(g) Point Seven: Its mobilisation process includes various types of activities.

Politically, it strives to mobilise the people on the basis of its agenda, both through speeches and in writing, in Jammu-Kashmir as well as in other parts of India. Its central slogan is the trilateral solution which is based on the vision of a common and joint future of India, Pakistan and Jammu-Kashmir people. The defence of human rights and the securing of social justice for the people form an important part of its activity.

Economically, it tries to mobilise the people for the redressal of their basic economic issues as well as their day to day demands.

Culturally, while upholding the different types of human culture, it stands to support and organise the flourishing of each ethnic culture on a rational basis in the state.

(h) Point Eight: It stands for the initiation of an unconditional dialogue between the militants and New Delhi on the question of arriving at an agreement on ceasefire, preceded by the withdrawal of all the security forces to the barracks, the ending of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act and the releasing of all those detained without any substantial charge. Side by side with the dialogue between the militants and New Delhi, it demands the taking up of necessary steps by New Delhi for the start of

trilateral talks on Jammu-Kashmir problem.

(i) Point Nine: It stands to build the broadest possible front (say, the Trilateral Forum) of all those who accept the Jammu-Kashmir problem as a trilateral dispute, with India, Pakistan and Jammu-Kashmir people as the three parties concerned. It is prepared to accept in this Front the entry of even those who acknowledge Jammu-Kashmir problem as bilateral issue between India and Pakistan. Building a broad based unity on the terms of one or the other group in a complicated matter is not possible.

VII

17. With regard to the organising of work in the valley, the IDP makes the below noted suggestions:

(a) The top priority should be accorded to the task of arranging the public life in a fair and orderly way. That is, to attend to the public problems from the individual, family, gali, mohalla, ward or village units to the Block, Tehsil, District and Regional levels, namely, the problems of poor, deprived, unemployed (both educated and uneducated), unorganised labour (both rural and urban), peasants, artisans, agriculturists, horticulturists, vegetable growers, milk and meat sellers, Hanjis, rehriwalas, PDS shops, organised labour and all sorts of employees and their unions, small and middle shopkeepers (both in the villages and the towns), big businessmen, industrialists, etc., including the issues of electricity and water, hospitals, sanitation (including urinals, latrines, filth depots), schools, colleges, University, roads, transport, telephones, food and supplies, vegetables, cooking gas, wood, charcoal, corruption, favouritism, encroachments on common lands, cheating, overcharging, misappropriating public funds, black marketing, crime prevention (timber theft, felling of mulberry trees, etc.) and the questions of electricity and water charges, sales tax, income tax, etc., no public hartal or employees strike without a genuine cause.

(b) The other priorities may be in the following order:

(i) To launch a signature campaign for the release of all those against whom there are no cases.

(ii) To set up a non-official judicial commission for compiling an accurate, detailed and comprehensive list of all acts of human rights violations committed during the past seven years in regard to the following points, i.e., total killings, custodial deaths, disappearances, firings, beatings, rapes, detentions, cordons, searches, identity parades, house burnings, property damaging

and looting, forced labour, car snatching, checking of passengers in vehicles, calling of youth in army camps and abusing them, etc. This commission should also hold seminars and debates on human rights, inviting intellectuals from all parts of the state as well as the members of the human rights commissions, judges, advocates, professors, intellectuals, etc., from all the SAARC countries, including India and Pakistan.

(iii) To establish a non-official enquiry commission to investigate into the case of foreign hostages as well as the killings of Nepali and Bihari labourers, Rajasthani tourists and Dada's Gaddi tribals.

(iv) To throw the political line and its basic aim for general discussion among the masses through debates, seminars, public meetings, indoor meetings, leaflets, posters, etc.

(v) To build the broadest possible unity among all those groups and individuals, who accept Jammu-Kashmir as a disputed question, irrespective of any consideration to their specific goal and work method.

(vi) To establish unity of thinking and action with the democratic forces working in other parts of Jammu-Kashmir state, including 'Azad Kashmir'.

(vii) To summon a conference of all democratic elements and individuals functioning in different areas of Jammu-Kashmir for building the broadest possible front on the minimum acceptable agenda.

(viii) To establish closer links with the democratic elements in India, Pakistan and other SAARC countries.

(ix) To win over the sympathy and support of all peace loving and democratic forces in the world.

(x) To strive for calling a conference of all shades of leaders from both sides of the ceasefire line.

(xi) To try to hold a well representative meeting of different democratic elements from India, Pakistan and Jammu-Kashmir at Delhi or Jalandhar and, if possible, at Jammu.

18. There is need for taking realistic decisions and proper implementation methods which maximise the gains and minimise the losses.

(Paper read at a Seminar in Jaipur on December 28, 1996)

India's National Process Heading Towards An Uncertain Future

I

1. What one sows so does one reap—this old saying sums up the general law of the development of human history. Chance or accidental factors may sometimes hinder this law (e.g., the chance of damage to one's crops through hailstorm). But ordinarily this law holds sway everywhere and at all times.

2. Therefore, whatever is happening in our country today is not falling from the skies or taking place in a vacuum. Neither has it erupted all of a sudden nor out of nothing. Experience says that every phenomenon, natural or social, has its specific process of development. The process may be long (e.g., our solar process which is estimated to last for five billion years) or short (e.g., the process of a given quark, supposed to exist for one-billionth part of a second), but it develops only in correspondence with the theory and practice of its actors and ends accordingly.

II

3. Our ongoing national process (starting in 1947 after emerging out of the British Indian colonial process) too has its specific history. Today, as it proceeds towards its golden jubilee anniversary, its main feature and the whole movement is, as daily reported by the print and the electronic media, marked by highly worrisome stories, namely, the top politicians' involvement in scams and scandals, political cheatings, bank embezzlements, business frauds, stock market racketeering, bureaucratic corruption, cases of contempt of court, millions of cases pending with courts, delayed and high cost justice, killings, custodial deaths, human rights violations, communal riots, caste conflicts, atrocities against women (rapes, kidnappings, abductions, etc.), power breakdowns, water

shortages, telephone failures, stinking filth depots, ill smelling public toilets, transport bottlenecks, traffic accidents, employees hartals, workers strikes, kisan protests, shoddy goods, inefficiency, sloth, pollution, sub-standard drugs, food adulteration, short weight, illicit liquor, drug trafficking, smuggling, gambling, black market in all social needs (admissions to schools, colleges, hospitals, railway reservations, cinema tickets, test matches, hiring a room or shop, connections for water, electricity, telephone, ration card and gas facility), bogus chit fund companies and employment exchanges, false universities, forged currency dealers, tax evasion, money laundering, manipulation of foreign trade, transfer of illegal money to foreign banks, and so on. Except acts of criminalisation, there are very few matters of cheer for our people.

This is, in a nutshell, the general picture of our social collectivity which, despite having been 1/6th of the humanity, fails to get even a third rate bronze medal in world Olympics for over three decades. The other side of our national reality is that the Indians have, as individuals, proved their worth in many fields.

III

4. According to the 1995 UNDP report, while the rest of the developing world surges ahead towards peace and prosperity, only two regions of the world—South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa—remain mired in poverty, with India alone having the largest number of the poor, deprived, illiterate, unemployed, sick and diseased, shelterless and naked people not only in the said two areas but the whole world.

5. A World Bank report on “the Wealth of Nations”, pertaining to 190 countries, points out that, while 16% of the wealth worldwide comes from physical capital (i.e., buildings, roads, machines, etc.) and 20% from natural capital (i.e., minerals, forests and other resources), the remaining 64% of the wealth is generated by human capital. Yet, our country hardly bothers about its people. Fifty percent of our countrymen still remain illiterate, 40% below the poverty line (according to the latest estimates of the Planning Commission), 33% drinking water from ponds rather than taps, 75% without proper latrine facilities, 80% without elementary sanitation, 60% without adequate medicare, 33% shelterless, 5% totally unemployed and 40% under-employed. The scale of social deprivation is tragic. The trebling of the Indian population during the past 50 years (from 342 million in 1947 to 950 million in 1996) has further added to human woes.

IV

6. However, despite the miserable conditions of living, India has, since its inception, adopted the path of regional superpowerism, giving priority to the politics of gun over the politics of social peace, equity and justice. It has gone through four wars with its two neighbours, Pakistan and China without any substantial gain to its people. Even after the end of the era of cold war politics when global military expenditure has been decreasing by \$4 billion each year since 1987 and when every region of the world had reduced military spending, only two regions—South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa—have increased their military budgets, with our country topping the list and standing as the biggest importer of weapons among the developing countries in the world. Today, it is spending under various heads (e.g., Home Ministry, Research and Development, Public Sector, etc.) about \$20 billion a year on all types of military related activities (such as the para-military forces, intelligence agencies of RAW and IB, defence enterprises and research, etc.).

The justification of India's politics of gun rests on the argument that, in view of the persisting twin military challenges from Pakistan and China, there is need for the continuous strengthening of our military might. But this reasoning ignores the existing world realities which underline the futility of the politics of gun in our epoch. One reality is that the armed superpowerism of the Soviet Union collapsed because of its failure to provide bread and freedom to its people. The other is that the ongoing unchallenged US superpowerism has today become the biggest debtor of the world and the victim of low growth and the high unemployment syndrome. The third reality is that the non-military Japanese and German growth models have transformed these two war devastated countries into world economic superpowers, with the world community giving its unanimous approval to their elevation to the permanent membership of the Security Council. The fourth reality is that the non-confrontationist path of development, as adopted by the East Asian and the South-East Asian countries, has made this Asian region as the economic engine of world growth. The fifth is that the miraculous East Asian economic growth has induced the US, Canada and some other Pacific Latin countries to join with the high growth Asian countries in the Asia Pacific Economic Community (APEC). The sixth reality is that India has been since two years begging Singapore and Malaysia to recommend its case for membership

to the APEC, but no one in that body seems to be interested in the appeals of the so often trumpeted “the biggest democracy of the world.” The seventh reality is that the much bragged “the biggest market of Asia” (i.e., India) has felt a great honour by getting an observer’s status at the ASEAN Regional Forum, while much smaller and under-developed countries, like Myanmar, Cambodia and Laos, have been ensured full membership of the ASEAN within two years. The eighth reality is that the countries, with high military spending in contrast to social spending, as Iraq (eight times), Somalia (five times) and Nicaragua (3.5 times) have remained backward. The ninth reality is that Costa Rica, which abolished its army in 1943 and which now spends 1/3rd of its national income on education, health and nutrition, stands as the only prosperous democracy in a troubled Central America.

V

7. Where has the path of regional superpowerism carried our country? The recent statistics, released by certain highly credited agencies (both official and non-official), provide a shocking picture of where we are after 50 years of independence.

8. According to 1996 data given by the National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER), 39% of Indian population (i.e., 38 crore out of 95 crore) remains below the poverty line and 37% of the country’s rural population is landless. The corresponding official figures are 19% and 10%.

9. The FAO agricultural economist, Peter Rosenegger, says that foodgrains production in India has, despite good monsoons, continued declining during 1980s and 1990s.

10. As per official figures, while India’s agricultural production has grown at 1.9% over the last five years, its population growth has been 2.2%. Per capita availability of foodgrains per day has slipped from 511 grams in 1991 to 465 grams in 1996, a figure corresponding to 1960s. This fact is being today reflected by the terrible shortage of *Atta* in the market. And this is happening after two decade long government declarations that the country has become self-sufficient in foodgrains and even an exporter. In this context, how does funny look the Prime Minister’s statement at the recent FAO Rome Summit that the hunger in India would be banished by 2000.

11. The IMF’s world economic outlook 1996 notes that high interest rates in India, stemming from excessive fiscal deficits and supply side bottlenecks, are likely to slow long run growth and that

there are risks of rising inflation and external vulnerability. It sounded a note of caution in some areas, like fiscal deficit (which at present stands at 10% of the GDP, including both the central and the states).

12. A recent World Bank report states that India stands on the brink of an internal debt trap. In 1995-96, the government income was Rs 1,10,000 crore, while loans and interests totalled Rs 1,23,000 crores. In 1994-95, the loans and interests were Rs 1,06,000 crore as against the total earnings at Rs 89,000 crore.

13. According to a World Bank estimate, if India's corporate sector had not transferred \$100 billion abroad, the 1991 Indian balance of payments crisis (involving only \$95 billion borrowings from all international lending agencies) would not have occurred.

14. A study of the University of Florida estimates that over-invoicing of import and under-invoicing of exports in Indian foreign trade results in the transfer of between \$2.5 billion to \$4 billion to the US alone every year.

15. As per reports circulating among IMF-WB circles, India seems on the verge of losing its seat in the Board of the IMF and the WB due to the decline in its quota from 5.1% to less than 2%.

16. According to the HRD Ministry's data, the share of social services (HRD) in the total expenditure on revenue account in 1990-91 fell from 38.0% to 35.2% in 1992-93 and remained more or less at the same in the next two years. While expenditure on education has been maintained past 1990, that on medical and public health has been slashed. The per capita social service expenditure of states has been declining.

17. A UNICEF report says that South Asia, particularly India, has the worst nutrition levels, with the highest number of maternal deaths and 50% of under-weight children.

18. The 1996 UNDP report ranks India 135 in a total of 174 countries, two digits lower than even Pakistan. It further says that in South Asia, notably India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan, 20% of the people were living in extreme poverty and more than 62% in capability deprived conditions that could adversely affect their futures.

19. Looking at the Indian productivity level, while the total world output and commerce had in the post-second world war period increased by 5.5 and 14 times respectively, our national output had grown by 2.5 times and the external trade slid from 2.5% to 0.6% share in the world trade. While China's per worker per year rate of productivity today stands at \$11,000, India's comparable figure has been only \$900. Even Pakistan, with its productivity rate

of \$1,500 per worker per year, excels our rate. The East and the South-East Asian countries, with an annual growth rate of 7% for nearly two decades, have today left us far behind. India's high rate of corruption in contrast to that of the world puts the former in disadvantage in regard to its cost of production and trade.

20. As regards the cost of production, while the capital/output ratio in India around 1990 stood at 6/1, it has been 2.5/1 in the developed and 3/1 in the ASEAN economies. That is, while India has been spending Rs 6 for one unit of output, developed countries invested only Rs 2.5 and the ASEAN members Rs 3 for the same quantity.

21. The quality of our products has been mostly below international standards. Leaving aside the traditional items, like tea, jute, cotton, textiles, footwear and a few eatables, our goods and services hardly fetch any demand from outside.

VI

22. The inefficient use and wastage of our human and material resources has, while turning our social process unsustainable, resulted in the degradation of all components of our environment. Air pollution, water contamination, land degradation and deforestation have brought forth greater environmental threats (like acid rains, excessive warming, etc.), increased health risks, including new type of deadly diseases and a serious threat of extinction to entire bio-life on this earth.

VII

23. The pursuit of regional superpowerism has always hindered the improvement of India's relations with its neighbours. There has been perpetual hostility between India and Pakistan for the last 50 years—resulting in three wars between them on Jammu-Kashmir. Nepal and Sri Lanka have remained suspicious about India's intentions all through this period. Bhutan follows the easy option of supporting India on all vital issues to ward off all risky situations with its powerful neighbour. Bangladesh is once again trying to improve its two decade long unpleasant relations with India. Towards big powers, India has always taken a soft approach (e.g., India's alliance with the former Soviet Union, non-confrontationist approach towards the US, forging friendly relations with China despite border dispute, indirect support of Russian action in Chechnya, silence on US and EC actions in Somalia, Rwanda or Bosnia, etc.

24. The motivation of regional superpowerism has always kept militarisation on the top of our national agenda and resulted in unsustainable expenditure on this unproductive sector to the neglect of more useful social areas. The continuous tension between India and Pakistan over Jammu-Kashmir has potentially turned South Asia into the most dangerous region of the world.

VIII

25. Historical experience shows that the principal reason behind any social malfunctioning or human failure rests with the non-conformity of man's subjective factor (i.e., man's perceptions and responses) with the objective reality (whether social or natural). Thus, there is need for a realistic check up of our perceptions of social reality and responses to them.

26. The first social reality has been that modern India, having arisen as a single unit after its unification under the British rule in the 19th century, is a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-religious and multi-lingual country. The British ruled it through a colonial system (which mainly rested on force). But, after the end of the British rule, the multifarious reality of India required a fully federal and decentralised system. Instead, the post-1947 mainstream parties, mainly the Congress, viewing India as a traditionally existing single reality, opted for a national model which is based on centralism and majoritarian secularism. Both these characteristics stress and tend towards uniformity and thus conflict with India's multi-sided reality.

27. The second social reality has been that the emergence of a multi-party parliamentary system in India required an adherence to the rule of law. But, the Congress and the like parties, mired in the feudal rut, adopted the politics of power grabbing by hook or by crook (or vote bank politics), with its concomitant unscrupulous means of money and muscle power and communal and caste divide, thus undermining all modern and traditional ethical norms.

28. The third social reality has been that the post-1947 India emerged at a time when the movement of integration of different communities, going on since time immemorial in varying forms, gained a further momentum after the second world war. This global integration process required India's active participation in the expanding world market. But, India's economic aim of self-reliance restricted its contacts with the global economy.

29. The fourth social reality has been that the post-second world war phase asked for the adoption of a non-hegemonic and non-confrontationist path from all the developing countries. But,

oriented by the chauvinistic theory of ancient India's great power grandeur and following the footsteps of the present day great powers, India took up the politics of regional superpowerism that gives first priority to militarism and tries to lord over the weak and be soft to the strong.

30. The above misperceptions and improper responses have brought India to its present state.

31. The varying excuses for our national failures made by India's mainstream parties, i.e., pro-minority secularism, upper caste oppression, foreign created troubles, India's big size and people's diversity, etc., proceed from their misconceptions of social realities.

IX

32. The ongoing system, having become thoroughly rotten and corrupt, has become beyond redemption.

33. Setting matters right demands the observance of three principles: (a) learning from the past experience, (b) starting from the present reality, and (c) adopting a correct vision.

34. The past experience calls for the restructuring of the old system. The present reality demands the maximum mobilisation of the people. And the future vision asks for the social restructuring in the light of an emerging global human community whose immediate phase may be regional community (e.g., EC, ASEAN, NAFTA, Mercosur, Common Wealth of States (some of the former Soviet Republics), SARRC, etc.

35. Proceeding from the above essentials, the following measures should be taken for the restructuring of India.

(a) Sustainable development which demands the harmonising of the interests of nature and society (i.e., environmental protection), on the one hand, and of different social groups (i.e., rich-poor, rural-urban, gender inequality, etc.) within society (i.e., India), on the other.

(b) Sustainable development needs the politics of genuine peace and discards the politics of superpowerism and its confrontationist mode. Today, a genuine world peace can be ensured only by reconciling the interests of various nations and the national peace can be achieved only by balancing the interests of various social groups within a nation. For a lasting peace in South Asia, it is necessary to adjust the interests of India, Pakistan and the Jammu-Kashmir people.

(c) The politics of genuine peace requires the organising of India on a confederal basis, giving the states semi-independent

status, the full democratising of all institutions and the empowering of people at all levels.

(d) A thorough democratisation asks for a democratic behaviour and proper ethical norms.

(e) Sustainable development, peace and full democratisation call for a balanced economic growth, having a closer integration with the global economy and based on the twin principles of market generated growth and state organised social justice.

(f) All the above fundamentals necessitate the adoption of the general approach of scientific realism and the social approach of rational humanism alongside a fully democratic and value based behaviour.

36. The mobilisation of the people should be done by fulfilling a three sided task (a) Organising the masses on their immediate problems, (b) Convincing them about the futility of the present Indian system and its operators, and (c) Motivating them for establishing a global oriented democratic system in India. Also, varying types of united fronts should be formed on different issues, like Jammu-Kashmir problem, human rights, social justice, gender equality, minority issues and so on

37. The old formulae—Hinduisation or Mandalisation or Nehruvianisation or Proletarianisation (i.e., Communisation) of India have all proved ineffective to meet the needs of India whenever put to the test of practice.

38. The new mantra of regenerating the Indian system through our judicial process is simply an illusion. Certain positive judicial verdicts do, and can, no doubt, play a beneficial role in checking some wrong features and practices of the system. But no judicial pronouncement can change the systemic fundamentals or create a new system. The reason is that the judges are mere nominated creatures of the Executive (in other words, top politicians) under the present Indian Constitution. They are empowered to only interpret the Constitution and the law. They can enrich a law and also abrogate it. But they have no legislative powers. And, above all, the judges are a product of the given social conditions and have not descended from heaven. So, whatever the state of social morality, such is the ethical condition of the judges.

39. The present national scenario is distressing. Storm clouds are gathering over India. If we do not mend the problem in time, the results could be disastrous. Political chaos, economic destabilisation and moral decay, supplemented by communal and caste divide, may tear our social fabric apart. 23-12-1996

On Punjab Assembly Elections IDP's Standpoint

I

1. The process of Punjab Assembly elections has begun. Elections, having been an important factor in influencing and changing our social life, demand a serious thinking before any electoral response. Therefore, our party, in exercise of its public responsibility and accountability, places the following points concerning these elections for the consideration of our people.

II

2. The first point is: Where does Punjab stand today after 50 year long process of Indian independence?

3. Hardly anybody may deny that Punjab has never faced so many problems during the past five decades as it confronts today and Punjab problems have never assumed so serious dimensions as they have attained in these days. Not only the 1947 problems (e.g., communalism, casteism, female oppression, poverty, inequality, homelessness, unemployment, price rise, corruption, favouritism, etc.) have stayed on, but some of these (like corruption, unemployment, rise in prices, particularly *atta*, *dal*, edible oils, tea, salt, sugar, medicines, etc.) have become worse, while some new ones (such as militancy, state militancy, human rights violations, black economy, high level political corruption, scams, scandals, etc.) have further inflated the problem list.

4. In the field of development, a defective agricultural policy has resulted in water pollution, land degradation, decrease in land productivity and rise in new human ailments. A defective infrastructural policy has led to the mismanagement in the supply of drinking water and power, construction of roads, telephone and transport services, etc. A defective industrial policy has ignored the development of relevant agro-industry and big

industry. A defective economic policy has worsened the problems of inflation, unemployment, poverty, inequality, etc. A defective policy on social services has deteriorated the issues of literacy, health-care, disability, deprivation, etc., and the centre's discriminatory policy against Punjab has often denied it of its due rights concerning river waters, electricity generated in Punjab, certain Punjabi-speaking areas and Chandigarh, export of its surplus agricultural production, the waving off of Punjab's loans spent on seven year counter militancy operations as promised by the centre, etc.

5. In the political process, the communal and casteist politics, backed by money and muscle power, has pushed Punjab in the throes of a thoroughly corrupt, crime oriented, violence prone and police based rule (where the executive has, according to a recent CBI enquiry, abetted the cold blooded murder and cremation of 2,097 persons).

6. On the social plane, a centralised and authoritarian national policy has created a feeling in the Sikh community that it has not been fairly treated by the centre and that the majority of Punjabi Hindus has either given blind support to the unjust moves of the centre or kept quite on them. It is this national policy which has given rise to the still simmering decade long Khalistani militancy and the state militancy, both of which had consumed about 50 thousand human lives in Punjab and caused a material loss of crores of rupees. Worst of all, it had generated inter-community emotional strains in Punjab, despite the fact that the Hindu-Sikh relations have always remained free from any communal divide throughout history.

Looking retrospectively, the Punjabis had to make over five lakh human sacrifices in the 1947-partition's communal holocaust as a result of the wrong national models upheld by the then national parties.

III

7. The second point is: Who is responsible for the post-1947 troubles of Punjab?

8. The 50 year experience shows that it is none else than the centralised and authoritarian system and the majoritarian nationalism of New Delhi, as represented by the unscrupulous models of Nehruvian socialism, *Hindutva*, Mandalism (whether under the Dalit trademark, OBCs variety or Communist brand).

The minority communal politics, such as the politics in the

name of *Panth*, can, as shown by post-independence developments, neither safeguard the interests of the Sikh community nor of the Punjabi people. The politics of *Panth* lacks even the elementary characteristic of uniting all the *Panthic* factions which have always remained fighting among themselves rather than pulling up a united front against their political adversary. As long as the representative parties, national as well as regional, of these models continue to dominate the political process and wield political power, the ongoing problems would go on troubling the Punjabi people.

IV

9. The third point is: What should be done?

10. The experience of the eleven Lok Sabha and all the Assembly elections in Punjab teaches us that all those parties and politicians—which are oriented to centralism, authoritarianism, majoritarian nationalism, communalism and casteism, which practise the money, muscle and crime based unscrupulous norms and which have always cheated the people and used power for their own enrichment—should be rejected in the elections. The present state of India's criminalised political process and Punjab's degenerated rule can only be improved if the electoral process is established on a value based basis and the peoples interests can only be served if the votes are cast in favour of those who consistently uphold truth, take a pro-people stand and stick to a principled position, irrespective of their party affiliations. Proceeding from this parameter, the priority should be given to the rationalist candidates, particularly coming from women, poor, deprived and minority sections.

11. The backing of authoritarian nationalism, unscrupulous politics and corrupt politicians will, as experience constantly demonstrates, bring instability and plunge Punjab into a new political crisis.

V

12. The IDP is putting up its candidate only in one constituency (i.e., Barnala) in this elections. This is, because our party, according to its estimation, has not yet done enough to serve the people in various areas of the state.

13. The IDP's electoral campaign is based both on its general programme concerning Punjab and its particular demands to better the lot of different sections of people (i.e., women,

children, workers, peasants, students, youth, widows, orphans, elders, hungry, shelterless, refugees, SCs and STs, employees, landowners, industrialists, etc.).

The general programme is given below, while the demand charters concerning different sections will appear in various handbills subsequently.

14. The general programme comprises the following fundamentals.

(a) The first fundamental is the issue of Punjabi unity, oriented to rational humanist approach and based on the future vision of uniting 20 crore Punjabis the world over.

(b) The second fundamental is the issue of granting special status to Punjab within the Indian framework, based on the pattern of 1952 autonomy to Jammu-Kashmir state which vests the residuary powers in the state and which implies the restructuring of India on a confederal basis. The special status will resolve the issue of Sikh identity, Hindu security, Punjabi unity and decentralisation of power from the state to the village level, on the one hand, and link Punjab's agriculture to the world market, boost its agro-industry, develop human resources and usher in an era of prosperity for its people, on the other.

(c) The third fundamental is the issue of sustainable development which replaces the present unsustainable policies by the sustainable ones, directed towards developing the material resources mainly through the market mechanism and the human resources chiefly through the state intervention (concentrating on removing poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, disease, poor infrastructure, particularly in rural areas, etc.).

(d) The fourth fundamental is the empowerment of the people by helping in the development of peoples social knowledge and involving them to the maximum possible limit in the decision making process (political, economic and cultural) at all levels.

(e) The fifth fundamental is the firm establishment of the rule of law which prevents the abuse and the misuse of authority at all levels.

(f) The sixth fundamental is the provision for the employment of one member in every family so as to bring all families up from below the poverty line and decrease the degree of poverty, illiteracy, inequality, unemployment, etc.

(g) The seventh fundamental is the issue of eradication of corruption by building both legal and public sanctions against corrupt practices and persons.

(h) The eighth fundamental, but an important one, is the historical need of upholding the politics of peace in contrast to all types of politics of confrontation at all levels (global, South Asian, national, Punjabi, etc.). Without politics of peace, nothing can be achieved in the present day world.

• •

Lastly, the IDP appeals to the voters in Punjab to vote for such candidates who, irrespective of party affiliations, stand for eradicating violence, communalism, casteism, instability, loot, corruption, scams and scandals, female oppression, poverty, unemployment, inflation, homelessness and above all environmental pollution and over-population. 08.01.1997

Why Should The People of Barnala Vote For The Internationalist Democratic Party And Its Candidate

I

1. This is because the IDP stands for a scientific rationalism oriented human society whose aim is the social advancement of mankind (both individually and collectively) in mental and material terms.

II

2. How can the above objective be realised in Punjab? Its process may be initiated through a seven fold agenda.

One is IDP's principled (or value based) politics of peace in contrast to the mafia politics (i.e., politics of double-dealing, money and muscle power) of the Congress, BJP, JD, CPM, CPI, BSP, various Akali Dals, etc.

Second is IDP's politics of Punjabi unity (based on the principle of uniting the entire Punjabi community—Sikh, Hindu, Muslim, Christian, etc., in the world) versus Akali Dals' catchphrase of Sikh unity (though the Akali Dals themselves have never been able to resolve their factional and ego problems in the post-1947 period); BJP and Congress' politics of Hindu majoritarian nationalism; JD, CPM and CPI's politics of Mandalism (or casteism or proletarianism); BSP's Dalit politics; etc.

Third is IDP's politics of special status to Punjab versus the politics of Khalistan (which divides not only Sikh and Hindu masses in Punjab but also the Sikh community, i.e., between those living in Punjab and those in India and abroad), Akali Dals' politics of autonomy (which vests residuary powers in the centre), and the Congress, BJP, JD, CPM, CPI and BSP's politics of

centralism-authoritarianism.

Fourth is IDP's economics of sustainable development which emphasises environmental-friendly (or organic), more productive and social equalitarian agricultural model for Punjab versus Congress, BJP, JD, CPM, CPI and BSP's chemical based agricultural pattern, now harming Punjab's human and material resources.

Fifth is IDP's line of social empowerment of the people under the rule of law by removing the gap between rich and poor, man and woman, rural and urban, etc., versus other parties' line of concentrating the whole power in their own or their leaders' hands under the cover of parliamentary democracy, socialism, *Hindutva*, *Mandalvad*, *Dalitvad*, etc.

Sixth is IDP's priority of providing employment to at least one member of each family and thus reduce some level of poverty versus other parties' wasteful vote bank policies which spread general unemployment and poverty.

Seventh is IDP's crusade against corruption which has been turned into a way of life by other parties.

III

3. How will the IDP's above-said Punjab line be applied in the Barnala constituency in the post-election phase? Under Article XI(D) of the IDP's Constitution, its candidate will, whatever the election outcome, take the following measures in order to remain accountable to the people:

(a) Opening of an office in Barnala where any person, if he so desires, can easily meet him; (b) Circulating of a written report of his activities every six months through available means; (c) Disclosing of his assets every two years; (d) Holding of the same office only for two terms; (e) Resigning his Assembly membership when 2/3rd of its electorate gives it in writing to the IDP's Control Commission (so long as there is no legal provision ensuring the Right to Recall); (f) Preparing of a plan with peoples cooperation for the development of the Barnala constituency and make every possible effort for its realisation; and (g) Rendering of all possible help in the solution of the individual problems of every deserving person.

IV

4. What is the guarantee of the IDP candidate's sincerity in putting into practice the above-stated programme? It is the

record of his 49 year life.

5. Born in 1948, Shri Maghar Singh graduated from the Punjab University in 1973. He had been a social activist during his student days and even went to jail during Moga Students Agitation in 1972. In 1973, he joined Local Bodies Service as a Panchayat Secretary, but left it soon to go to the jail during the agitation against the *Chullah-Killa* Tax, launched by the Naujawan Bharat Sabha. Finally, the government conceded the agitators demands. In 1975, he was put behind bars by the Indira Gandhi government on the very first day of the imposition of the Emergency and was released only after its termination in February 1977. Immediately after the release, he took an active part in the 1977-78 agitation demanding relief for the flood victims in Punjab. The agitation ended when the government accepted to remit the land revenue and the commercial taxes and postpone the realisation of the cooperative loans for one year. Again, in 1981 Bus Fair Agitation, a case was registered against him which was later withdrawn. Since the founding of the IDP in 1986, he has been upholding its theory of rational humanism and working in the leading positions of its organisation.

6. He has been along with his wife living in their small house in Shahid Bhagat Singh Nagar.

V

7. Should one vote only for the winning side or the ruling party candidate? The 50 year record of the pursuit of the above unprincipled formula during the 11 Parliamentary and Assembly elections shows how it has benefitted the unscrupulous politicians who have made fortunes worth crores of rupees by looting public funds, bleeding the people white and, worst of all, wiping off 50,000 innocent human lives through the generation of the state militancy and the Khalistani militancy.

8. Does a vote for the weaker side go waste? It is a pure lie spread by the corrupt parties and politicians. The facts demonstrate that even honest individual officials—like T.N. Sheshan, Justice J.S. Verma, Justice Kuldip Singh, G.R. Khairnar, etc.—have been able to do something for the people.

9. Principled stand by the masses has always served their long-term interests, e.g., rejecting Indira Gandhi for the Lok Sabha seat by the people of Rai Bareilly in 1977 resulted in the toppling of the authoritarian Indira regime.

10. Now we are reaching a stage when social necessity is

demanding the full democratisation of our social system by ending the politicians absolute power and making them fully accountable to the people not only during the 15 day electoral campaign but throughout the whole social process. This is possible only by transforming the present party led democracy into a peoples participatory democracy in which the people have an effective say on all major issues and the parties think and act in the public interest.

11. Standing for the social empowerment of the people, the IDP holds that, while the full social transformation may take some time, its process should be initiated at all public levels, especially the grass roots one. The beginnings can be made by involving various categories of social groups (such as poor, unemployed, houseless, agricultural workers, organised workers, students, employees, businessmen, industrialists, etc.) in workshops on their respective immediate and long-term problems. In every workshop, each social group should, after a thorough discussion, sort out its future agenda and form its core team of action. This should be followed by a series of similar workshops in which each core team should invite the representatives of different parties, the concerned legislators and officers to interact with the members of its social group. Such an interaction will lead to the raising of the consciousness of various social groups, sorting out of the solutions to their respective short-term and basic problems, creating of certain degree of consensus among politicians of various hues on some issues, impressing upon the administration to attend to the mass problems in a responsive way—thus marking the start of a new peoples partnership course.

12. The IDP's candidate will strive to put the above party pledge into practice at all places, including the Assembly (if elected). The style of our election campaign—foot, bicycle and scooter march and voter to voter and door to door approach—is indicative of our workers commitment to the party's value based course.

25.01.1997

IDP's Agenda For India's Democratisation

The present topsy-turvy state of our national affairs demands from us a two sided response—a short-term response to free our political process from mafia politics and a long-term response to restructure India.

Short-Term Agenda

- (i) State funding of all types of elections.
- (ii) Barring of all parties and candidates from incurring any election expenditure.
- (iii) Granting of the right to recall.
- (iv) Making of the securing of more than 50% of polled votes essential by a successful candidate.
- (v) Making of the parties accountable to the people by their public acceptance to delink their respective politics from religion, caste, etc., holding of regular election of their office bearers every two years and getting of their accounts audited under CEC's supervision.
- (vi) Introducing of the system of proportional representation for 50% of the Lok Sabha and the Assembly seats.
- (vii) Prescribing of strict legal punishment for all those violating the electoral law, rules and code.
- (viii) Setting up of an autonomous vigilance commission (Lok Pal), empowered to probe into allegations of graft against any central or state level elected representative, including the Prime Minister, along with the establishing of such state level Commissions, with powers to enquire into allegations of corruption against Panchayats and other Local Bodies members.
- (ix) Enactment of law requiring all contesting candidates to submit statement of assets held in their names as well as in the name of their relatives along with their nomination papers.
- (x) Setting up of a Commission of Jurists to investigate into all

complaints of corruption against the judges from the lowest to the highest rank.

(xi) Reforming of the law.

(xii) Preparing of the codes of conduct for the executive, judiciary, legislature, administration, parties, media and NGO's.

(xiii) Granting of people the right to information.

(xiv) Repealing of all undemocratic laws, such as Official Secrets Act, Contempt of Courts Act, special privileges to legislators, army's right to court martial, etc.

(xv) Stopping of political interference in the administration.

(xvi) Handing over of the broadcasting and the telecasting operations to an autonomous body.

(xvii) Abrogation of all detention laws.

(xviii) Reforming of the jail system.

(xix) Reservation to all categories on the basis of poverty and not that of religion and caste.

(xx) Removing of all discriminations against minorities.

(xxi) Pursuing of a non-military development strategy.

(xxii) Sorting out of the mass problems—such as poverty, illiteracy, free education (with a rational orientation) and health-care to the poor, prodding of essential items at subsidised rates, gender equality, living wage, etc.—with the active involvement of the concerned sections of people.

(xxiii) Separation of state from religion and caste.

(xxiv) Ensuring of the upholding of the rule of law by all state agencies and their members.

(xxv) Cultivating of rational humanist thinking and democratic behaviour among the masses and encouraging of sustainable mass lifestyle.

IDP's Long-Term Agenda

It aims at changing India's present party led parliamentary system into peoples led democratic system.

IDP's Approach On Woman-Man Relations

The question of woman-man relations is the most important issue for the development of human species. For thousands of years, woman has been treated as a second class human being in society. But, today, humanity has come to the conclusion that unless it establishes gender equality and ensures equal rights to both man and woman, it cannot develop further. Thus, the present social need demands the empowerment of woman in all fields.

I. Political Empowerment Of Woman By

- * ending the patriarchal system and adopting the principle of recognising parenthood, descent and dynasty in the joint names of the father and the mother.

- * restoring the status of the girl child equal to that of the boy child.

- * providing 50% reservation to woman in all political institutions from the lowest to the highest level (including the Cabinet, Parliament, Supreme Court, etc.) for 20 years, and confining 10% of the reservation to those below the poverty line.

- * giving 30% reservation to women in administrative services and as students in educational institutions.

- * overhauling all existing laws, biased on inequality between woman and man and incorporating gender justice in the personal laws of all religions.

- * changing the concept which gives all the responsibilities to the mother and all the rights to the father.

- * making both the father and the mother as the joint guardians of the minor child and, in case of their separation, recognising the mother as the sole guardian of the minor child in respect of person and property.

- * defining women's human rights as to include the right to

basic reproductive choices, information and health services, especially related to child bearing, menstruation and contraception.

- * enacting law concerning sexual assault, violence against women (including family violence), etc.

II. Economic empowerment by

- * adopting a statutory provision which stipulates the joint ownership of the husband and the wife of all the family property, both immovable and moveable (including membership in any enterprise, bank, cooperative society, etc.).

- * granting equal rights to sons and daughters in ancestral and parental property in law.

- * including the unremunerated work by women in computation of the GDP of all countries.

- * recognising the unpaid work being done by women within the household as being equally important for the survival and welfare of the family by law for joint matrimonial property.

- * facilitating woman's access to economic resources, opportunities and benefits of development.

- * improving the woman's nutritional standards through the strengthening of the poverty alleviation programme, employment generation schemes, public distribution system, etc.

- * increasing woman's access to credit.

- * providing old age pension to woman, help to female headed families, widows and women who have been abandoned and homes for women in distress.

- * imparting training to maid servants in handicrafts, toy products.

- * Rehabilitating prostitutes and their children.

III. Cultural Empowerment By

- * providing universal female education (including vocational one), health-care, effective role in environment and population management, etc., and free education and medical help to those below the poverty line (generally coming from slum workers, agricultural labour, *dalits*, tribals, etc.).

- * changing the old value system and norms which devalue woman's capacity and status (e.g., holding woman as inferior to man, man as the sole bread winner, etc.).

- * portraying a real image of woman in media and society.

- * sharing home responsibilities together by the wife and the

husband.

- * raising the marriage age.

- * changing defective family planning methods—like injectables and implants, RU 486 tablets, etc.—having harmful effects on women's health and supplying essential and proper drugs.

- * ensuring the supply of clean drinking water and proper health facilities in the rural areas.

- * guaranteeing equal rights and equal participation to children, eradication of child labour (involving 103 million children in India alone), child prostitution, female infanticide, upliftment of street children, etc.

IDP's Programme Concerning Poor, Houseless, Disabled, Refugees, SCs & STs, Religious And Cultural Minorities, Health-Care And Population Control

Poor: To recognise the basic needs of the poor as a fundamental right and accept poverty elimination as the first social priority, make available free education (especially to women), safe drinking water and sanitation, housing facility, essential family planning services, etc., to those below the poverty line, provide institutional support for women, minorities and other weaker sections, supply essential commodities at half rates to those below the poverty line, arrange employment for one member of the family with priority for those below the poverty line, introduce social security for aged persons above sixty, etc.

Houseless: To set up cooperative housing societies for providing houses to the slum dwellers and those lacking the capacity to hire any shelter.

Disabled (both mental and physical): To enact a comprehensive legislation on the basis of recommendations made by a committee consisting of the social experts as well as the representatives of the disabled to take stock of their problems.

Refugees: To give immediate relief and then arrange proper rehabilitation for those uprooted from their homes due to circumstances beyond their control (earthquakes, famines, government's development schemes or because of security reasons, etc.).

Scheduled Castes: To abolish all social disabilities from which scheduled castes suffer, take necessary measures for the political, economic and cultural advancement of those castes by

raising their mental knowledge through necessary historical, scientific and social knowledge and by bettering their social and economic conditions through new agricultural-industrial, and labour policies.

Scheduled Tribes: To ensure all the constitutional and legal rights to the scheduled tribes (if any) and provide them free education and health facilities from the state account.

Religious And Cultural Minorities: To ensure all genuine rights to the religious and cultural minorities, upholding the principle that there should be no change in the personal laws of any minority community against its wishes which can be known through an opinion poll.

Health Care: To ensure better health-care to the people by arranging medical facilities within easy reach of the common man through the establishment of medical and maternity services, take special care in the eradication of epidemics, like malaria, cholera, etc., and place adequate emphasis on preventive health, provision of safe drinking water, ensuring of sanitation and immunisation in rural areas and the production of cheap drugs and medicines.

Population Control: To rationalise the population growth by eradicating poverty, doing away with unsustainable lifestyle, using resources in a proper way, establishing gender equality by raising the status of women, prohibiting child labour, laying stress on the development of human resources, especially the women, in the population control campaign, providing free universal education to all, especially the girls and by terminating all coercive methods for promoting population control.

IDP's Approach Concerning Agriculture And Small, Middle And Rich Farmers And Rural Development in Punjab

Agriculture

1. Agriculture is a highly important sector of the Punjab economy and a big source of the Indian food supplies system. But, today, the agriculture in Punjab is caught in a serious crisis.

2. The problem areas of the Punjab agricultural crisis include land degradation, decreasing water availability, per capita decline in land and water resources, falling rate of return on the existing cropping pattern, non-viability of small and marginal holdings, replacement of the family labour by the hired labour, mostly on big farms, and the growth of large unemployment among the peasant youth, both educated and uneducated.

3. Thus the Punjab agricultural crisis has a two sided dimension: environmental-cum-productive and social inequation.

4. The fundamental reason of the Punjab agricultural crisis lies in its chemical based system, supplemented by large number of small and marginal holdings. The chemicalisation of agriculture (dependent on fertilisers, insecticides and pesticides which require increasing use of water), has, while immediately yielding more production, harmed agriculture in the long run. It has caused land degradation and decrease in water availability by depleting the soil's organic matter. The organic matter maintains the porous soil structure, which contains superior water holding capacity (helpful during drought) and allows oxygen to breakdown manure, crop residues and other organic matter. The more the chemicalisation of Punjab agriculture and the more the depletion in its soil's organic matter, the less able its plants have become to absorb inorganic nitrogen in chemical fertilisers. That is why Punjab agriculture today is using double the quantity of

fertilisers as it did in 1970s to produce the same amount of crop. And the US agriculture is now putting into use five times as much chemicals as it did around 1950.

5. Thus, the degradation of land and water resources or environmental pollution has doubled the cost of agricultural production in Punjab (consequently reducing the rate of return on their existing cropping pattern, making small and marginal holdings non-viable, replacing family labour by hired labour mostly on big farms and leading to increase in unemployment), on the one hand, and creating new threats to human health, on the other.

6. The solution of the Punjab agricultural crisis rests with the adoption of a sustainable development system in place of the present chemical based system. It requires a three sided action. That is, (a) to restore the environmental balance, (b) to gradually replace the chemical agriculture by the organic agriculture, and (c) to establish social equity in the agricultural sector.

7. The issue of environmental balance can be tackled by undertaking reforestation, wasteland development, reclaiming of barren land, conservation of wet land, the establishment of an efficient water management, recharging of underground water with the flood water of rivers and streams, reduction in the emission of carbon dioxide and other harmful gases mainly produced by automobiles and coal using enterprises, development of alternative fuels and energies, the adoption of pollution preventive measures, recycling of waste materials, the rational use of non-renewable resources, the development of environment-friendly technologies and products and above all the empowerment of the people by giving them the maximum possible decision making powers at all levels.

8. For the gradual replacement of chemical agriculture by an organic agriculture, it is necessary to undertake the following measures.

(a) The further enrichment of agricultural research system in Punjab for the development of environment-friendly technologies.

(b) The development of an intensive integrated farming system, as suggested by the M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation, Madras. It comprises many components which are interrelated in their development, namely, irrigated rice along with fish, other crops in mixed or rational practices, vegetables, fruit trees, poultry, livestock and apiary (bee keeping), etc., in

appropriate combination in different types of land holding. It is a viable option that can provide both food security and livelihood security.

(c) The learning of new models now being developed by other countries for the change over to a sustainable agriculture.

(d) The ensuring of an effective rate of capital investment and the supply of needed credit in the agricultural sector.

(e) The arranging of proper supply of electricity and water free of cost to small, marginal and medium sized holdings and at cheap rates to big holdings.

(f) The balancing of the terms of trade between the agricultural and the non-agricultural sectors.

(g) The granting of the status of industry to agriculture.

(h) The linking of Punjab agriculture with the global market under a phased Indian plan which can, to begin with, enhance its share of agricultural exports from the existing 15% to 30% till its full integration.

9. For establishing social equity in the agricultural sector, it is necessary to undertake the following measures.

(a) The launching of a grand programme for making the vast number of small and marginal farms viable units by helping them to pool their resources (i.e., land, capital, inputs, output, etc.), single or whole, through the formation of cooperative societies (under an amended fully democratic cooperative law).

(b) The employing of all the rural unemployed in afforestation, waste land development, reclaiming of barren land, conservation of wet land, agro-based and cottage industries and the development of various infrastructural activities, etc.

(c) The safeguarding of the rights of the agricultural workers and the rural casual labourers by ensuring an effective system of minimum wages in which wages are linked to productivity (ability to pay) and the workers are assured of a proper share of increased agricultural returns (for a detailed account of the rights of the rural workers, see the rural and the urban workers demand charter).

Rural Development

(a) To provide educational and medical facilities to each village; (b) to provide clean drinking water, school, medical facilities, road linkage, electricity, transport, telephone and banking facilities to every village; (c) to open cottage industries and agro-small scale industries (such as dairy farming, poultry,

fisheries, bee keeping, handicrafts, handlooms, social forestry, etc.), to develop community resources (like roads, minor irrigation projects, storage facilities for food grains, etc.), and to give needful help to traditional village technologies (e.g., pottery, weaving, spinning, smithery, traditional ways of treatment, like midwifery, etc.; (d) to accelerate agricultural progress and improve the labour skills of the poor; (e) to arrange the supply of cheap credit for the landless and the poor peasants in order to set up some gainful work, stop distress sale of land or meet their pressing requirements, while settling all old debts through the debt conciliation boards; (f) to reduce the burden of rural litigation or disputes (concerning land, water, indebtedness, old family feuds, etc., through the Lok Adalats and the Gram Panchayats; (g) to carry out effective land reforms; (h) to organise the social reform movement against the increasing social vices, like the growing consumption of liquor and other intoxicants and drugs, rising expenditure on marriages and dowries, etc.

IDP's Programme For Urban Infrastructure, Unemployed, Students, Youth, Administrative Services, Armed Forces, Ex-Soldiers And Trade And Industry

Urban Infrastructure: To improve the present unsatisfactory management of the civic services—like drinking water, sanitation, sewerage, electricity, education, health-care, roads, transport, telephone, etc., devise effective measures for the control of pollution continually created by automobiles and the coal consuming enterprises, grow plantation for the improvement of environment, arrange night shelters for shelterless people and provide proper civic facilities to slum dwellers (till their suitable rehabilitation), ensure the proper supply of essential commodities, make proper arrangements for the attraction and playing of children, etc.

Unemployment: To conduct an impartial and fair recruitment for all jobs in the government sector as demanded by law and prepare a general plan for the employment of all rural and urban unemployed in the development of basic natural resources—land, water, forests and air—by starting relevant schemes like afforestation, waste land regeneration, reclaiming of barren land, conservation of wet land, effective water management, pollution control, agro-based industry, cottage industries, various self-employment schemes, heavy industry, etc.

Students: To organise a scientific rational and democratic educational system by removing all the outmoded, unscientific and obscurantist ideas from the educational syllabus, ensure free education upto the university stage and universal education upto the secondary stage, make education vocational, arrange adequate facilities for libraries, laboratories, hostels, cultural and

social activities, sports, transport, etc., provide free medical facilities to poor students, guarantee the right to work and unemployment allowance till one is employed, give full university autonomy without any state interference and stop police intervention in educational institutions, allow right of organisation and political association to all teachers and students (above 18 years), abrogate all rules empowering the authorities to hire and fire school and college teachers and penalise the students, replace the norm of caste based reservation by the principle of reservation (of all types) to those who stand below the poverty line, end corruption and bureaucratism in educational institutions and introduce the method of management of all educational institutions upto the secondary stage by the elected joint bodies of parents and teachers and above that by the elected joint bodies of the teachers, staff and students.

Youth: To set up youth centres in various rural and urban areas for the mental advancement, physical development and providing employment related knowledge to the youth.

Administrative Services: To introduce the principle of need based living wage and ensure proper arrangement concerning social insurance, provident fund, pension or gratuity, housing, medical allowance and other facilities, frame proper rules (with the agreement of employees unions and associations) for appointments, promotions and conditions of service, give all democratic rights, including the right to participate in political activities and to stand for election to all elected bodies.

Armed Forces (including para-military ones): To ensure proper living standards for members of the armed forces in the matter of salaries, housing, education of children, etc., take care of the families of those killed or disabled and give trade union rights to the armed forces.

Ex-Service Men: To undertake various steps for the welfare of ex-servicemen and their families.

Trade And Industry: To replace sales tax, *chungi* and other state level taxes by VAT (Value Added Tax), end *inspector raj*, raise the present limit of taxable income, meet the capital, technological and market needs and ensure proper supply of power and raw materials.

IDP's Programme For Urban And Rural Workers

The urban and the rural workers play a very important role in the development of Punjab. The IDP holds the following programme for their development.

Urban Workers

1. To demand the implementation of Article 43-A of the Indian Constitution, directing the Indian state to take suitable steps to secure the participation of the workers in the management of undertakings, establishments or other organisations engaged in industry on the twin principles of the 1/3rd labour representation in the management board and the attainment of at least over 50% of total votes by an elected labour member to such a board.

2. To demand the formulation of a proper labour policy which, on the one hand, takes care to labour productivity, and on the other, ensures a fair deal to the workers.

Taking into account the problem of unemployment and surplus labour in the country, India cannot adopt the US methodology of hiring and firing the workers with impunity. Neither, it is proper to follow the Communist methodology which pampers the overmanning of industry to meet the political needs of the ruling party and exempts labour from all accountability. While taking help from the Japanese and other Asian Pacific models, India must evolve its own mechanism which should ensure not only job security but also demand high labour productivity and commitment to the enterprise.

3. To demand adequate safety measures and their proper implementation for industrial hazard control in India. The poor safety conditions, compounded by the lack of awareness among workers, are having devastating consequences with industrial fatality rate in India at 14 per one lakh workers—five or seven times more than in Japan, UK or US. The dimension of Indian fatality rate

is still higher because the fatalities in thousands of unregistered industrial units remain unreported. On the world scale, a worker is killed in job related accident every three minutes, while each year, ten million workers are victims of accidents and a similar number succumb to occupational diseases.

4. To demand the introduction of one unit-one union norm in every enterprise as well as in every industry or trade in order to eliminate the multiplicity of unions.

5. To demand the salary (including all perks) difference between the top and the bottom to be not more than seven times along with the wearing of same uniform and the using of same canteen and lavatory.

6. To demand the solution of the problems of the unorganised labour by enacting comprehensive central legislation.

7. To grant equal wages for equal work without racial, religious, caste or sex discrimination.

8. To give the right to one month's leave with full wages or an equivalent amount of compensation when leave is not granted.

9. To gradually reduce the working week to 35 hours.

10. To enlarge social security measures, such as provision against unemployment, ill health and old age, housing facilities at cheap rates, etc.

11. To scrap all anti-labour provisions in the legislation.

12. To prohibit overtime and night work except in cases where it is absolutely necessary for technical reasons.

13. To make permanent all casual, temporary and *badli* workers.

14. To prohibit the employment of children under 16 years of age and restrict the working day of adolescents (from 16 to 20 years) to 4 hours.

15. To prohibit the female labour in industries injurious to woman's health, to exempt the female labour from night duty and to release women workers from duty eight weeks before and eight weeks after child birth without loss of pay.

16. To establish nurseries for children and room for nursing mothers at all factories where women are employed, to allow recesses of at least half hour duration at intervals of not more than three hours to nursing mothers and to reduce the working day of nursing mothers to 6 hours.

17. To guarantee full social insurance to workers of all categories against every kind of disability (i.e., ill health, old age, accident, unemployment, etc.).

18. To ensure the implementation of provisions concerning

provident fund, employees state insurance scheme, safety regulations, etc., as required under law.

19. To immediately improve the civic conditions of the slum dwelling workers by supplying water, electricity and other amenities and to plan for the providing of proper residential houses to every working family within a reasonable time.

20. To set up state and district labour inspectorates with powers to secure the enforcement of all labour laws within their respective limits.

21. To establish industrial courts in all branches of industry, composed of equal number of the elected representatives of workers and employers to deal with all types of industrial disputes within a fixed period.

22. To utilise workers initiative and innovation for increasing labour productivity, while safeguarding workers interests in regard to workload and wages.

Agricultural Workers

To demand an effective implementation of the laws concerning agricultural workers who number about 100 million and constitute 25% of India's total labour force.

The immediate problem of the agricultural labour is the difficulty in getting statutory minimum wages, while the long-term one is the issue of unemployment and under-employment (due to an employment rate of 150 days per year per agricultural worker).

The first problem should be handled by making a proper arrangement for the effective implementation of Minimum Wages Act. The other laws—such as the Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) Act, the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, the Inter-State Migrant Workers (Regulation and Condition of Service) Act, etc.—also require active implementation.

The second problem needs the adoption of three steps: (a) The agriculture, being mono cropping and thus unable to sustain such a large labour force, be made double cropping and triple cropping, (b) The available surplus productive land be allotted to the agricultural workers, and (c) A part of the agricultural workers be absorbed in industry.

Rural Poor

To organise the rural poor (who constitute about 3/4th of India's population below the poverty line) for securing their just

economic, political and cultural rights. The impediments in the way are the political, economic and cultural dependence of the poor on the rich; the corruption and repression based role of the majority of the bureaucracy; and the non-implementation of the pro-poor existing laws. In order to overcome these obstacles and create proper conditions for the building of the organisation of the poor, certain remedial measures are called for:

- * Raising of the social consciousness of the rural poor, including the rights available to them under the Constitution, law and official schemes for the rural poor.

- * Provision of free education, medical facilities, mother and childcare, drinking water, etc., to them.

- * Convincing them of the necessity to adopt family planning and avoid drinking and other social vices.

- * Carrying out of effective land reforms.

- * Restoration of their rights to common property, such as pasture, forest and government lands.

- * Ensuring of the developmental benefits to them.

- * Providing of needed finance to them at cheap interest rates.

- * Starting of employment guarantee schemes with a prescribed minimum wage, particularly by creating a land army for forest conservation.

- * Provision of free legal aid, rural housing facilities, social security through old-age pension or group insurance schemes, etc.

- * Setting up of judicial machinery to exclusively deal with the agricultural disputes.

- * Establishment of Rural Labour Welfare Boards for the upliftment of rural workers.

- * Creation of proper machinery to ensure the implementation of laws concerning the rural poor.