

SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF SOUTH ASIAN AFFAIRS

Volume 15 Nos. 1 & 2

Articles

- The Law of the Sea : An Incoming Study for the Millennium

M. Habibur Rahman

- Marine Pollution by Dumping : International Regulations

Nakib Muhammad Nasrullah

A.K.M. Motiur Rahman

- Hinduization in Full Swing in BJP-Ruled India

Mozammel Haque

- Structural Adjustment Policies and Household Coping Strategies

Khadija Ali

- **Book Review**
- **Statements-SAARC**
- **Select Bibliography**
- **Chronology**

JANUARY 2000 – JULY 2000
(Combined)

SOUTH ASIA STUDIES

Rafique Ahmad

Editor

South Asian Studies seeks to provide a forum for discussion of issues and problems primarily relating to South Asia. We welcome contributions by researchers, administrators, policy makers and all other interested in promoting better understanding of South Asian affairs.

Published bi-annually by the Centre for South Asian Studies, University of the Punjab, Quaid-i-Azam Campus, Lahore, Pakistan.

Views expressed in the *South Asian Studies* do not necessarily reflect the views of the Centre or the Editors. Responsibility for the accuracy of facts and for the opinions expressed rests solely with the authors.

Copy Right(c)

Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza

Managing Editor

Mohammad Aslam Qureshi

Literary Editor

Subscription Rates

Pakistan : Annual Rs. 175.00
Single Copy Rs. 100.00

Foreign : Annual U.S. \$ 70.00
Single Copy U.S. \$ 36.00

By Air Mail

Pakistan : Annual Rs. 165.00
Single Copy Rs. 95.00

Foreign : Annual U.S. \$ 65.00
Single Copy U.S. \$ 33.00

By Surface Mail

Correspondence

All correspondence should be directed to the Managing Editor, *South Asian Studies*, Centre for South Asian Studies, University of the Punjab, Quaid-i-Azam Campus, Lahore, Pakistan.

Note : This issue rates :

Single Copy Rs.200.00
" U.S.\$72.00

ISSN 1026 – 678 X

SOUTH
ASIAN
STUDIES

Volume 15, Nos. 1 & 2
JANUARY 2000 – JULY 2000
(Combined)



Centre for South Asian Studies
UNIVERSITY OF THE PUNJAB
QUAID-I-AZAM CAMPUS, LAHORE
PAKISTAN

1

SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES

Volume 15, Nos. 1 & 2

January 2000 – July 2000
(Combined)

Articles

- | | | |
|--|-----|---|
| M. Habibur Rahman | 1 | The Law of the Sea : An Incoming Study for the Millennium |
| Nakib Muhammad Nasrullah
A.K.M. Motiur Rahman | 13 | Marine Pollution by Dumping : International Regulations |
| Mozammel Haque | 37 | Hinduization in Full Swing in BJP-Ruled India |
| Khadija Ali | 55 | Structural Adjustment Policies and Household Coping Strategies |
| | 97 | Book Review |
| | 99 | Statements South Asian Regional Cooperation
July 1997 to December 1999 |
| | 193 | A Select Bibliography of Books and Periodical Literature on SAARC and South Asia
July 1997 to December 1998 |
| | 271 | Chronology of Important Events South Asian Region
July 1997 to December 1999 |

The Law of the Sea : An Incoming Study for the Millennium

M. HABIBUR RAHMAN

INTRODUCTION

The issues of the law of the sea are rather practical than theoretical. The twentieth century ending with the magical development of science and technology giving rise to enrichment and ruination of mankind and the species of all kinds whether living and non-living. The twenty first century is with questions whether so many mass destructive weapons and mass enrichment gains will be left unused or be used for human development by the states possessing. The law of the sea cannot be unquestioned as to its enforcement against nuclear test in the ocean space. The touchstone of the study will be the notion that the new Millennium will be reflected by the rules of international regime governed by conventions, customs, general principles, judicial decisions, teachings of publicists and *ex-aequo et bono* with a suggestion for inclusion of distributive principles to help promote come together with a feeling to each other.

INNOVATORY APPROACH

At present the law of the sea has achieved an entity of its own as a separate and an important discipline of international law. Earlier, it was embodied in most of the texts and monographs to be studied as a part under maritime jurisdiction or as a part of state territory. The idea of developing international law through the restatement of existing rules or through the formulation of new

M. Habibur Rahman, Professor, Department of Law, Rajshahi University, Rajshahi, Bangladesh.

rules is not of recent origins.¹ In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, Jeremy Bentham proposed a codification of the whole of international law, though in a utopian spirit. Since his time, numerous attempts as codification have been made by private individuals, by learned societies and by Governments. The history of the modern international law of the sea can perhaps be best understood by perceiving it as a continual conflict between two opposing, yet complementary, fundamental principles territorial sovereignty and the freedom of the high seas.² Because of the manifold and complex problems which it confronts, the law of the sea is now the most interesting and challenging areas of growth in the body of international law. For three centuries from the beginning of seventeenth century to our time, it was a stable regime. The rules were established on an open doctrine of the freedom of the sea. The four freedoms have now developed to six freedoms, but the doctrine is till now a good philosophy for nations with strong navies, and the people who have power and technology want the freedoms to apply for their own interests.³ But the small, weak, poor and underdeveloped nations cannot take advantage of the freedoms in the same degree.

The international law of the sea is governed by the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, 1982. The very unregulated ocean space the seabed and ocean floor and subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction (Area) to be governed by the provisions of the Convention through the International Seabed Authority (Authority) has now been a domain of burning issues between the developing and developed states.⁴

The Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, in the Outer Space and Under Water, 1963 though existing but states are seldom seen to be unreserved to it.⁵ States are not particular to honour it. Moreover, they are not seen indifferent towards their interests even at the cost of nuclear tests. Defences are made with pleas that tests are carried out within their territories.⁶ Despite Court's verdict against Nuclear Tests

France did not comply with it.⁷ There is then a scope to innovate a rule governing distribution of justice in matters of the Area and its resources between haves and have-nots and between the states who can and cannot effectively participate in the activities of the Area.

THE LEGAL REGIME OF THE AREA

The Area and its resources conventionally known as the common heritage of mankind are very much concerned with all activities of their exploration and exploitation. Activities in the Area are concerned with all activities of exploration for, and exploitation of the resources of the Area.⁸

The practice of the high seas necessitates on the strategic activities on the high seas. A significant restriction on the strategic use of the high seas has been imposed by the establishment of the nuclear test ban. Article 1 of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty prohibits explosions in the areas of the high seas: "Each of the parties to this Treaty undertakes to prohibit to prevent and not to carry out any nuclear explosion, or any other nuclear explosion on any place under its jurisdiction or control; including territorial waters or high seas". According to this provision nuclear explosions are prohibited in all areas of the high seas, that is to say, not only on the surface of the high seas, but also in the subsoil on the seabed and in the water mass beneath the high seas, and in the airspace above the high seas.⁹ Considering that nuclear explosions hinder navigation and aviation in the areas of the high seas, the nuclear test ban promotes the freedom of the high seas.

All rights in the resources of the Area are vested in mankind as a whole, on whose behalf the Authority shall act. These resources are not subject to alienation. The minerals recovered from the Area, however, may only be alienated in accordance with rules, regulations and procedures of the Authority. No state or natural or juridical person shall claim, acquire or exercise rights with respect to the minerals recovered from the Area except in accordance with Part XI of the LOS Convention.

Otherwise, no such claim, acquisition or exercise of such rights shall be recognized. Activities in the Area shall be carried out for the benefit of mankind as a whole, irrespective of the geographical location of states, whether coastal or land locked, and taking into particular consideration the interests and needs of developing states and of peoples who have not attained full independence or other self governing status recognized by the United Nations. The Authority shall provide for the equitable sharing of financial and other economic benefits derived from activities in the Area through any appropriate mechanism, on a non-discriminatory basis.¹⁰

It seems that an international legal regime may rationally be effective. But where capital, equipments, technology and expertise are largely involved as a result, there is no doubt that the developed states will be substantially benefited from activities to be carried out under the existing international regime. It is, therefore, felt that the international legal regime in spite of its existing rules may need some more rule to face situations likely arising.

THE RULES OF INTERNATIONAL REGIME

The interplay of political and military rivalry and cultural and commercial intercourse between different considerations can be traced through most of the recorded history, but this interplay remained intermittent until the maritime discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries inaugurated the age of western supremacy. Only with the industrial revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries did the economic interdependence of nations begin to foreshadow its contemporary importance. World politics remained until the dawn of the twentieth century essentially a projection over a wider area of the interplay of the interests and politics of the major European powers.¹¹

Nuclear energy and space are the most dramatic illustration of the need to deal with the impact of science and technology on human destiny

on a worldwide basis, but the problem is a much broader one and includes all the manifold ramifications, over the whole range of current scientific and technological development of the determination of the rule of law in man's control of, and adaptation to, this challenging natural environment.¹²

Those rules which have come to be associated with the vital safety of the community are those which are not likely to be enforced by the community both by means of condemnation by public opinion and any sanctions within the community's command.

With the coming of nuclear age, the threat or use of force by any member of the community except in self-defence and subject to community review and condemnation has become dangerous to be tolerated and world community exercising itself in the General Assembly of the United Nations and through all available media of expression may be said to have served notice that such aggression must not occur again.¹³

The rules of international legal regime are enshrined in Article 38 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice. The court, whose function is to decide in accordance with international law such disputes as are submitted to it, shall apply; (i) international convention whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognized by the contesting states; (ii) international customs, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law; (iii) the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations; (iv) judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations, as subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law. Moreover, this provision is considered not to prejudice the power of the court to decide a case *ex aequo et bono* if the parties agree thereto.

In solving problems the application of equity in international law is substantial although it has not been embodied in Article 38 of the statute

the Court. The UN convention on the Law of the Sea, 1982 has devised it for equitable solution for delimiting maritime boundaries between states with opposite or adjacent coasts.¹⁴ Although equity and *ex aequo et bono* appear ensue from a twinbed but there is a difference between the two. Equity has an entity of its own whereas *ex aequo et bono* has to come into effect if the parties agree thereto. The umpire in the case of equity is free to apply whereas in the case of *ex aequo et bono* he has to depend on the consent of the parties.¹⁵

The aftermath of the Great Wars has substantiated all disputes to be settled by peaceful means. The League of Nations followed it but finally failed. The United Nations is also destined to settle disputes through its prescribed means to maintain international peace and security.¹⁶ What to take into account is the fact that the twentieth century is the victim of ruination of the Great Wars and at the same time is the innovator of international legal system.

In the phases of magical development of science and technology, it may not be difficult to assume that new variables to come into being will cause some parameters to be deduced to embody certain rules for enrichment of international legal regime along with its existing rules.

DEEP SEABED MINING A FORWARDING APPROACH

In order to carry activities in the Area, a number of states and their consorsia have already been registered. France, India, Japan and Russian Federation have been registered. As a result, they have been carrying activities in the Area. India (1987) has been registered to carry activities in the Central Indian Ocean, France (1987), Japan (1987), and Russian Federation (1987) in the Clarion Clipperton Zone of the Pacific Ocean. Virtually, these states have been honoured to have been registered as pioneer investors.¹⁷ The People's Republic of China (1991) has been

registered for carrying activities in the Equatorial Pacific Ocean Basin and Eastern Pacific Ocean Basin. In 1991 the Government of the Republic of Bulgaria, the Republic of Cuba, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, the Republic of Poland, and the Russian Federation have been registered for mining in the North Eastern Pacific Ocean.¹⁸ The deep seabed regime as such has been effective in the various parts of the Area under the aegis of the Authority. In addition, several multinational consortia are also destined for exploring and exploiting the resources of the Area under the control of the International Seabed Authority.

The Enterprise is a parallel entity; it is prescribed to carry activities in the Area as a mining arm of the Authority.¹⁹ Its purpose is to be acquainted with the overall position of activities and is to enable the developing countries to participate in the mining. A direct and clear picture about the deep seabed mining is thus expected to be available on which the Authority may proceed further for effective purposes. But it depends on funds, equipments and expertise which the Enterprise should have to achieve. The very impact is that all these practically shall have to be available from the developed states.

The twenty first century's most operational area on ocean spaces is the seabed, ocean floor and subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. All mineral resources have to be explored and exploited therefrom. The industrialized states have no problem to boost more and more benefits whereas the poor developing countries have to raise pleas for their share in the resources as common heritage of mankind as achieved from activities.

There is a need of promoting cooperation between states whether developing or developed. The epoch of the millennium should be to come together to implement international regime whenever and wherever necessary.

As for instance, land locked developing countries require technical and financial assistance for restricting of their economies. It would be worthwhile for these countries to explore the possibility of establishing import substitution industries which produce high bulk, low value goods.

This would save them increasing high transport costs for their imports from other countries. Furthermore, the development export industries producing high value, low bulk goods should receive high priority. In order to enable land locked countries to devise substantive gains from region of economic cooperation, UNCTAD should on request, provide technical assistance from these countries in formulating suitable regional economic cooperation agreements with their neighboring countries. Landlocked countries require technical and financial assistance in order to carry out a detailed survey and development of their mineral and energy resources and to study new forms of transport which will enable them to exploit such resources.²⁰

It is viewed that the forwarding approach towards the international regime relating to the Area and its resources is to follow the existing rules with a suggestion for inclusion of some principles to copy with the forthcoming exigencies of the New Millennium.

SUGGESTIVE RULES FOR THE MILLENNIUM

The extended maritime zones such as 200 n.m. EFZ and 350 n.m 2500 m cum 100 n.m continental shelf have made the industrialized states to be highly benefited. In the case of maritime zones with national jurisdiction the objective of developed states cannot help legally substantiating their claims in those zones.²¹ As regards the Area and its resources there is a need for participation of all states in the exploration and exploitation of the resources. But the matter is reverse in the case of the developing countries. Anyway, the only satisfaction is that they have been successful against the industrialized states who could substantiate the Area and its resources if there would be no common heritage doctrine.

The international legal regime concerns with convention, custom, general principle of law, judicial decisions, teaching of the publicists as well as *ex aequo et bono* if the parties concerned in respect of the disputes agree thereto.²² Whereas commerce and communications are global; investment is mobile; technology is almost magical; and ambition for better life is universal we should welcome international rules to enable states to live together in peaceful competition with all people across the earth.²³

Wherever, all means of law are exhausted, equity takes its room to fill in the gaps of law. But the present scientific and technological innovations have made all so fast changing as a result, it is difficult to depend on equity for solution substantially and eventually effective. The *ex aequo et bono* doctrine has no entity of its own; the whole theme depends on consent of the parties. The umpire has nothing other than being authorized by the parties as to what to follow for a solution to the problem.

The legal regime of distributive justice can be highly effective in the case of inequalities and such, the doctrine should have a field relating to the matters between developed and developing countries.²⁴ The doctrine of distributive justice should be applicable in a spirit that the developed and developing countries belong to the same family. The universal family now seems to be materialized by the United Nations in which the member states must have feeling to each other to live together with peaceful competition in spite of scientific and technological inventions. The twenty first century – the beginning of the New Millennium should be forwarded with the existing rules of international regime along with the inclusion of distributive justice as a doctrine to promote harmony between the developed and developing countries. The deep seabed regime can be morally and substantially fruitful if the doctrine of distributive justice is taken into account.

REFLECTION

International legal system as innovated an enjoyed originally is a system of civilized nations possessing machine guns and battle ships of whiteman's club.²⁵ But since the Great Wars, it has been an international system of sovereign and independent states taking into account the self and non-self governing territories. The term "civilized nations" has been now replaced as "nations"²⁶. As time passes, universal ideas are being developed, as a result, states whether developed or developing are coming together to promote universal fraternity as an obligation they should feel to fulfil. At the present stage, where civil wars are no longer civil and the carnage they inflict will not let the world remain indifferent. Narrow nationalism that would oppose or disregard the norms of stable international order and micro-nationalism that resists healthy economic and political integration disrupt peaceful global existence. Nations are too interdependent, national frontiers are too porous, transnational realities in the sphere of technology and investment on the one side, and poverty and misery on the other, too dangerous to permit egocentric isolationism.

Therefore, it is possible to come to an assumption that international legal regime should not be limited to the purview of certain states who caused to result in the last centuries.²⁷ Law is to meet the changing norms of situations, this then gives rise to a tendency to cohere all states in the planet we have to nourish for peaceful uses of its land, seas, airspace and whatever else.

The international legal regime must be workable to promote all these for the New Millennium. Conventionally, the deep seabed regime is subjected to amendments after expiry of 10 years from the date of entry into force.²⁸ Ultimately, the amendments will take place on and from 16 November 2004. By this time, there may be more and more achievements of science and technology in the spirit of which needs might not be limited to existing rules of international regime. Under the circumstances, the new Millennium should be felicitated for nourishment of the doctrine of distributive justice to be embodied in international legal regime. The law of the sea in matters of the Area and its resources will, it is submitted, be enriched if distributive justice is effected and this deal as an incoming study for the Millennium will then be internationally purposeful.

REFERENCES

1. See Statute of the International Court of Justice, Art 38.
2. E.D. Brown, "Maritime Zones – A Survey of Claims" in *New Directions in the Law of the Sea* 3(1973) 157.
3. See Convention on the High Seas of 29 April 1958 (Geneva). It came into force on 30 September 1962. Article 2 of this Convention deals with the four freedoms e.g. (i) freedom of navigation; (ii) freedom of fishing; (iii) freedom to lay submarine cables and pipelines; (iv) freedom to fly over the high seas. The Work of the International Law Commission, Fifth edition, United Nations, New York, 1996, p.258. United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea of 10 December 1982. It came into force on 16 November 1994. Article 87 of this Convention deals with the six freedoms e.g. (i) freedom of navigation; (ii) freedom of over-flight; (iii) freedom to lay submarine cables and pipelines; (iv) freedom to construct artificial islands and other installations permitted under international law; (v) freedom of fishing; (vi) freedom of scientific research.
4. The UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (1982) hereinafter cited as LOS Convention deals with the Area in its Part XI.
5. See Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, in the Outer Space and Under Water, 1963 (UK, USA, USSR at Moscow, 5 August 1963, effective on 10 October 1963) 480 UNTS 43. Also see Declaration of Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. UNRES 3269 XXIX of 9 December 1974; UNRES 3468 XXX of 11 December 1975 and Resolution 32/86 of 12 December 1977.
6. In May 1998 India and Pakistan made explosion of nuclear bombs. It is questioned whether the two countries will comply to honour the region of Indian Ocean as a Zone of peace. Unless they are under binding obligations, there seems a threat for the region to remain as a zone of peace. If the two countries cannot be above emotion, then it cannot be said that the Indian Ocean will be continuing as a zone of peace. However, defenses are made with pleas that the explosions have been made in their own territory.
7. See *Australia v. France and New Zealand v. France* ICJ (1974) Reports (1974) 253-455, 457-533.
8. See LOS Convention Art 1(3).
9. See John Kish, *The Law of International Spaces* (1973), A.W. Sijthoff 159.
10. LOS Convention, Art 137, 140.
11. C. Wilfred Jenks. *A New World of Law* (1969), Longmans 6.

12. Ibid, 11.
13. See Wallace McClure, *World Legal Order* (1960), Clarendon Press, The University of North Carolina 322.
14. LOS Convention, Art 73, 84.
15. See H. Lauterpacht, *The Function of Law in International Community* (1933), Clarendon Press, Oxford 153, 331.
16. See UN Charter, Art 33.
17. See Resolution II of the Final Act of the LOS Convention e.g. Governing Preparatory Investment in Pioneer Activities Relating to Polymetallic Nodules.
18. See *Law of the Sea Bulletin Special Issue* September 1991, 14-40 and 41-75. As a matter of fact, those countries at that time were registered with the Preparatory Commission for the International Seabed Authority and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea.
19. See LOS Convention, Annex IV.
20. Shigeru Oda, *The International Law of the Ocean Development* (1977), Sijthoff, Part VII, 33.
21. See Lewis M. Alexander and Robert D. Hodgson, "The Impact of the 200-Mile Economic Zone on the Law of the Sea", 12/3 (1975) *The San Diego Law Review* 572, 573.
22. See Statute of the International Court of Justice, Art 38.
23. See US President Clinton's text of his address of January 20, 1993.
24. What was considered distributive justice in the last century has gradually come to be understood as the equivalent of social justice, and the appeal to social justice has now become the most widely used and effective process in modern times. "Distributive Justice" is a more rarefied concept than the normal legal precepts relating to equality and justice, and goes beyond the principles of equity. Distributive justice implies the application of law, not only according to the rules of equality and equity, but also to ensure that the application takes into account the inherent disadvantages between two disputing parties. See Asma Jahangir, "Distributive Justice", *The Independence of Judges and Lawyers in Pakistan* (1989), International Commission of Jurists (Geneva) printed in Pakistan, 65; Justice Ranganath Mishra, "Distributive Justice", *Ibid* (1990) printed in Switzerland, 31.
25. Michael Akehurst, *A Modern Introduction to International Law* (1971), George & Unwin 23.
26. *Basic Facts About the United Nations* (1995), New York 16.
27. See Perez de Cuellar, "Sovereignty and International Responsibility", 47 (1991) *The Review*, International Commission of Jurists (Geneva) 24-27.
28. LOS Convention, Art 312.

Marine Pollution by Dumping : International Regulations

NAKIB MUHAMMAD NASRULLAH
A.K.M. MOTIUUR RAHMAN

INTRODUCTION

In the present world, Marine Pollution has become a great concern for human environment. As approximately 71% percent of the total global surface is made up of ocean, human life on this earth is mostly dependent on a viable marine ecosystem. Therefore protection of marine pollution is a prime duty of international community. Marine pollution may be caused by different sources that are enumerated as land-based source, pollution from vessels, pollution from Nuclear materials, dumping pollution from sea-bed activities in the area. Dumping at sea is one of the sources of Marine Pollution which accounts for only 10% of the total Marine Pollution popularly known as Ocean dumping. Ocean dumping is generally the seaward transport of land generated wastes by ships, barges, platforms or aircraft and their disposal in the marine environment.

The origin of dumping practice is more likely untraced. But it can at least be guessed that it has existed since man first ventured to sea. Tremendous amount of waste has been dumped years after years and it has increased with the movement of vast industrialization throughout the world. It was an attractive option for coastal states for long to dump into the sea the land-generated wastes. Dumping in fact is a comparatively inexpensive way to remove the waste in the absence of better alternatives.

Nakib Muhammad Nasrullah, Asstt Professor; A.K.M. Motiur Rahman, Asstt. Professor, Department of Politics & Public Admn, Islamic University, Kushtia, Bangladesh.

It was a fully uncontrolled and legitimate practice both in the developed and developing countries. With the emergence of concept of environmental protection across the world marine pollution took the priority to attract the human concern. The adverse impact of dumping on marine environment has been able to draw the international attention firstly during fifties. This attention has grown larger during sixties. Since the early seventies different international agreements have been concluded by international community to control, prevent, reduce the ocean dumping. By the adoption of London Dumping Convention in 1972 a global regime was created to regulate dumping activities. It is the only comprehensive convention providing minimum international standards to be attained by all states. The regional Agreements as supplementary to London Convention have provided legal frameworks to regulate dumping in enclosed and semi-enclosed seas. UNCLOS 1982 partially has laid down the rules in relation to the protection of marine environment.

All the above regimes are working for the purpose of regulation of dumping activities. But they are facing different types of difficulties as to enforcement and implementation of preventive measures as well as controlling policies. More importantly London Dumping Convention 1972 in its global application is suffering many difficulties arising out of provisional weakness, procedural short-comings, lack of proper enforcing agencies etc. Though dumping accounts for only about ten percent of total pollution of the sea, its impact if left uncontrolled, may result in significant damage to marine environment. It requires the proper application of the regulations at the international level. Therefore, this paper attempts to focus on all international regulations adopted with global and regional application and to evaluate, examine their regulatory structures, preventive measures and controlling policies including failure and success of the legal regimes, inadequacies and enforcement difficulties. Finally, this paper will try to make some recommendations with a view to enhance the effectiveness of the legal regimes.

WHAT IS DUMPING AT SEA?

Dumping generally means putting things in the ocean in order to get rid of them. The disposal of waste at sea has long been a frequent practice of coastal states. "The act of disposing industrial and municipal wastes from ships which has been loaded with the purpose of dumping or incinerating materials at sea is pollution by dumping.¹ The London Dumping Convention 1972, under its Article III, defines dumping as (1) any deliberate disposal at sea of wastes or other matter from vessels, aircraft, platforms or other man made structures at sea; or (11) any deliberate disposal of vessels, aircraft, platforms or other made made structures at sea.²" This definition is reflected in UNCLOS 1982 under its Article 5. "The definition of dumping in the London Convention is amended by 1996 Protocol to include the disposal or storage of waste in the sea-bed and subsoil.³" The definition implies that dumping is an intentional act or act done with knowledge. Discharges occurring in the normal operation of ships or platforms do not constitute dumping, nor do accidental spillages. Incineration of wastes is not included in the definition, it has been treated as dumping nevertheless.

The Annexes of the London Convention provide the lists of wastes which people generally dump in to the sea. "In 1970 the US Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ) identified sources of ocean dumping. They are (1) dredge spoils i.e., solid materials, sand, silt, clay, rock, pollutant from municipal and industrial discharges, (2) industrial wastes, i.e., acids, refinery pesticides, paper mills wastes etc. (3) sewage sludge, i.e., residual human wastes and other organic and inorganic wastes, (4) construction and demolition debris (5) solid waste, commonly called refuse, garbage or trash (6) explosive and chemical munitions, (7) Radio-active wastes.⁴" Four types of wastes are mainly dumped in to the sea. They are dredged materials, industrial waste, sludge from waste-water treatment plant and radio-active waste. "it is estimated that dredged material removed from the sea bottom in connection with dredging operations constitutes nearly 80% of what is dumped at sea.⁵

WHY DO PEOPLE DUMP?

If we think about why the people or states dump in to the sea, we find several reasons behind it. As we have already said that it is a longstanding human practice to dump into the sea. Man by nature is the user of the ocean in different ways. They use the ocean for every kind of benefit. They do not bother for what way they are using the ocean either wrongfully or rightfully. Thus they are habituated to doing harmful act to the marine environment. This is because that they lack knowledge about the long fate of the wastes dumped at the sea. With the change of time, this practice has been controlled, but not yet to be stopped.

Secondly, it is generally understood that the dumping is an attractive option of the coastal. This has existed in practice for long. People treat the dumping as an easier and less expensive way for the removal of the waste.

Thirdly, the removal of the land generated wastes in the alternative ways usually require more scientific and technical support which more often become unaffordable to the most of the states particularly to the developing states. Hence, they find it easier and less costly to dispose the wastes at the sea by vessel, aircraft etc.

Fourthly, the vast industrialized countries dump the industrial wastes for their own benefit without regard for imposing risks on other states.

Fifthly, at national levels, a few number of states have so far enacted regulations to bring control over dumping. Under this situation people in the face of growing industrial wastes frequently dump in to the sea.

Sixthly, since the high sea is the common heritage of mankind, the states in the exercise of their respective right, dump into the high sea different kinds of wastes from ships, aircraft etc.

Seventhly, due to the scarcity of land-based disposal option and suitable sites for disposal many states sometimes resort to dumping.

Eighthly, “many governments today face substantial pressure to open up the ocean to greater use as a disposal medium. This pressure stems primarily from a growing inventory of wastes and difficulty of finding technically suitable and politically acceptable wastes disposal sites on land.”⁶

Ninthly, sometimes wastes are found too dangerous and hazardous to human health and other living animals and plants. People generally think if these wastes are removed or piled in any place on the land it may directly affect the human health. Instead, if they discharge the wastes into the ocean, the wastes will be assimilated and melted into the water. Hence, they dump the wastes into the sea.

The practical problem in my opinion lies in economic involvement. Dumping is cheaper than that of other means of the removal of wastes. On the other hand the suitable site for discharge is scarce and the application of scientific and technological methods are more expensive. Truly speaking, the sufficient technology for that purpose has not yet been developed all over the world and still remains uncertain in future. Both the developed and developing countries are facing the same problem. More importantly, the growing industrialized countries dump their industrial wastes to reduce the cost of recycling and other process of waste disposal. In addition, the lack of awareness and education among the people about the hazardous impact of high toxic wastes is also a major practice problem for dumping.

STATE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT

As a general principle of international law, state becomes responsible for any wrongful act or harm done to another state. Article 1 of the ILC Draft Articles on state responsibility states that “every internationally

wrongful act of a state entails the international responsibility of that state.⁷” “The international wrongful act of a state involves ‘conduct attributable to the state under international law’ that ‘constitutes a breach of international obligation of the state’. Responsibility in this sense has two characteristics: (a) it has a particular substantive content of its own; and (b) it gives rise to certain further consequences in terms of liabilities, rights, and eventually remedies.⁸” The foundation of responsibility in most cases lies in the breach of obligation undertaken by the states or imposed on them by international law. Responsibility in environmental cases will normally arise either because of breach of one or more of the customary obligations or because of a breach of treaty. State responsibility sometimes ensues from pollution damage, sometimes from non-performance of state’s own environmental obligations. Sometimes state becomes liable for the act causing environmental harm conducted by the private parties as in Trail Smelter Case. Article 19 of the ILC draft Articles 1996 determines criminal responsibility for “a serious breach of an international obligation of essential importance for the ‘safeguarding and preservation of the human environment, such as those prohibiting massive pollution of the atmosphere or of the sea.’” 1972 Stockholm Declaration is the corner stone of international environmental law. Principle 21 of this Declaration describes the state responsibility in the form of prevention as saying “states have, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law, the sovereign right to exploit their own resources pursuant to their own environmental policies, and the responsibility to ensure that activities within their jurisdiction and control do not cause damage to the environment of other states or of areas beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.¹⁰” The same principle is reflected in principle 2 of Rio Declaration on Environment and Development. This principle provides an obligation requiring the prevention of damage to the environment, or to reduce, limit or control activities which might cause such damage. The preventive approach has been directly or indirectly conceded by the 1972 Stockholm Declaration, the 1978 UNEP Draft Principles and 1982

World Charter for Nature. Principles 7,11,14,15,26 of Rio Declaration directly and indirectly talk about the states responsibility for the protection of human environment. More importantly, principle 7 of the Rio-Declaration 1992 reflects the view of common and differentiated responsibilities. The differentiated responsibility is also reflected in Article II of LDC 1972. "This Article requires measures to be adopted to prevent marine pollution caused by dumping according to their scientific, technical and economic capabilities." Article 235 of the UNCLOS 1982 provides the general principles for marine protection as saying states are responsible for the fulfillment of their international obligation concerning the protection and preservation of the environment. They shall be liable in accordance with the international law. Para 2 and 3 of this Article deal with rules governing the prompt and adequate compensation in respect of all damage caused by pollution.

DEVELOPMENT OF A LEGAL REGIME

The dumping of wastes at sea is a subject of general restraint in customary international law, as the discharge of other marine pollutants. As a matter of historical fact, in the area of regulating ocean dumping, substantial international initiative has taken place only since the 1950s. "In the field of International Law, the first conference on the law of the sea, held in Geneva in 1958, resulted in four conventions, namely; (1) the Convention on the High Seas, (2) the Convention on the territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone, (3) the Convention on the continental shelf and (4) the Convention on the fishing and conservation of the living resources of the high seas. Some of these Conventions addressed pollution issues, but methods of international enforcement and control were quite vague and failed to abate the problems of pollution resulting from ocean dumping.¹¹" Prior to 1970s, ocean dumping was in fact examined but only in respect of radio-active waste disposal. In 1972, a significant contribution to international regime to regulate dumping, and the London Dumping Convention was duly concluded in the same year.

This was entitled Prevention of Marine Pollution by dumping of wastes and other matters. Oslo Convention for the prevention of Marine Pollution by dumping from Ships and Air was adopted by some European countries immediate before this in 1972 with a regional application limited to North Atlantic and Arctic oceans. With the adoption of LDC in 1972, dumping became the subject of global legal regime. This has since been supplemented by some regional treaties, such as Helsenki Convention, Bercelona protocol on Dumping, OSPER Protocol, Kuwait Convention on Dumping. 1982 UNCLOS is the widely recognized multilateral treaty creating a legal regime of sea waters. Article 210 and 216 of this Convention codify customary law so as to compel states to regulate and control marine environment caused by dumping at sea. London Dumping Convention has some significant features distinguished from other regulations of marine environment. This Convention has already gained widespread ratification and is applicable to all marine areas. Regional Agreement are significant only in imposing higher standards in enclosed or semi-enclosed seas. "Secondly this global regime is based on attainment of international minimum standards by all states, which limits their national discretion and makes no allowance for double standards or economic development.¹²" Thirdly, this Convention provides three concrete lists of different categories of pollutant, among which dumping of more hazardous substance is prohibited, subject only to limited exceptions or substances that appear as trace contaminant, substances to be rapidly harmless. Finally this convention requires dumping to be subject to supervision by an International Forum, the London Dumping Consultative Meeting including regional bodies.

INTERNATIONAL REGULATIONS

I. London Dumping Convention 1982

The London Dumping Convention 1982 is an instrument that exclusively provides a basic global frame work for the regulation and control of the deliberate disposal of all wastes at sea since its entry into

force. "The objective of this Convention is to prevent the pollution of the sea by the dumping of wastes and other matter that is liable to create hazards to human health, to harm living resources and marine life, to marine life, to damage amenities or to interfere with other legitimate use of the sea, to encourage the development of regional environment.¹³" This Convention consists of a preamble, twenty two Articles and three important Annexes. A comprehensive definition of dumping is given under Article III of this convention, which is followed by other global and regional agreements. 1996 Protocol to the London Convention has included the disposal or storage of wastes in the seabed in dumping.

REGULATORY STRUCTURE OF THE CONVENTION

The London Convention embodies two lists of substances one of which is called 'black listed' substances and other is called 'grey listed' substances. The dumping of black listed substances is quietly prohibited and grey listed substances require a prior special permission. Except these two, all other substances require general permit to be dumped. Annex 1 of the Convention shows the black listed substances that will never be dumped because of their potential to harm. The black listed substances as per Annex 1 include "organohalogen compound, mercury and mercury compounds, cadmium and cadmium substances, persistent plastics and other persistent synthetics materials, crude oil and its wastes, high radio-active wastes, incineration of industrial wastes.¹⁴ Certain of these Annex 1 substances may be incinerated at sea in accordance with regulations set by the London Convention. The prohibition of dumping of the substances under Annex 1 is subject to exception in cases of emergencies, posing unacceptable risks relating to human health and admitting no other feasible solution. This exception will be effective after consultation with any other country or countries likely to be affected with and the IMO. Under this situation the dumper state should require a special permit issued by contracting party in compliance with the recommendations made by IMO. The prohibition of dumping does

not apply to Annex 1 substances with exception of radio-active wastes, which are rapidly rendered harmless by physical, chemical or biological processes in the sea provided they do not make edible marine organism unpalatable, or endanger human health or that of domestic animals (London Convention Annex 1, para 8). This prohibition does not apply to the dumping of tree contaminants. (London Convention, Annex 1, Para 10.)

Annex II, of the London Convention identifies the grey listed substances which require a prior special permit for dumping. The grey listed substances are called 'special care' substances. "these grey listed substances may be dumped so long as special care is taken with regard to factors such as site selection, monitoring, packing of wastes and disposal methods intended to mitigate environmental contamination.¹⁵" Materials except in Annex I and Annex II may be dumped subject to a general permit. According to Art. 6 of LDC special and general permits are granted by national authorities, for matter intended for dumping which is loaded in its territory, or loaded by vessel or aircraft registered in its territory, or flying its flag when the loading occurs in the territory of non-party. The grant of special or general permit must be in compliance with Annex III. Annex III contains environmental protection criteria which national authorities must carefully consider before issuing any dumping permit. These criteria include consideration of possible effects on marine life, amenities and uses of the sea along with factors pertaining to the suitability of any particular disposal operation such as characteristics and composition of waste, description of the disposal site, method of disposal, and the practical availability of land-based alternatives. This assessment of the risk of harm and the suitability of disposal sites is intended to minimize the possibility of the future harm.

In terms of radio-active wastes, at first Article 25 of the 1958 High Seas Convention required states to take measures to prevent pollution of the high seas from dumping of radio-active wastes, taking into account

standards set by the relevant international organization. Dumping was not outrightly prohibited it was left to IEEA to promulgate standards and internationally acceptable regulation. Following this precedent, the London Dumping Convention prohibited the dumping only of 'high-level' radioactive matter. (Annex I, para 6; Annex II, para (d), LDC) Intermediate level radio-active wastes and low-level radio-active wastes could be dumped at sea by special permit. "The 1996 protocol to the 1972 Convention on the prevention of Marine Pollution by dumping of wastes and other matter under its Article 1 provides for the stopping storage of high level radio-active waste in the seabed currently being considered in several regions of the world, it does not provide for the prohibition of low-level radio-active wastes.¹⁶" Regional practice is, however, overwhelmingly opposed to radio-active dumping, particularly in enclosed and semi-enclosed seas. It is prohibited by treaty in Baltic, in South and South East Pacific, and the International Conference on North Sea agreed in 1990 that the North Sea was not a suitable venue. Most radio-active wastes can not be dumped in the Mediterranean.¹⁷"

Enforcement and Application

The duty of enforcement and application of the provisions regarding the prevention and control of dumping activities under this Convention lies with contracting parties. According to Article VII of LDC, "each contracting party shall apply the measures required to implement the present Convention to all: (a) vessels and aircraft registered in its territory or flying its flag; (b) vessels and aircraft loading in its territory or territorial sea matter which is to be dumped; (c) vessels and aircraft and fixed or floating platforms under its jurisdiction believed to be engaged in dumping. Para 2 of this Article says "each party shall take in its territory appropriate measures to prevent and punish conduct in contravention of the provisions of this Convention.¹⁸" It is noteworthy that IMO in London, a specialized agency of the United Nations, acts as Secretariat for the Convention in the said capacity, the IMO receives

notifications from governments of dumping, distributes documents, holds regular consultative and scientific group meetings, and carries out all other administrative tasks required for the Convention's operation.

II. UNCLOS 1982

“The entry into force of the LDC in 1974 realized one kind of global actions envisaged in the Action Plan, while the draft convention on the Law of the Sea entrenched the main principles of the LDC into the law of sea.¹⁹” Article 210 of the UNCLOS 1982 articulates that “state shall adopt laws and regulations to prevent, reduce and control pollution of the marine environment by dumping. Such national laws are no less effective than global rules and standards. It also provides that state shall take other measures as may be necessary to prevent, reduce and control such pollution. Under this convention the laws and regulations with respect to dumping shall not be carried out without the permission of the competent authorities of the state. Article 216 of the UNCLOS has provided the principles relating to the enforcement of the rules and regulations with respect to pollution by dumping. The relevant rules and regulations shall be enforced (1) by the coastal state with regard to dumping within its territorial sea or its EEZ or onto its continental Shelf; (b) by the flag state with regard to acts of loading of wastes or other matter occurring within its territory or its offshore terminals, (c) by any state with regard to acts of loading of wastes or other matter occurring within its territory or at its offshore terminal.²⁰

The Oslo Dumping Convention

“The first regional agreement to regulate and prohibit dumping at sea, predating by several months the London Convention, was the 1972 convention for the prevention of marine pollution by dumping from ships and aircraft adopted at Oslo. The Oslo Convention applies to North East Atlantic Ocean, including north sea, but not the Baltic sea.²¹” The Oslo

Convention is comprised of a preamble, 27 Articles, three Annexes. Annex IV as amended in 1983 has dealt with rules of incineration at sea. According to this rule incineration of substances is prohibited at the event practical alternatives, land-based of treatment, disposal or elimination are available. This Annex also provides the guidance for what type of substances and materials may be incinerated with prior permit. As per this Annex, for incineration prior consultation is required. This Annex has described certain criteria for the selection of incineration sites. There is a wonderful twin like similarity between LDC and ODC. The contents of the three Annexes of ODC are virtually same as in LDC, with only a few differences. The ODC's black list includes Organo-Silican compounds, while the LDC does not. Article 14, 15 deal with the enforcement principle concerning the protection of marine environment by dumping. The enforcement duty lies with contacting states. The contracting states through a commission made up of representative of each of the state undertake to implement regulations for the prevention and protection of dumping.

1992 OSPER Convention

The 1992 OSPER Convention is the replacement of the 1972 Oslo Convention. The OSPER Convention under Article 1 (f) provides an expanded definition of dumping. The Convention reverses the traditional approach to defining waste. 'waste and other matter include everything except human remains, offshore installations, offshore pipelines and unprocessed fish and offal discarded from vessel. This Convention specially emphasises on the prohibition of incineration and low and intermediate level radio-active substances, including wastes. "Annex II of the Convention prohibits the incineration and dumping of all wastes or other matter, except for those expressly excluded by the Annex. The Annex has permitted, subject to authorization or regulation, dumping of dredged material, certain inert material of natural origin, sewage sludge (until 31 December 1998), Fish waste from industrial fish processing operations or vessels or aircraft (until 31 December 2004).²²"

Helsinki Convention

In 1974 a Conference on the protection of the Marine Environment of the Baltic Sea Area was held in Helsinki. The Conference produced the Convention on the protection of the Marine Environment in the Baltic Sea Area including Gulf of Bothania, Gulf of Finland. "Article 2(3a) provides the definition of dumping which is identical with that of LDC. Article 9 of the Convention, specifically deals with dumping. According to this Article the contracting parties prohibit dumping of all substances in the Baltic Sea Area except dredged spoils which require the prior acquisition of a special permit. There is one more exception that dumping is allowed when the safety of human life or of a vessel or aircraft at sea is threatened by the complete destruction or total loss of the vessel or aircraft or in any case which a danger to human life."²³

Barcelona Protocol on Dumping

The Barcelona Protocol on Dumping as entered into force in 1978 applies to Mediterranean Sea. This Protocol reflects the exact definition of dumping as in LDC. This Protocol has shown a black list and a grey list substances which are almost similar to those available on the LDCs list. This Protocol is influenced by and modeled on LDC. "Being a part of UNEP's Mediterranean Action Plan, the Barcelona Convention and Protocol form part of a general plan to improve the environmental quality of the Mediterranean. Included in this plan is the creation of a central bank for all pollution information and statistics."²⁴

Kuwait Convention

Kuwait Convention on the protection and development of the Marine Environment and the Coastal Areas was adopted in 1978 under the aegis of UNEP Regional conventions. It has partially concerns the dumping activities. Article 5 of the Kuwait Convention has dealt with pollution

caused by dumping. It requires contracting states to take all appropriate measures to prevent marine pollution from dumping in the area and to comply with the international rules controlling this type of pollution.

Do the regimes work?

We will mainly discuss here the workability of LDC as a global regime for controlling dumping activities at sea. Latter on, relevantly we will try to briefly examine the operational progress Conventions. The London Dumping Convention is no doubt a widely ratified multi-lateral treaty providing a legal regime for controlling dumping of waste at sea. The objective function of this Convention is to provide a minimum international standards for controlling dumping and also to generate a global consensus on the development of policy for dumping at sea. One apparent success of this Convention is the adoption of different regional agreements as a supplementary to it. "The function of the Convention is administered by consultative meetings of the parties, which are responsible for keeping under review the implementation of the Convention, amending it and the Annexes ensuring the availability of relevant scientific and technical information, receiving the parties' report and developing and adopting procedures, criteria for determining exceptional and emergency situations. Consultative meetings are held annually in London at the IMO, the secretariat of LDC.²⁵" "In sixteenth consultative meeting, the representatives of the contracting states agreed to a moratorium on the dumping of radio-active wastes at sea and to limit, regulate or prohibit, inter alia, the export of wastes for disposal at sea, the disposal of persistent plastics and persistent synthetic materials, the disposal of dredged materials, waste incineration at sea, the disposal of radio-active wastes in to the seabed, the sea disposal of industrial wastes, the application of the precautionary principle.²⁶" A remarkable contribution of the consultative meetings is 1996 Protocol to the Convention which reflects some significant changes to the London Convention. In fact, the consultative meetings have been notably

successful in generating international consensus on the policy development of dumping activities and they have facilitated the adoption of more practical and stringent standards, enabling states not engaged in this activity and a number of NGOs to play active role against those who pose risk to marine environment. In assessing London Dumping Convention, it is undoubtedly admitted that it is a more successful regulatory and functional treaty. After the adoption of this treaty, the trends for disposal of industrial wastes by dumping have remarkably decreased. "In respect of dumping of industrial waste at sea a report has shown a decrease from 17 millions tons in 1979 to 6 million 1987. A report prepared by IMO in 1991 attributes these reductions to the efforts of controlling parties to find alternative disposal methods, to recycle wastes, and to use cleaner technology and it includes that the Convention has provided an effective instrument for the protection of marine environment.²⁷" This Convention to a larger extent prompted the national bodies to adopt legal frameworks in relation to controlling of illegal dumping. Finally it may be said that the Convention in practice has by and large achieved its objective of establishing a global framework for international action.

In terms of Regional Agreements, it is evident that the Agreements have imposed higher standards in the respective areas they are adopted for, though they are almost modeled on London Convention, 1972. Some regional program has taken strong stand in preventing intermediate and low level radio-active wastes and incineration of certain black listed substances. The regional conventions, especially those developed in conjunction with UNEPs Regional Seas Program, can provide the vehicles for the establishment of study programs on a regional basis and provide for the inter-calibration of data and the design of monitoring methods. The regional conventions have been successful in creating a good neighbourliness among the contracting countries.

Enforcement difficulties of the legal regimes

We will mainly discuss under this head the difficulties in relation to the enforcement and application of the LDC as a global legal regime. There are two types of difficulties. Some difficulties are technical that result from provisional and procedural weakness and imperfection. Some difficulties are practical that ensue from economic inability and the lack of sufficient logistic availability.

The technical difficulties are identified as below:-

1. The enforcement procedure of this Convention has some imperfection and weakness. As per this Convention, contracting states retain the authority to prevent and punish conduct which violates the provisions of the Convention. Such an approach may lead to make the ocean 'pollution heavens', it means a given state can ignore illegal dumping in territorial and coastal waters to further national development policies which the states consider more important than controlling marine pollution.

2. No specific enforcement agency has been created or designated under this Convention. The vast expanses of the ocean have remained outside internationally protective authority and subject to nationally supported measures. This Convention suffers the absence of a method for dispute resolution.

3. "The IMO has identified two weaknesses in the operation of this Convention, one is that too much reliance is placed on enforcement by national authorities and secondly, the absence of adequate international supervision."²⁸

4. The LDC does not create guidelines for issuance of special or general permits, rather Article VI leaves this wholly to each contracting

5. Party's determination. So there remains ample possibility of inequality or imperfection in doing so.

6. The Convention does not take account of the subsequent extension of coastal state jurisdiction in the exclusive economic zone, nor it has determined the extent of liability for damage. Even the state liability is not determined under this Convention.

Practical problems are identified as follows:-

1. Under this Convention the National authorities are given greater flexibility in identifying the scientific characteristics over the disposal of highly toxic substances. This empowerment assumes an unrealistic uniformity of skill and commitment among the countries carrying out disposal operation. The differences in the scientific, technical and administrative capabilities of these countries are obvious.
2. Heavy reliance upon determination of assimilative capacity for regulating of assimilative is likely to involve more uncertainty and complex. It is difficult to judge and determine the assimilative capacity of the ocean. In addition, national authorities encounter difficulties in the application of desirable features of an ocean dumping regime based on assimilative capacity, because of the involvement of more economic costs.
3. Good ocean monitoring, site selection for disposal and alternative measures to minimize the toxic and noxious waste substance involve a large amount of cost that generally goes beyond the ability of most of entrepreneurs of the developing countries.
4. Since the International Environmental Law as part of general International Law is soft law, in absence of legal measures at the domestic levels in compliance with International Convention people do not regard them accountable in frequent dumping at sea.

5. The scarcity of suitable disposal sites and methods including less availability of appropriate technology is one of the practice problems for the enforcement of the provisions of the Convention.

The Regional conventions face almost same technical and practical problems. Particularly due the enforcement responsibility large left to the contracting states., there arise considerable room within the conventions for divers interpretation and the manner of interpretation becomes therefore complicated which ultimately gives rise to a bar to the proper enforcement of the provisions of the conventions.

Recommendations

We will make here some recommendations so that the international legal regime can duly be enforced and the illegal dumping can effectively be controlled. They are as follows:-

1. There should be a specific enforcement agency for LDC like other international organs, for example WTO.
2. There should be a permanent dispute settlement body for LDC.
3. A provisions should be introduced in LDC regarding the amount of liability for causing damage to marine environment by dumping.
4. There should be a specific provision in LDC conducting the environmental protection in the high sea.
5. The contracting states under LDC or Regional Conventions should more cautiously deal with determining the assimilative capacity of the ocean. They should keep strict records of the dumping activities.

6. In case of issuing permit for dumping the contracting states should more considerate and should have appropriate study about the waste substance as well as the assimilative capacity of the concerned ocean.
7. The legislative efforts should be made at national levels in compliance with the International Regulations. In my opinion, by stronger legislative initiatives at domestic levels, the illegal dumping can successfully be controlled.
8. People awareness about the pollution effect by dumping should be created through media representation.
9. Less expensive alternatives for the disposal of the waste should be developed.
10. Ecologically suitable ocean dumping sites should be developed under the supervision of national authorities.
11. The Industrialists and the entrepreneurs should play a vital role in controlling ocean dumping. They should be more careful about the dangerous hazardous waste substance. They should develop the ways to minimize toxic and noxious elements of waste substance.
12. As a better alternative, there should be a widespread arrangement of marketization of the waste substances controlled by uniform rules and policies among the states.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion we may say that since 1972, when a legal regime for controlling of dumping was first developed, a great progress has been made in the protection of the marine environment from ocean dumping. Since then ocean are no longer left to the option of the people in

whatever way they use it. Despite procedural shortcomings and enforcement difficulties both global and regional Conventions have been able to create awareness among the people at large of the hazardous effect of ocean dumping. It is undeniable that LDC has contributed much to the development of people consciousness about the protection of marine environment from dumping. People have started looking for alternative ways and methods of waste disposal. But it is true that the regimes so far developed are not complete. On the other hand, technology and scientific methods for that purpose are not as advanced as needed. The likelihood of the development of inexpensive and environmentally safe methods for disposal is no less than not in future, if international community unitedly take effort.

At present, all over the world, at the aegis of different governmental and non-governmental organizations, a web has been created for the protection of environment as an ingredient of sustainable development. At this state, national role is more important to protect the environment. So, stronger legislative initiatives as well as social awareness simultaneously can play an effective role in consideration of all practical problems for the protection of ocean from dumping activities.

REFERENCES

1. Afshin-A-khavari, "The 1996 Protocol to the 1972 Convention on the Prevention of Marine Pollution by Dumping of wastes and other matter' Asia Pacific Journal of Environmental Law Vol-2, Issuc-2 p.201.
2. Pw Birnie ^ AE Boyle, Basic Documents on International Law and the Environmental, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995, pp. 175-176.
3. Afshin-A-Khavari, "The 1996 Protocol to the 1972 Convention on the Marine Pollution by Dumping of wastes and other matter, Asia-Pacific Journal of Environmental Law, Vol.-2, issue 2, 1997, p.203.
4. John Warren Kindt, Marine Pollution and the Law of the Sea, Vol.2, William S. Hein & Co., Inc., Buffelo, New York, 1986
5. Edited by John F. Carroll, International Environmental Diplomacy, 1st ed. 1998, Cambridge University Press, p 217.
6. Alan B, Sielen, "Sea changes? Ocean Dumping and International Regulation" Georgetown International Environmental Law Review, Vol.1, issue spring 1988. p.1.
7. International Law Commission Report, 1996, chapter 1.
8. Pilip Allott, "State Responsibility and the Unmaking of International Law" Harvard International Law Journal, Vol.29, No.1, winter 1998, p.12.
9. ILC Report, 1996, chapter 3, p.13, ILC Report 1996, chapter 3, p.13.
10. P. Sands, *Principle of International Environmental Law*, Vol. I, Manchester University Press, 1995, p.186.
11. John Warren Kindt, Marine Pollution and the Law of the Sea, Vol. II, published by William S. Hein & Co., Inc., Buffalo, New York 1986, pp.1125-1126.

12. PW Brine & AE Boyle, *International Law and the Environment*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1992, p. 320.
13. P. Sands, *Principle of International Environment Law*, Vol. I, Manchester University Press, 1995, p. 309.
14. PW Birnie & Boyle, *Basic Documents on International Law & Environment*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995, pp. 183, 184.
15. Alan B. Stelen, "Sea Changes? Ocean Dumping and International Regulation" *Georgetown International Environmental Law Review*, Vol. I, Issue I Spring, p.6.
16. Afshin A-Khavari, "The 1996 Protocol to the 1972 Convention on the Prevention of Marine Pollution by Dumping of Wastes and Other Matter," *Asia Pacific Journal of Environmental Law*, Vol. II Issue II, 1997"
17. PW Birnie & AE Boyle, *International Law and the Environment*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1992, p.324.
18. PW Birnie & AE Boyle, *Basic Documents on International Law and the Environment*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995, p. 178.
19. Edited by Douglas M. Johnstone, *The Environmental Law of the Sea*, Published by IUCN, 1981, p.224.
20. Evans M. *Blackstone's International Law Documents*, 2nd ed., 1994, pp. 308-311.
21. P. Sands, *Principles of International Law*, Vol. I, Manchester University Press, 1995, p. 314.
22. P. Sands, *Principles of International Environmental Law*, Vol. I Manchester University Press, 1995, p. 316.
23. Edited by Alexander Charles Kiss, *Selected Multilateral Treaties in the field of the Environment*, Published by UNEP, 1983, p.407.

24. Edited by Douglas M. Johnston, *The Environmental Law of the Sea*, Erich Schmidt Verlag, Berlin, 1981, p. 227.
25. P Sands, *Principles of International Environmental Law*, Vol. I, Manchester University Press, 1995, pp.310, 311.
26. P Sands, *Principles of International Environmental Law*, Vol. I, Manchester University Press, 1995, p. 311.
27. PW Birnie & Boyle, *International Law and the Environment*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1992, pp. 326-327.
28. PW Birnie & Boyle, *International Law and the Environment*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1992, p. 331.

Hinduization in Full Swing in BJP-Ruled India

MOZAMMEL HAQUE

India's 150 million Muslims lag far behind other communities in literacy, government and private employment, business and industry. More than half of the population lives below the poverty line. The representation of Muslims in government jobs is much below their population percentage. Tahir Mahmood, former Chairman of the Minority Commission, portrays the Muslim plight in these words: "The demographic actuality relating the Muslim presence in India... is not at all reflected in the State policies, practices and programmes or the official statistical data and numerical figures. In the Central, State and Local Self-Governments in statutory and autonomous bodies, in decision making and law enforcing agencies, in public and private undertakings and in the educational and professional institutions of national, regional and local levels, the representation of the Muslims is – by all standards – far from being even remotely proportionate to their national, regional and local population. During these 51 years of Independence, State policies, policy makers' decisions, legislative enactment, governmental actions, and even judicial pronouncements, have made no efforts to ensure in any way that this community actually gets its due in the material resources and the development avenues of the nation."¹

The National Sample Survey of 1988 provides the following figures: (1) A total of 52.3 percent Muslims are below the poverty line (BPL), (2) the monthly income of Muslims is only Rs.150; (3) 50.5 percent Muslims are illiterate; (4) Muslims educated up to High school are 4 per cent; (5) in government services their share is 4.4 percent (6) for starting any business enterprise 3.7 percent Muslims got financial loan (7) 5

Mozammel Haque, Researcher-cum-Editor, *Muslim World League Journal*
Muslim World's League, Makkah, Saudi Arabia.

percent of Muslims got bank loans from the Scheduled banks; (8) among Indian entrepreneurs who got industrial loans, only 2 percent are Muslims. Male illiteracy among the Muslims in 42.4 per cent compared to 25.3 percent among the Hindus. The corresponding figures of female illiteracy are 59.5 and 45.2, respectively. Less than 1 per (0.8) Muslims are graduates while 4.5 percent are Hindus.”²

Indian Muslims that constitute over 12.6 percent of the country’s population are at the crossroads. Since Independence, two events—liberation of Bangladesh in 1971 and demolition of Babri Masjid in December 1992 – left deep scars on their psyche. Till 1967, the Indian Muslims, suffering a sense of guilt for the partition of the country had been generally siding with the ruling party.³ During the 1967 Lok Sabha Elections, for the first time, a number of Muslim organizations came together and presented a nine-point charter of demands. This attracted a large number of Muslims and they, for the first time, voted against the ruling Congress. Incidentally these were the first elections when Congress was dislodged from power in nine states of the country.⁴

During the past two decades, we have seen issues like discrimination against Urdu, attempts at tampering with the minority character of Aligarh Muslim University and fear of interference in Muslim Personal Law dominating the Muslim political thought process. Of course, the communal riots and consequent urge for security of life and property was always a living issue for the Muslim minority of the country.

In the last five decades the country had witnessed whipping up of “anti-Muslim” passion by motivated Hindu groups by falsely propagating that Islam was spread through sword, that Muslim kings destroyed Hindu Temples, that Muslims are more loyal to Pakistan, that they are polygamous and produce more children.⁵

With the rise of the BJP and increasing communal passion all over the country, the representation of Muslims in Parliament and legislative Assemblies has also gone down substantially. This created a certain amount of disenchantment within the community.⁶

It has been the misfortune of the Muslim community that despite its electoral strength it never has any agenda of its own, a separate political manifesto or a prominent leader. In this gloomy situation of uncertainty and helplessness a meeting was convened by Professor Saifuddin Soz, a former Central minister, on 5 June 1999 to suggest an alternative course to remedy the situation. At these deliberations leaders of five participating Muslim organizations of national eminence, namely the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-l-Hind, the Jamaat-e-Islami Hind, All India Milli Council, All India Muslim Personal Law Board and All India Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat, decided to formulate a Muslim agenda in connection with the General Elections in October, 1999 and to place it before the leaders of all major secular parties. The Muslim Agenda came to represent the legitimate aspirations of the second biggest religious community in the country.⁷

The Muslim strength in the last election to Lok Sabha, held in October 1999, from 29 to 32. "Thus, on a state-wise basis, 23% of the Muslim population of the country has no representation in the Lok Sabha, while the rest has thrown up 31 against 54 demographically due,"⁸ *Muslim India* editorially observed.

Atal Behari Vajpayee has the dubious distinction of heading a government which does not have a single Muslim or Sikh Cabinet Minister. It has happened for the first time since the country's independence. In the Council of Ministers, as a whole, out of 71, there are only 2 Ministers of State—Omar Abdullah from the Jammu & Kashmir National Conference which, though not a charter member of the NDA, jumped into the coalition jumbo, and Shah Nawaz Hussain from the only Muslim majority constituency in Bihar, Kishanganj.⁹

“If the 1996 and 1998 Lok Sabha did precious little to address the legitimate aspirations of the Muslims or articulate their problems and grievances, the 1999 did not do any better. The discontent in the Muslims against the self-proclaimed secular parties is growing. Who knows this may crystallize into the formation of a widely desired “Muslim” or “Muslim driven” secular political party, to talk on equal terms and work in close cooperation with other secular parties, not only to stop or reverse the Hindutva Rath but to resolve long ignored inequities,”¹⁰ *Muslim India* editorially remarked.

Here we shall discuss the persistent moves by the BJP government at the Centre to Hinduize Indian Policy, making India a theocratic Hindu state in all aspects.

POLICY OF HINDUIZATION & MUSLIMS

After the formation of the BJP-led government in 1999, the government is actually implementing its own agenda. The BJP’s game plan is crystal clear: It means to impose its own imprint on the country by all means at its disposal. The central pillar of this agenda is culture. There is no denying the fact that there is an intimate relationship between the BJP and the RSS. The RSS created a political party in 1951, the Bharatiya Jan Sangh (later the BJP). It also drafted its most promising *pracharaks* (preachers) to assist the new organization. The three best known were Vajpayee, Advani and Deen Dayal Upadhyaya. The first two are now Prime Minister and Home Minister respectively.¹¹

Ashok Nehru wrote on the BJP and the RSS: “the common goal of the RSS, its parliamentary wing, the BJP, its unparliamentary wings, the VHP and the Bajrang Dal, and its many other front organizations, is to set up a Hindu Rashtra, a Hindu theocratic state... The RSS’s philosophy is that “Hindus alone constitute the Indian nation since they are India’s original inhabitants and sole creators of its tolerant society and culture,

that this tolerance has been mistaken as weakness by other later, religions". And that those religions are dependent on their future well-being on the Hindus, who must not be trifled with. All Indians will have to abide by the rules laid down by the RSS, which is authoritarian like other cadre-based fascist parties, such as the Nazis in Germany."¹²

"As long as the BJP adheres to the philosophy of Hindutva and Cultural Nationalism, so long as it remains the political front of the RSS whose ideology and long-term mission are a negation of our basic concepts, the BJP and those who seek their fortune opportunistically in alliance with it, shall remain an anathema to the Muslims as to the other citizens committed to secularism and democracy," wrote Syed Shaha-buddin, editor, *Muslim India*, on 23, November 1999.¹³

The party's not-so-hidden agenda has begun unfolding, if not at the center, at least in the States where the party holds political sway, particularly Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh. The systematic politicization of the entire State apparatus and saffronisation of education system has begun.¹⁴ If in Uttar Pradesh the Sanskar Bharati, yet another RSS front, has become the self-appointed guardian of Indian culture, the Gujarat government allowed its employees to become members of and to participate in the activities of the RSS. Soon, this new "liberal" regime is to be extended to RSS offspring such as the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, the Sanskar Bharati and the Bajrang Dal. Later under pressure from opposition, the Gujarat Government rescinded the order.

Besides giving a helping hand to the RSS, the BJP is known to be tampering with the school textbooks, introducing biases against the minorities in accordance with its attitudes.¹⁵ The saffronisation in the education and administration level has already been started.

HINDUIZATION OF EDUCATION

The BJP has continuously acted upon the plan to saffronize the educational system with a view to brainwash and Hinduize the Muslim children. The education department in Uttar Pradesh has instituted a series of measures towards the saffronization of education in the state to make the recitation of Saraswati Vandana and Vande Mataram compulsory. The aim of the scheme is to orient all state run schools in UP along the lines of the RSS run Saraswati Shishu and Bal Vidya mandirs. The contents of the scheme is to Hinduizing education and educational institutions.¹⁶

There is little rationale for imposing compulsory recitation of Saraswati Vandana without creating an accompanying understanding what these symbols referred to in the hymn imply. Making Saraswati Vandana recitation compulsory is an infringement of the rights of non-Hindu religious minorities. Since a secular state is expected to be neutral in matters of religion, then certainly Saraswati Vandana is inappropriate in state run schools because of its implicit religious connotations.¹⁷

Nobel Prize winner poet, Rabindranath Tagore, who was the first to sing it at an early session of the Calcutta Congress, conceded that the poem, read together with its context, was liable to offend Muslim susceptibilities. Because this song reflects a Hindu ethos in which the country is equated with the 'mother goddess': "Today, if some leaders of the minority communities express their disquiet, I see no reason why their feelings and sentiments should be brushed aside. At any rate, a secular state has no business to make Muslim, Sikh and Christian students sing any song against their wishes. This is the essence of any secular democracy."¹⁸

Elucidating the Muslims' disillusionment with the RSS inspired BJP policy, Syed Shahabuddin wrote in *Muslim India* editorially, "The BJP

has tried to saffronise the educational system with a view to brainwash and Hinduise the Muslim children. The BJP has curbed large scale communal violence no doubt but created a communal environment in which a Muslim Indian becomes a helpless spectator, when his graveyard is occupied, when he is prevented from building a mosque on his own land, when his religion, his Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) and the Holy Quran are vilified in print and in words, when he is forced to build a Hanuman Temple for a monkey he accidentally kills, when his madaras and masjids are labeled as dens of the ISI (Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence)."¹⁹

RSS AND THE GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

The RSS ideology and its long term mission are based on the writings of Golwalkar (Founder and first President of the RSS). RSS then and now endeavours to impose "Hindu identity" over all things Indian. It stands for and preaches Hindu nationalism, not Indian nationalism; it teaches its members to treat non-Hindu citizens as foreigners and as adversaries; it tries, through brainwashing, to create a Hindu mindset which looks upon history as a continuing struggle of the Hindus vs the non-Hindus, it rejects age-old cultural synthesis and jeers at non-Hindu elements in the composite Indian culture and tries to efface all traces thereof. It is the antithesis of what an Indian cultural organization should be.²⁰

The BJP is guided by the RSS philosophy of lambasting the Muslims, Christians and Communists as India's internal enemies.²¹ Gujarat is the BJP's model state and with its vast cadre network and clear majority in government it is the testing ground for the entire RSS family. The latest attempt to saffronize the state was the lifting of the ban on government employees joining the RSS.²² The RSS, which had been on the banned list since 1986 along with 30 other fundamentalist organizations, thus got an opportunity to infiltrate public administration.

The revelation by the Gujarat Home Minister that this was done with the sanction of the Centre only underlined the culpability of the Centre in this move.²³ Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee first justified the withdrawal by the government of Gujarat of the ban on public servants to join or participate in the activities of the RSS and certified the RSS as a 'social and cultural organisation' and 'not a political outfit.' All secular citizens would, with due respect to the Prime Minister, reject this Character Certificate.²⁴

RSS is political to the core. It sets up its political arm; Jana Sangh, in the fifties and handpicked half a dozen RSS "Pracharaks" for the job. Almost the entire top brass of the BJP belongs to the RSS. Mass infiltration by RSS volunteers in the Police Force, or permitting policemen to become its members will further communalise the police force and make it totally partisan in tackling any communal outbreak. Allowing teachers to openly flaunt their RSS ideology and membership while teaching is to condition the young outlook. This will spell disaster to the secular fabric of the country. All this is to invite open intervention of the RSS in the administration.²⁵

Kuldip Nayar wrote: "The RSS has never deviated from its goal of establishing a Hindu Rashtra in India. Not only that, the Hindutva is its philosophy and it misses no opportunity to underline it....As India's Home Minister, he (Advani) has to be seen to be distant from the RSS, which adheres to a policy that runs counter to the principle of secularism as enshrined in the Constitution."²⁶

India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote to the state chief ministers: "Every provincial government has had plenty of experience of their (RSS) activities. One does not mind, or at any rate accepts an opponent. But it is distressing that any organization consisting of large number of young men, should be so utterly little-minded and lacking in not only vision but in commonsense or common understanding. The RSS

is typical in this respect of the type of organization that grew up in various parts of Europe in support of fascism. It attracts people, essentially from the lower middle class, many of them frustrated, many of them with vague ideas and little thought behind them."²⁷

The move by the Government of Gujarat was a serious blow to the professionalism integrity and the religious neutrality of the administration.²⁸ According to civil service rules, government servants are not allowed to be members of any political parties or have anything to do with 16 banned organizations.²⁹ If the administrative machinery was manned by personnel who owed allegiance to the RSS and whose mindset was formed by its *Shakhas* and its literature and whose actions were controlled by the RSS, not only the religious minorities but the other deprived sections of the people would lose their faith in the administration.³⁰ The move created a nationwide furore, the opposition stalled proceedings in Parliament and the Gujarat Government had to withdraw the order lifting ban on government employees joining the RSS.

UP RELIGIOUS PLACES BILL

The hasty passage of the UP Regulation of Public Religious Buildings and Places Bill, 2000, by the UP Assembly and the UP Council on 5 & 6 January 2000, without any discussion and by voice vote has distressed, agonized and shocked the religious minorities in UP, particularly the Muslim community, which constitutes 17% of the population of the State and 23% of the Muslim population of India and given rise to countrywide protest and demand for its withdrawal.³¹ This Bill gives enormous powers to district magistrates to prevent construction of temples, mosques and churches in rural areas. This has been justified citing growing ISI activities on the UP-Nepal border. It was a virtual admission that the law will mostly be used to stop construction of mosques. National security has become the Government's alibi. "The real object of the Bill is to stop the construction of Masjids and Madrasahs in the rural areas."³²

Publicly, the Bill has been justified by the Chief Minister of UP and his colleagues as a measure to curb the ISI activities on the Indo-Nepal border by regulating the use and construction of Masjids and Madarsas. It needs to be placed on record that so far no Masjid or Madrasa has been prosecuted by the State authorities for involvement with the ISI. In any case, the State has the necessary power and authority to deal with any subversive or anti-national activities.³³

The real object of the Bill is to stop the construction of Masjids and Madarsas in rural areas and to force the existing ones to close down as well as to vilify the Muslim community and thus raise the wall of distrust and suspicion against a peaceful and law-abiding people, i.e., to promote the on-going mission of the Sangh Parivar.³⁴

The Bill gives unbridled sweeping powers to the State government "to ensure public security "as its only reason. The real reason is to strengthen their Hindutva plank and stop the expansion of both Islam and Christianity.³⁵

All minority communities in general and the Muslim community in particular, are greatly perturbed at this development. They, therefore, strongly condemn the Bill as passed by the UP Legislature and request the governor of UP not to give his assent to the proposed draconian Bill which contravenes the Constitution of India. Representatives of prominent Muslim organizations including Jamaat-e-Islami, Jamiat Ulema-l-Hind, All India Muslim Majlise-Mushawarat, Movement for Empowerment of Muslim Indians, All India Shia Conference and prominent Muslim personalities held a meeting to consider the grave consequences arising out of the Bill proposed to be enacted in UP, viz., UP Public Religious Building and Places Regulation Act.³⁶

Tens of thousand of Muslims held a massive protest in New Delhi recently where more than 50,000 Muslims, who see the proposed law as

a bid by the UP government – controlled by Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee's Hindu extremist Bharatiya Janata Party – to restrict their religious freedom, attended the demonstration. The Muslim leader said that any attempt to promote a right wing Hindu revivalist agenda through "subversive measures", such as the proposed legislation, would "endanger the very unity and integrity" of India.³⁷

BLASPHEMY

Muslim India begins writing editorially with the sentence, "Under the benign protective umbrella of the RSS-controlled BJP-led Vajpayee government, there has been a spate of vilification against the Holy Qur'an and the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) and a spurt in demonisation of Islam and Indian Muslims. This is particularly rampant in BJP-controlled States like UP, Maharashtra and Gujarat."³⁸

The recent vituperation against the Holy Qur'an by the VHP/Bajrang Dal leader Vinay Katiyar is the latest in the long chain. Mr. Katiyar had reportedly said that as long as the Qur'an existed on earth, there could be no truce between India and Pakistan.³⁹

"Not long ago an ill-conceived petition was filed before the Calcutta High Court by some Chopra seeking a ban on the Holy Qur'an. Fortunately, it was rejected by the High Court but an obnoxious statement against the Qur'an by a Delhi Magistrate still stands, because, despite request by some Muslim MPs, the Central Government (with Sardar Buta Singh as the then Minister of Home Affairs), preferred to look the other way and ignore the ex-cathedra pronouncement,"⁴⁰ editorially remarked by *Muslim India*.

It continues, "A leaflet quoting some verses and parts thereof from the Holy Qur'an taken out of context continues to be printed in Delhi by

a Forum of Hindu Writers and distributed widely. It has been brought to the attention of the Central government without any action. Articles in the RSS and the VHP's official journals castigating Islam, the Quran and the Noble Prophet are regularly published without let or hindrance. The Shariah, specially the Muslim Personal Law, remains a favourite target of these biased Hindu sections."⁴¹

In the recent past, the Madrassas and the Masajids in general were pilloried as dens of the ISI. They were portrayed as arsenals and as training centers for terrorists. That is why while Mandirs sprout like the monsoon green everywhere, a Masjid cannot be built even, if you own the land, or a Madrasah established, without overcoming official resistance.⁴²

Recently there was a shower of abuses and brickbats on the campus of the Dal-ul-Uloom Nadwaul-Ulema in Lucknow by the activists of the RSS' student front, Akhil Bharatiya Vidhyarthi Parishad, naturally without any punitive action by the Central or state governments. This was preceded by a baseless propaganda against the late, internationally revered theologian Maulana Syed Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, who is the Rector of the Institution, questioning his patriotism. Earlier, the Nadwa was searched for catching a Kashmiri militant. Then Maulana's family seat in Rai Bareilly was invaded at the dead of night and searched.⁴³

Arun Shourie, who has vilified the Muslim Ulema and mocked at Muslim's faith in the Holy Qur'an, has been elevated to the Ministership. His inclusion in the Council of Ministers is yet another evidence of the current of anti-minorityism which permeates through the mind and structure of the BJP-led government.⁴⁴

Muslim India editorially commented, "All these have indeed aggravated the sense of insecurity in the mind of Muslim Indians. If revered

institutions like Nadwa and eminent scholar like Ali Mian can be targeted with impunity and the perpetrators can get away with it, which Muslim or which Muslim institution is safe 'from the storm-troopers' of Hindu fascism?"⁴⁵

ASSAM DISTURBANCES AND MUSLIMS

The motley rebel groups of the outlawed United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland, Manipur People's Liberation Front and the Tripura People's Democratic Front have been carrying on their respective separatist movements for more than two decades. The ULFA has been fighting for self-rule in Assam since 1979. It accuses the federal government of exploiting the state's mineral resources and ignoring the needs of the local people. 10,000 people have been killed in separatist-linked violence in Assam over the past two decades. Similarly, three separatist militant groups are active in Tripura, who are fighting for an independent homeland carved out of Tripura. Insurgency has claimed over 10,000 lives in the last 20 years in the state.⁴⁶

For these disturbances and sporadic unrest, India routinely accuses Pakistan and its intelligence outfit, Inter-Services Intelligence, (ISI) of fomenting trouble and unrest in the North East. Indian Security Forces in Assam not only said the current wave of separatist activity is being fuelled by Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence Agency but also arrested four Pakistani intelligence agents accused of planning attacks on a strategic road in northern Kashmir. Assam Chief Minister Prafulla Kumar Mahanta told reporters that the four were members of Pakistan's Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI), which has strong links with the outlawed ULFA.⁴⁷

The Union Home Ministry sees the ISI network in western UP, North Kerala, Tamil Nadu, the Indo-Bangladesh border and Assam besides J&K. UP government organizes campaign of calumny against

Masjids and Madrasas and 'finds' ISI active in 23 districts and all along Indo-Nepal border.⁴⁸

Frontal Muslim organizations in Assam and the ruling Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) have locked horns over an allegation that some madrasas (Islamic schools) were helping Pakistan's ISI spread its tentacles in the state. The allegation was made by the army after the arrest of two Pakistani ISI officers and two militants of the Harkat-ul-Mujahideen in Guwahati on August 7, 1999. "To say that all madrasas are helping the ISI is an insult to the community. If there is enough evidence, the army should publish the list of such institutions, and the government should bring out a white paper on the issue," said Hafiz Rashid A. Choudhury, President of the United Minorities Front. Maulana Abdul Haque, general secretary of the radical Jamiat Ulema-e-Hind, was hurt that the army had doubts over 'our integrity'. Besides imparting Islamic lessons, the madrasas inculcate nationalism and patriotism in the students, he said.⁴⁹

CONCLUSION

The BJP has come to power on the strength of only 25% of the national electorate, even after jettisoning the contentious baggage and taking on board the enemies of yesterday. Indeed, in a sense, the present government is essentially a saffron tinted replica of the Janata experiment of 1977, with the helmsman wearing a different ideological cap-Hindu nationalism!

One has to consider the record of the BJP which rose to power in India. There is no match elsewhere of its record of intimidation, destabilization and violence. Kanti Bajpai, Associate Professor of International Politics at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, wrote: in 1991, the demolition of the Babri Masjid in 1992, the attacks on Muslims in Mumbai after the Babri demolition, the vandalisation of cricket pitches, the attacks on Christians, the enumeration of Christians in Delhi by the

local police, the threats to cultural personalities (Husain over the paintings, Dilip Kumar during Kargil, Deepa Mehta for her films), the rewriting of text books and curricula, the calls to outlaw western-style clothing for Indian girls in Delhi schools and universities, the threat to overturn well-accepted norms (on religious conversion, on places and practises of worship in UP, on RSS membership for civil servants, on the sanctity of Article 370 and the basic structure of the Constitution), the maintenance of intimidatory organizations such as the RSS, VIP, and the Bajrang Dal – the lists go on.”⁵⁰

Dedicated to its ideology of Hindutva, the RSS and its parliamentary arm, BJP, will not give up its ultimate objective of Hinduizing the Indian society and polity. The process of saffronization is beginning to bloom in the only state, Gujarat, where the ruling Bharatiya Janata (BJP) is not saddled with allies. The saffronization of education, culture, information and public administration has already begun in UP and Gujarat.

This was to happen once the BJP came to power. Long before the General Elections, 1999, Syed Shahabuddin, editor, *Muslim India*, editorially cautioned the secular voters, both Muslim and non-Muslims: “Muslim Indians must realize that the RSS represents the Brahminical Order which is facing a crisis. Any support by a section of the Muslim Indians, which helps the BJP win a seat, in an act of betrayal of the common cause. It is more than that it is suicide. The secular voters, the Muslim and the non-Muslim alike, should not allow themselves to be taken in and entrapped by this soft and gentle approach, by charm and friendliness. They should remember that the leopard does not change its spot, that once in power, the Sangh Parivar can throw away the National Agenda of Governance, even change the Constitution on the lines of the draft Hindu Constitution already in circulation.”⁵¹

The cat is coming out of the bag. To quote from the same writer: “The growing pressure by the hard core of the RSS and its front

organizations like the VHP and the Bajrang Dal became evident for accelerating the pace of saffronization of administration, for imposing the Sangh approved cultural norms on the people of the country, for taking a hard line against ISI (read Muslims), the foreign missions (read Christians) and Pakistan.”⁵²

REFERENCES

1. Tahir Mahmood on Empowerment of Muslim Indians in *Muslim India*, New Delhi, No.203, November, 1999, p. 501 and see also *Al-Harmony*, July-September, 1999.
2. Partha Ghosh, “BJP and the Evolution of Hindu Nationalism: From Periphery to Centre,” published in *Muslim India*, 204, December 1999, p. 548.
3. Shameem Faizee on Indian Muslims and their Problems, *The New Age*, 20-26 June, 1999 and see also *Muslim India*, 200, August, 1999, p. 346.
4. Ibid.
5. *Muslim India*, 203, November 1999, p. 513 and see also P.R. Ram, *The Indian Currents*, 13-19 September 1999.
6. *The Meantime*, Bangalore, 11 August 1999.
7. *Muslim India*, 200, August 1999, pp. 351-352.
8. *Muslim India*, 203, November 1999, p. 483.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. *The Hindu*, 5 October 1999.
12. Quoted in the article written by Ashok Nehru on the BJP and the RSS, published in *The Hindu*, cited above.
13. Syed Shahabuddin’s letter to the Nation and the World on 23 November 1999.
14. See for details about the Saffronisation of Education policy, Sukumar Muralidharan and S.K. Pande, *Taking Hindutva to School*”, *Frontline*, Chennai, India, Vol.15, No.22, November 20, 1998, pp. 4-17.
15. Amulya Ganguli wrote on the BJP’s unfolding Agenda in *The Hindustan Times*, 7 February 2000 and see also *Muslim India*, 207, March 2000, p. 108.

16. Report on Saffronisation in UP schools published in *The Indian Currents*, 13-19 September 1999 and see also *Muslim India*, 205, January 2000, p. 27.

17. "Contrary to Vajpayee's assurances on the BJP's hidden agenda, the Hindutva brigade is bent on twisting history to its advantage. Not only is it fixing historians for opposing its views but it is also tinkering with school curriculum," said Nora Chopra in "Politics of History" *Meantime*, Bangalore, Vol. I, Issue 25, January 21, 2000, pp. 6-10.

18. Mushirul Hasan wrote on Vande Mataram Controversy in *The Indian Express*, 9 February 2000.

19. Editorial, *Muslim India*, 198, June 1999, p. 291.

20. "With its decision to allow government employees to participate in the activities of the RSS, the BJP government in Gujarat has shed all its secular pretensions," wrote V. Venkatesan in "Beyond a ban", *Frontline*, February 4, 2000, pp. 47-48.

21. *Muslim India*, 205, January 2000, p. 79.

22. Gujarat Lifts ban on RSS, editorial, *The Statesman*, 10 January, 2000 and "Despite denials by its top leaders, the Bharatiya Janata Party

23. Derives its strength, ideology and inspiration from the RSS. And the ruling party is exploiting its new found acceptance and clout to legitimize the parent organization and its goal of Hindu Rashtra," said Faraz Ahmad in his article, "Know Your RSS", in *Meantime*, March 1, 2000, pp. 8-13.

24. CPI : Central Secretariat's Statement dated 5 January 2000 published in *Muslim India*, 207, March 2000, pp. 8-13.

25. Insaf Morcha Statement dated 8 February 2000 published in *Muslim India*, 207, March 2000. p. 103.

26. CPI : Central Secretariat's Statement dated 5 January 2000, published in *Muslim India*, 207, March 2000, p. 113.

27. Kuldip Nayar wrote on the Suffronisation of the Indian State in *The Indian Express*, 18 January 2000, and also see *Muslim India*, 207, March 2000, p. 104.

28. Kuldip Nayar quoted the Nehru's statement in his article published in *The Indian Express*, 18 January 2000.

29. Insaf Morcha Statement dated 8 February 2000 published in *Muslim India*, op.cit.

30. "Gujarat Lifts Ban on RSS", Editorial, *The Statesman*, 10 January 2000.

31. Insaf Morcha Statement. op.cit.

32. Memorandum to President of India on 7 February 2000 published in *Muslim India*, 207, March 2000, p. 113.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. *Frontline*, Vol.17, No.2, February 2, 2000 pp. 36-37.
37. *Saudi Gazette*, 16 April 2000.
38. Ibid.
39. *Muslim India*, 200, August 1999, p. 338.
40. *Muslim India*, 202, October 1999, p. 455.
41. Editorial, *Muslim India*, 200, August 1999, p. 338.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. *Qalam Weekly* (Bengali), Calcutta, Vol.18, No.39, 25-31 July 1999, p. 1.
45. Syed Shahabuddin's Letter to the Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee dated 25 November 1999, published in *Muslim India*, 205, January 2000, p. 5.
46. Editorial, *Muslim India*, 200, August 1999, p. 338.
47. Dr. Mozammel Haque, *Saudi Gazette*, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, 27 January 2000.
48. Dr. Mozammel haque, "Myth of Separatist Movement in Eastern States of India," *Muslim World Weekly, Muslim World League*, Makkah al-Mukarramah, 31 January 2000.
49. *Qalam*, Bengali Weekly, Vol.19, No.8, 12-18 December 1999, p. 1.
50. *Muslim India*, 202, October 1999, p. 457 and see *The Week*, 5 September 1999.
51. Kanti Bajpai on Upsurge of Rightwing Extremism in India published in *The Hindustan Times*, 13 February 2000 and see also *Muslim India*, 207, March 2000, p. 106.
52. Syed Shahabuddin, *Muslim India*, 199, July 1999, p. 291.
53. Syed Shahabuddin, *Arab News*, Jeddah, 11 April 2000.

Structural Adjustment Policies and Household Coping Strategies

KHADIJA ALI

Abstract

This paper examines the strategies adopted by urban households¹ to cope with increasing cost of living resulted from the measures taken by the government of Pakistan to fulfil the conditionality of loans gained from the World Bank and IMF under Structural Adjustment Programmes. The majority of households in the study area were found trying their best to adjust their budgets in response to the economy's adjustment process at the national level. The paper concludes that the burden of this process is unequally distributed by affecting those households the most that are least able to absorb it.

I

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the impact of SAPs on household economy in small towns in Pakistan by presenting the city, Muzafferabad, the capital of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. The period under consideration is from 1993-1996, since the survey was conducted in 1996. Although Pakistan has been adopted Structural Adjustment Programmes from early 1980s, the conditions related with Structural Adjustment Loans (SALs) were not too harsh until the early 1990s. Also, Pakistan was able to refuse for any aid provided by the IMF and World Bank on strict conditions, because of its better economic condition and substantial inflow of foreign remittances from Pakistani workers abroad during the 1980s. The situation was different in the 1990s. Therefore, the country had to adopt austere economic policies under the strict conditionalities of the IMF and World Bank. The result of these policies has negatively affected employment level in the public sector along with a fall in real wages and an increase in the cost of living (Ali, 1999).

Khadija Ali, Assistant Professor, Kashmir Institute of Development Studies, University of Azad Jammu Kashmir, Muzaffarabad, Azad Kashmir.

The attempts of any government to adjust the deficit in national budget through austerity measures result in disruption in the household economy by increasing in the cost of living and reducing employment opportunities in the public sector. Therefore the households also have to adjust their budgets according to new economic conditions. In this way, as argued in the paper, adjustment in any economy at its macro level depends on the positive response of the households expected to bear the burden of this process by using all of their resources—human and Capital—to their full capacity. While households have no choice but to cope with state/world initiated trends that may undermine the stability of their financial position by increasing economic risk and reducing people's control over productive processes. In addition, structural adjustment policies force families to absorb the cost of survival, by shifting it from state to households, as a consequence of cut-backs in social services, and the elimination of subsidies on food, transportation, and utilities (Safa and Antrobus, 1992). As a result, household production of non-marketed goods and services also takes place as an invisible segment of the economy because of market incompleteness and market failures, especially in the developing countries (Flor, 1995). In this way all resources in the economy—at its macro as well as at micro level—are made available to share in the neo-classical development model presented by the Bretton Wood Institutions.

The main objective of this study is to explore the impacts of resource reallocation process adopted by the households in Pakistan to cope with external shocks on their economies by asking : how are the households coping under these circumstances? What kind of 'strategies' or 'mechanisms' are they using for their survival? How coping strategies differ between poor and relatively better off households? For how long will poor households be able to adjust to this situation?

The paper has been organized into six sections including the present one. The *second* section describes the methodology used to collect and

sample data for the study. The *third* section explains how the adjustment policies affected the cost of living in Pakistan. The *fourth* section examines the effect of rising prices and declining real wages on household budgets. The *fifth* section analyses the strategies adopted by the households to cope with changing conditions of their economies. The last section concludes the findings of the study.

II METHODOLOGY

The questions raised in the paper have been investigated by using a detailed information collected by a survey of 154 women and in-depth interviews of 17 women and men working in different income and occupation groups in Muzaffarabad. Out of the total population of working women² (1220) in the formal sector³, 10 per cent (122) was selected for the sample. The target population was divided and listed under four income groups,⁴ to provide a stratified random sample. Each group in the sample was to conform to its share of the total population, i.e., 10 per cent from each sub-group of the related population. In this way the whole population was organized into relatively homogeneous subsets to select the appropriate number of elements from each subset. On the basis of the relative proportion of the population represented by a given income group, the number of elements from that group, consisting of the proportion of the desired sample size, was then selected systematically with a random start.

It was very difficult to sample women who were working in the informal sector, such as home-workers or domestic helpers. For this purpose two out of five areas, where these women were concentrated, were randomly selected and the maximum approachable number (32) of these women was surveyed / interviewed.

Combined with a structured questionnaire, open-ended interviews were also used to get the detailed information from female and male respondents, how they conceived their economic situation, how their

situation differed from their previous circumstance, and how they negotiated for resources during times when the cost of living increased. Respondents were asked to discuss in detail how they actually negotiated their changing resource base to ensure everyday survival. In addition, the use for a combination of different methods proved helpful in focusing the study not only on outcomes and observed behaviour but also on the process by which people respond to and create their own conditions according to the changing circumstances.

2.1 Sample Characteristics

According to the table given below average household size in the sample is 7.2 with 2.7 average income sources. From total population of the sample, 41.6 per cent of the households has extended family system.

TABLE I
General Characteristics of the Sample

Household Income Group (Monthly Average)	Household Size	Average Income Sources	Extended Families Percentage	No of Cases	Percentage
Under Rs. 3,000	6.3	1.8	27	26	16.9
Rs. 3,001 to Rs6000	6.9	2.4	31	32	20.8
Rs. 6001 to Rs12000	7.1	2.7	41	41	26.6
Rs. 12001 to Rs24000	7.1	2.9	46	37	24.0
Above Rs. 24001	9.4	4.1	72	18	11.7
For Entire Population	7.2	2.7	41.6	154	100

Source : *Fieldwork*.

The lowest income group in Table I has the smallest household size. With the increasing size of household the level of income is also increasing. The increasing income sources (column 3) seem to be the

main reason of this relationship, that may be the result of increasing percentage of households having extended family system (column 4) with increasing level of income.

A recent study based on the *Household Integrated Economic Survey (HIES) 1992-93*, has categorized urban households with an income level of Rs. 6000 or above as the upper-income group and households with Rs.2500-6000 as middle-income and with less than Rs.2500 below the poverty line (Kemal and Mehmood, 1997). According to this categorization, the sample in present study includes 66 per cent of the households belonging to the upper-income group, 23 per cent to the middle-income and 11 per cent to below poverty line (Appendix A). While at national level 23 per cent of urban households belonged to the upper-income group,⁵ 49 per cent the middle income-group, and 28 per cent were below the poverty line in 1992-93 (Appendix B).

To compare the impact on households with different income levels the number of households has been divided into five income groups in present study (Table 1). According to the categorization given by Kemal and Mahmood (1997), the first two income groups, given in the above Table represent the majority of the poor and middle income groups at national level (77 per cent in Appendix B), while the last three, stand for the higher income (23 per cent) groups. It is important, therefore, to exercise extreme caution while generalizing the findings of the study for overall urban households.

III

STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT POLICIES (SAPs) AND INCREASING COST OF LIVING IN PAKISTAN

Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) were introduced in Pakistan in the early 1980s when the IMF was called by the Martial Law government of that time to help the country to overcome its fiscal crisis created by the internal and external shocks of the 1970s. Since then the

IMF has been present in Pakistan with its conditionalities in turn of loans. During the 1980s, the emphasis of the policies was on :

1. Reducing fiscal deficits and government borrowing from the banking system.
2. The elimination for exchange controls and trade restrictions.
3. Improving public sector institutions and strengthening the incentives for private sector participation.
4. Increasing efficiency in the key sectors of agriculture, industry and energy.
5. Attaining price stability without affecting economic growth (Mc Cleary, 1991; Bilquees, 1987).

Major reforms adopted by different governments in response to these policies included the de-linking of the Pakistani rupee from the US dollar in 1982, followed by price deregulation for a large number of products, denationalization of industries, liberalization of imports, and export enhancement schemes. The basic objective of these reforms was to expand the role of the private sector in the production and distribution of goods and services by utilizing resources in a competitive and more efficient way.

To use the loans provided in the 1990s set targets were imposed by the IMF to restore the resource balance including a reduction in budget deficit, current-account deficit, inflation, and debt services to certain levels. Recommended policy reforms to achieve these targets were focused on further deregulation, liberalization, and privatization of the economy. The government initiated various measures to achieve these targets, including the introduction of a General Sales Tax (GST), the

removal of tax exemptions, and measures to restrain expenditure. But this was not an easy task for a democratic government to adopt these tough measures, to achieve all the targets within a very short time. As a result, the loans were postponed by the IMF, forcing the government to re-negotiate them with more stringent conditionalities and at more expensive rates of interest.⁶

Faced with this situation, the Bhutto⁷ Government (1993-96) was under continuous pressure to devalue the rupee and impose a tough new budget package to avert a possible foreign currency crisis and regain favour with the IMF which had been questioning the reliability of the government's accounting. As a result, the government had to announce a controversial austerity and tax package of economic structural reforms to collect Rs.40 billion just three months after the 1996 budget.⁸

The measures taken by the government resulted in a sharp price-increase in basic foodstuffs, petrol and kerosene and were greeted with outrage by the people who took to the streets in massive demonstrations and demanded the withdrawal of the package. Under these circumstances the government was forced to stand down as the opposition and business community announced large-scale strikes and agitation. Consequently Bhutto's Government once popular among the people progressively lost its popularity due to raging inflation and unreasonable taxes.

But the change in government did not bring any change in the policies related to the conditionalities of foreign aid and their effect on people in the country. The new government⁹ also tried to prove its loyalty to the IMF so as to obtain more loans. The government successfully negotiated loans at 0.5 per cent interest under the IMF Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF) for 1997-2000 and an Extended Fund Facility (EFF) of the IMF at a 4.5 per cent rate of interest. The government and aid donors believed that the short-term demand management policies since 1993 had proved counter-productive. But new long-term adjustment programmes with cheap loans will help to reduce imbalances in the economy by bringing about real structural changes.

After two decades of adjustment, the successive governments in Pakistan could not solve high budget and current account deficit problem. Instead, the attempts to reduce the imbalances from the economy have increased inflation and reduced the real wages. The average annual rate of increase in the Consumer Price Index (CPI) was 11.30 per cent in the first six years of the 1990s as compared with 7.34 per cent in the 1980s.¹⁰ The unofficial rate of inflation is over 20 per cent (Pakistan link, 1997). This situation is alarming for a country, which has experienced price stability with low inflation for the last four decades, with the exception of few years in the 1970s.¹¹

According to Naqvi, Khan, Ahmed, and Siddiqui, (1994)¹² the main causes of this surge in inflation are : (a) an increases in the prices of food, raw materials, fuel, and manufactured goods; (b) inflationary expectations and; (c) the growth-rate of the money supply in relation to GDP. The first two causes show the consequences of continuous devaluation, a reduction in subsidies, and an increase in indirect taxes recommended by the IMF. The third cause is related to government policy of compensating public deficits in the budget. Hasan, Khan, Pasha, and Rasheed, (1995) support the findings of Naqvi, et al., by emphasizing that external prices and the government tax policy contributed significantly to the rising prices of manufactured products and raw materials.

According to Hassan, et al., imported inflation and rising inflationary expectations were the components of rising current inflation, however the principal factors of this surge in price level were : (a) the rise in the administered prices of fuel, gas and electricity; and (b) an increase in indirect taxes, largely by general sales-tax in the 1994-95 budget, which afterwards tended to produce a spiraling effect. Many of these actions, as Hassan, et al., claim, have been accepted as part of the agreement with the IMF on ESAF. The important reasons of an increase in cost of living in Pakistan, according to the 1996-97 Annual Report of State Bank of

Pakistan, are (a) the rise in gas and electricity rates, (b) the imposition of central excise duty at 10 per cent on gas distribution, (c) an increase in support prices of various agricultural commodities, (d) the upward revision in petrol prices, (e) the imposition of a withholding tax and service tax, and (f) the withdrawal of subsidies on basic food items.

In addition to inflation, a rapid reduction in real wages has also been a very serious problem for the people of Pakistan in recent years. There is no official data to provide information about changes in real income in the country in the 1990s. Hence the data about annual average increase in per capita income and annual average increase in the consumer price index (CPI) during the 1990s, 1980s and 1970s (Table 2) has been used to get an idea about the changes in real wages over this period.

TABLE 2
Percentage Changes in Consumer Price Index
and Per Capita Income Over Time

	1970s	1980s	1991-96
Annual Average Increase in CPI	12.3	7.3	11.3
Annual Average Increase in Per Capita Income	2.5	2.4	0.9

Source : *Economic Survey (1997)*

According to Table 2, the annual average increase in per capita income is less than one per cent in the period of 1991-96 as compared with a 2.4 per cent increase in the 1980s. The increase in the price level, on the other hand, is very high (11.3 per cent) in the former as compared with 7.3 per cent) the later period. The sharp increase in CPI combined with a deceleration in the increase in per capita income provides sufficient evidence of deterioration in the real wages in Pakistan over this period. The table also reveals that the state of real wages was much better

during the 1970s compared to the 1990s since the annual increase in per capita income was almost three times higher in the former period as compared to the latter.

IV ADJUSTMENT AND HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY

Due to the increasing cost of living and a fall in real incomes during the 1990s, 90 per cent of the households in the study area were found negatively affected. The intensity of this effect differed according to the household's level of income as set out in the following table.

TABLE 3
Budget Distortion by Households Income Group

Budget Position	Under Rs.3,000		Rs.3001 to Rs.6,000		Rs.6001 to Rs.12000		Rs.12001 to Rs.24000		Above Rs.24001		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Negative	25	88	31	97	38	93	32	86	15	83	139	90
No. Change	3	12	1	3	3	7	5	14	3	18	15	10
Total	26	100	32	100	41	100	37	100	18	10	154	10

Source : *Field Survey*.

The information given in Table 3 indicates that the percentage of households experiencing negative effects in their budgets is less in the lowest income group as compared to the other two lower middle income groups (second and third income groups). This may be explained by the fact that an increase in the price of many consumer goods, as also described by Woodward (1992), usually has less impact on the poorest households as they have limited access to them even before the adjustment process. According to the table, the greatest burden of the price increase has been found in households in the lower middle class (Rs.3001 to 6000) because these households might have access to basic consumer goods and services such as, electricity, gas, transport, education, etc., at official prices.

TABLE 4
Household's Budgets Affected by an Increase in
Food, Fuel, Electricity, Education and Transport Expenses

Changes Household Budgets	Food Expense		Fuel Expense		Electricity Expense		Education Expense		Transport Expense	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Negative Change	100	65	109	71	125	81	45	29	22	14
No Change	54	35	45	29	29	19	109	71	132	86
Total	154	100	154	100	154	100	154	100	154	100

Source : *Field Survey*.

Table 4 explains how the price increase in three very basic consumption items, i.e., food, fuel¹³, and electricity, has played an important role in distorting households budgets. The percentage of negatively affected households was 65 for food, 71 for fuel, and 81 for electricity. This situation was the result of an increase in the prices of food items, upward revision in the prices of petroleum owing to its linkage with international market prices and an increase in the cost of production due to increase in sales tax rates, and devaluation, as discussed earlier.

Although a budget crisis has negatively affected almost all households included in the sample, the degree of affordability of the increasing cost of living varied among them as shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5
Degree of Affordability of Increasing Households Expenses

Degree of Affordability	No.	Percentage
Not Affordable	34	22.0
Very Difficult to Afford	42	27.5
Not Easy to Afford	42	27.5
Affordable	36	23.0
Total	154	100

Source : *Field Survey*.

The table illustrates that 23 per cent (36) of the households were able to cope with rising prices, while the majority (77 per cent, i.e., 118) experienced varying difficulties in making ends meet. Twenty two per cent (34) of the households found it difficult to survive on their own resources. For that reason, they had to rely on loans from their friends, relatives and shopkeepers and were worried about the increasing size of their loans and their repayment. A further 27.5 per cent (42) of the households were living hand to mouth. They had used up all of their savings and many of them had started to acquire loans just in order to service and were worried about their future. For the remaining 27.5 per cent (42) it was not as easy to run their budgets as it had been a few years previously. These households were trying to survive in a respectable way without depending on loans. In so doing, they had either to use their savings or try to adjust to their own limited resources by minimising their needs.

How the degree of affordability of increasing cost of living was different for the households with different income groups can be seen in the following table.

TABLE 6
Degree of Affordability of Increasing Household
Expenses by Income Groups

Degree of Affordability	Under Rs.3000 to		Rs.3001 to Rs.6000		Rs.6001 to Rs.12000		Rs.12001 to Rs.24000		Above Rs.24001	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Not Affordable	16	62	14	44	3	7	1	3	0	0
Very Difficult to Afford	8	30	15	47	17	41	2	5	0	0
Not Easy to Afford	1	4	2	6	16	39	20	54	3	17
Affordable	1	4	1	3	5	12	14	38	15	83
Total	26	100	32	100	41	100	37	100	18	100

Source : *Field Survey*.

According to Table 6 the condition of the two lowest income groups is noticeable. For a big majority of households in these income-groups, i.e., 62 per cent in the first lowest and 41 per cent in the second lowest income group, the increasing expenses were not affordable. While for 30 per cent of the households in the first lowest and 47 per cent in the second lowest income group had to struggle very hard to keep both hands meet. However, among these income groups two households, one in each, were able to cope with increasing expenses. These households might have very small number of people living there and/or they might have been able to get any kind of financial or material help from their friends or relatives.

On the other extreme was the highest income group where 83 per cent of the households could afford increasing cost of living easily. Thirty-eight per cent of households in the second highest income group were also able to afford while a majority of the households (54 per cent) in this group the increasing cost of every day living were not easily affordable. The huge percentage (88 per cent) of the households in the middle income group were also facing problems to cope with rising cost of living.

V

HOUSEHOLD COPING STRATEGIES

The above analysis concludes that the increasing cost of living has negatively affected almost all urban household budgets, whereas low-income households are under great pressure. The question is how these households were surviving under such circumstances. The results of the survey show that households were trying their best to modify their budgets in response to the economy's adjustment process at national level. In this way crisis and its antidotes had forced urban households, particularly middle class and poor households, in this study and elsewhere (Beneria, 1992; Chant, 1991; Cornia, 1987; Massiah, 1989; McFarren, 1992; Moser, 1996. Perez-Aleman, 1992; Rielly and Gorden,

1995; Safa and Antrobus, 1992; Trip, 1992; Zack-Williams, 1992) to adopt different ways or mechanisms of resource reallocation to limit the damage to their welfare. The general terms used for this change in economic behaviour to secure the livelihoods of the households are 'coping' strategies or 'survival' strategies (Bangura, 1994; Beneria, 1992; Cornia, 1987; Feldman, 1992; Grown and Sebstad, 1989; Moser, 1996; Reilly and Gordon, 1995; Woodward, 1992). The characteristics of the coping strategies used by different households can be seen by "the drastic cutbacks they have made in their household expenditures, their resort to cheap and inferior quality goods and services, and their pursuit of subsistence strategies for a number of commodities they previously purchased from the market" (Bangura, 1994 : 800).

The coping strategies taken up by the households, as discussed in the following section, are divided into three main types : namely, drawing on savings or borrowing, income generating, and expenditure reducing, strategies.

Drawing On Savings Or Borrowing Strategies

The first response of households to a decline in their real income is usually that of drawing on savings or borrowing for short-term adjustments in their budgets. This tactic may help cushioning the immediate impact of adjustment, although this cushion can not last in the long term as both saving and borrowing capacity is limited. Moreover, this strategy is not equally helpful for all income groups because the better off households may be able to draw on their savings or borrow to maintain their standard of living while this is not the case for the poor who usually do not have any savings. Therefore, the only option for these households is to rely on borrowing for the survival of their members but the cost of borrowing is very high for them because they normally do not have any valuable capital to use as security. For that reason, poor households can be refused loans, as there is more chances of their becoming bankrupt and being unable to repay.

1995; Safa and Antrobus, 1992; Trip, 1992; Zack-Williams, 1992) to adopt different ways or mechanisms of resource reallocation to limit the damage to their welfare. The general terms used for this change in economic behaviour to secure the livelihoods of the households are 'coping' strategies or 'survival' strategies (Bangura, 1994; Beneria, 1992; Cornia, 1987; Feldman, 1992; Grown and Sebstad, 1989; Moser, 1996; Reilly and Gordon, 1995; Woodward, 1992). The characteristics of the coping strategies used by different households can be seen by "the drastic cutbacks they have made in their household expenditures, their resort to cheap and inferior quality goods and services, and their pursuit of subsistence strategies for a number of commodities they previously purchased from the market" (Bangura, 1994 : 800).

The coping strategies taken up by the households, as discussed in the following section, are divided into three main types : namely, drawing on savings or borrowing, income generating, and expenditure reducing, strategies.

Drawing On Savings Or Borrowing Strategies

The first response of households to a decline in their real income is usually that of drawing on savings or borrowing for short-term adjustments in their budgets. This tactic may help cushioning the immediate impact of adjustment, although this cushion can not last in the long term as both saving and borrowing capacity is limited. Moreover, this strategy is not equally helpful for all income groups because the better off households may be able to draw on their savings or borrow to maintain their standard of living while this is not the case for the poor who usually do not have any savings. Therefore, the only option for these households is to rely on borrowing for the survival of their members but the cost of borrowing is very high for them because they normally do not have any valuable capital to use as security. For that reason, poor households can be refused loans, as there is more chances of their becoming bankrupt and being unable to repay.

This argument is affirmed by one of the poorest interviewees who was continuously refused a loan from a neighbourhood store.

It has become very hard for me to provide food for my family because of a continuous increase in the cost of living. Under these circumstances, how can I repay my previous debts to shopkeepers? Every time I go to get any food on credit they not only refuse to give me anything but also they behave disrespectfully towards me because they know that I am bankrupt now. I do not know where I should go. I think there is no place to live in a respectable way for people like me: (Respondent No. 3).

In general, the information about household behaviour, towards drawing on savings or using a borrowing strategy is presented in the Table 7.

TABLE 7
Effect on Household's Saving

Savings Position	No.	Percentage
No Reduction	11	7
Reduction	93	61
Loan/Increase in Loan	33	21
Never Saving	17	11
Total	154	100

Source : *Field Survey*.

Only 7 per cent (11) of households did not find any negative effect on their savings in the last few years, and 11 per cent (17) of households never had any previous savings and continued to act that way when rescheduling their household budgets. On the other hand the vast

majority (61 per cent) of households experienced a reduction in their savings, while 21 per cent (33) started taking out loans or adding to the loans which they had already obtained. The households in the latter category were in dire straits, as one of the male interviewees explained.

Once people were receiving loans from me, now I am in such a bad economic condition that I have to ask for loans from others to provide the basic necessities for my family. This is very embarrassing for me. At the same time I am worried about repaying these loans, which seems impossible under the circumstances. (Respondent No. 13).

This negative saving behaviour, due to a fall in real income, was found in all income groups as in Table 8.

TABLE 8
Effect on Household Savings by Income Groups

Saving Position	Under Rs.3000		Rs.3001 to Rs.6001		Rs.6001 to Rs.12000		Rs.12001 to Rs.24000		Above Rs.24000	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No Reduction	0	0	0	0	1	2	6	16	4	22
Reduction	5	19	12	38	32	78	30	81	14	78
Loan	15	58	12	38	6	15	0	0	0	0
Never Saving	6	23	8	24	2	5	1	3	0	0
Total	26	100	32	100	41	100	37	100	18	100

Source : *Field Survey.*

According to the table, the percentage of households whose savings have decreased is very high in the high-income groups.¹⁴ This implies that in order to maintain the household's standard of living, especially the level of nutrition, health care, education, and social activities these households have been using up their savings. This trend, however, also explains the resource reallocation behaviour of the households from long-term to short-term reproduction.

The percentage of households experiencing a reduction in their savings is decreasing significantly with the diminishing level of income because of low saving margin of these groups (2nd row). The situation is the worst for households in the first two low-income groups, 58 per cent and 38 per cent respectively (3rd row), who have started to borrow or increase existing debts.

Since the strategy of depending on savings or borrowing is helpful only for the short-term households have to explore other ways of survival, particularly ways of generating extra income for the long term.

Income-Generating Strategies

Income-generating activities¹⁵ refer to the tendency of households to diversify their sources of income, as existing economic sources/activities prove insufficient to sustain livelihoods. The survey results reveal that in response to the worsened economic condition, as a result of SAPs, more household member than ever before have taken up economic activity or workers already in employment have increased their paid workload to supplement the family income as in Table 9.

The table shows that 58 per cent of households did not reallocate their resources to generate any extra income. It is most likely that the majority of these households had already over-extended all available resources, while the remainder were in possession of sufficient income sources and did not need to reallocate them.

TABLE 9
Reallocation of Resources to Generate Household Income

Reallocation of Resources	No.	Percentage
No	90	58
Yes	64	42
Property rented	5	8%
Overseas migration of male members	3	5%
Involvement of other family members (male) in economic activity	4	6%
Promotion	1	2%
Husband's overtime	4	6%
Women Started working or overtime	47	73%
Total	64	100
Total	154	100

Source : *Field Survey.*

On the other hand, 42 per cent (64) of households had no other choice but to find alternative sources to cope with hard times. Among this group 8 per cent of households rented out some of their property, i.e., a portion of a house or shop, 6 per cent involved other male members of the household in economic activity, 5 per cent concerned migration of male members overseas, and in 6 per cent of households men started working overtime. However, women's economic activity was recognized as the biggest source for generating income, as 73 per cent (47) of women from 64 households that reallocated their resources, joined the labour market or increased their hours of work to supplement their household income.

Not surprisingly, female participation in economic activity was discovered to be an important source of income for reducing economic pressure on their households, as has already been found in other studies in different countries (Beneria and Roldan, 1987; Chant, 1991; Lim, 1993; Moser, 1992, 1996; Standing 1989; Stewart, 1992; Waylen, 1992). Women were pushing themselves harder by entering into the labour market in order to cope with the economic crisis and to have more scope to control their own income.¹⁶ This finding is supported by the reaction of one of the highly educated interviewees belonging to the high-income group. She mentioned her feelings in these words :

One of the adjustments in our household budget is my own job, which I started a few years ago. My husband never wanted me to work because of my domestic responsibilities but now as our kids are old enough to share my responsibilities, I started teaching in a school. Sometimes I think I should quit this job because it is not worthy of my education. Then the next moment I postpone the idea. I think that this money provides some relief to our household budget by enabling me to fulfil some of my own or my kids' needs and desires. (Respondent No.8).

Another women from the low-income group described her decision to enter the labour market in the following words :

My husband runs the household budget. He tries to cover all our expenses with his salary by cutting expenses on some important household goods as well. I do not have courage to ask him for money even if I am desperate to buy something useful for our only son or our home. So I decided to get some training and work to share household responsibilities, as it has become very difficult to run the household budget on the limited salary of my husband alone. (Respondent No. 12).

Income-generating activities, as described by Woodward (1992) are usually related to the non-financial aspects of the welfare of households such as household time, living and working environment, and family unity, particularly when women have to increase their participation in economic activity. According to survey results, out of 47 women who started work for money, a big majority belonged to the two lowest income groups, i.e., 54 per cent and 50 per cent respectively, while the percentage of these women in the two highest income groups was only 5 and 11, respectively. As the high-income groups were less likely to adopt this kind of strategy, they were less likely to have any loss in their 'non-financial' welfare, while women in low-income households had no choice but to use their own labour to generate some income for the household.

As a last resort these women had to work for long hours and low wages because they were usually less educated/skilled and were desperate for money. Even then, there was no guarantee that this income-generating strategy would help to solve the economic problem of their households as one of the very depressed interviewees maintained :

I work day and night but still I am not able to provide good food and clothing for my kids. I am not able to fulfil their simple desires. I do not find any clear positive sign of my hard work in my household

condition. It seems that what we earn just disappears because of the continuous increase in the cost of living. (Respondent No. 10).

5.3 Expenditure-Reducing Strategies

When the possibility of maintaining previous consumption levels by adopting the strategies described above are exhausted, households have no other option but to modify their overall consumption pattern (cf. Cornia, 1987). For that reason, household members deploy diverse strategies to meet their survival needs. In particular, the urban middle-class households re-negotiate consumption patterns in the light of declining family resources (Beneria, 1992),¹⁷ a behaviour referred to as "the politics of consumption" by Elson (1992). How this politics was played by the households in present study to modify their increasing expenditure for different consumption items, has been explored in the following section.

1. Reduction in Expenses on Food

Table 10 provides information about a change in household behaviour towards food consumption to adjust their budgets in response to the rising cost of living.

TABLE 10
Number and Percentage of Households Effected
by Changes in Food Consumption by Sex

Reduction in Food	No.	Percentage
Reduction in Quality of Food for Both Sexes	6	4.0
Reduction in Quantity of Food for Both Sexes	61	39.6
Reduction in Both ¹⁸ for Women	2	1.4
Reduction in Both for Men	0	0.0
Reduction in Both for Both Sexes	37	24.0
Reduction in Nothing for Both Sexes	48	31.0
Total	154	100

Source : *Field Survey.*

Table 10 illustrates the fact that as far as reduction in food expenses is concerned, 31 per cent (48) of households did not change their consumption pattern for this item. It seems that among these households, 23 per cent (Table 5) represent those that could afford the current cost of living while the other, 8 per cent of households, might also have succeeded in maintaining a proper diet at the cost of a reduction in their savings or in consumption items of secondary importance.¹⁹ On the other hand, 69 per cent (106) of households had to reduce either quality (4 per cent) or quantity of food (40 per cent) or both (25 per cent) for their members.

The negative effect on the quantity or the quality of food consumption was found to differ from one income group to another as shown in Table 11.

TABLE 11
**Percentage of Households affected by Changes in
 Food Consumption by Sex and by Household Income Group**

Reduction in Food	Under Rs.3,000	Rs.3001 to Rs.6000	Rs.6001 to Rs.12000	Rs.12001 Rs.24000	Above Rs.24001
Reduction in Quality of Food for Both	4	0	5	5	7
Reduction in Quality of Food for Both	35	41	44	43	26
Reduction in Both for Women	4	3	0	0	0
Reduction in Both for Both	46	38	16	8	0
Reduction in Nothing for Both	12	19	27	43	67
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source : *Field Survey.*

Table 11 shows that 67 per cent of the households in the highest income group were able to maintain their previous diet, mostly because of drawing on savings or because of borrowing capability, as discussed

earlier. In this way they were able to minimize the loss to their nutrition level by comparison with the lower-income groups. The answer of many respondents in the higher-income groups about any reduction in the quality or/and quantity of food was 'no compromise on food expense.' In the lowest income group, on the other hand, 88 per cent households had to 'compromise' on their food costs in one way or another supporting Beneria (1992) who also found a drastic cut in the food consumption of the poor in Mexico city during the decade of adjustment.

Twelve per cent of households in the lowest income group (Rs.3000) were also able to maintain their previous diet. These households were either extremely poor, or they were on the poverty line²⁰ with limited scope for reducing consumption expenditure on food or switching their consumption towards alternative foodstuffs, as stated by one of the male interviewees :

I did not make many changes in my household budget because I was used to having a tight budget already to save money to build our house. So there was no scope to reduce anything in it. The result is a loss of savings and now borrowing. (Respondent No. 14).

Although the public utility stores in the towns provided some basic consumer items at subsidised prices, they were located far away from poor communities. Even if they were easily accessible they were not useful for the poor, as one of the male interviewees explained :

Although things are a bit cheaper in the government utility stores, these stores are useless for people like us who are not able to buy food by paying in cash. We have become used to buying things on credit from shops and paying them money in instalments when we get our salaries, which we cannot do in utility stores. Sometimes we are not able to pay previous month's debt to shopkeepers but are still able to get more things for the next month, which is very helpful. However this increases our debt burden.

Table 12 shows the largest reduction in the consumption of meat, followed by fruit and milk. This finding must be very disturbing for a country that already has one of the lowest per capita daily intake of animal protein in the world (Ahmad, 1976).²³

This behaviour leading to cuts in the eating of particular food items was found to be different for different income groups; as can be seen in the Table 13.

TABLE 13
Percentage of Households affected by Reduction in Consumption
of Meat, Fruit and Milk by Household Income Group

Household Income Group	Meat Reduced	Fruit Reduced	Milk Reduced
Under Rs.3000	81	50	27
Rs.3001 to Rs.6000	84	63	41
Rs.6001 to Rs.12000	68	49	22
Rs.12001 to Rs.24000	41	30	5
Above Rs.24001	28	11	6

Source : *Field Survey*.

The information given in Table 13 implies that a large majority of households in the highest income group was able to protect their intake of meat, fruit and milk. The behaviour of the lowest income group, on the other hand, is notable. A lower percentage of households in this group, as compared with those in the second lowest income group, reduced the amount of these food items. The reason for this might be that the majority of the households in this particular group were already too poor to consume sufficient quantities of these, relatively expensive food items, and were not able to decrease them any further.

The largest percentage of households affected by the lowering of food consumption was found in the second lowest income group. Being financially better off than the first group, this group might have been able

to consume a somewhat better quality/quantity of food before the economic crisis. Many households in this group had replaced meat and expensive vegetables for lentils and beans or other cheaper food items in their diet; as stated by the interviewees :

We have reduced our expenditure on several food items and household goods because of the increasing cost of living. For example we have reduced eating mutton or chicken and have increased eating pulses. We don't eat fruit at all. (Respondent No. 17).

Everything is too expensive. Rich people may afford it but where should we go. We exercise self-restraint for very basic food. Mutton, chicken, fish, fruit, almost every thing is out of our reach. Nutrition is continuously decreasing in our bodies. (Respondent No. 10).

One of the reasons for this kind of change in food consumption, according to many respondents, was to avoid falling into debt or increasing the level of existing debts.

These findings are remarkably similar to those of Beneria (1992), Elber-Inemudia (1993) and Moser (1989) for different countries during adjustment periods. In a case study of Mexico City, Beneria found that almost a households had cut their meat intake while poor families had eliminated meat, milk and fruit altogether from their diets. Moser's study on Guayaquil shows that 42 per cent of households were no longer drinking milk at all, while in those households still drinking milk, the average consumption had fallen sharply. Similarly there was a reduction in other nutritious foodstuff such as milk, eggs, fish and fresh fruit juice as well. Elber-Idemudia noted that in Nigeria low income-households were no longer able to buy expensive food items such as milk, beef, bread, and eggs. Instead they had replaced them by cheaper food items such as soya beans and other leguminous foodstuff in their diets.

The change in dietary behaviour varies with the socio-economic status of the households as seen above. Better-off households are able to protect their ingestion patterns relating to food, education and health by using their savings or by reducing unnecessary consumption. The low-income groups, on the other hand, have to cut expenses on consumption items gradually on priority basis.²⁴ They do not, usually, have much choice in diversifying their overall pattern of intake as a major proportion of their income is spent only on food. For that reason, food is the only item they have to adjust, if they can, according to changes in the cost of living. Therefore, as noted by Cornia (1987), with an increased cost of living low-income households are forced at first to increase the proportion of outgoings on food, then to concentrate their food expenditure almost exclusively on calories and, as a last step, to substitute cheap sources of calories of expensive ones. In this way these consumption strategies can be used for the survival of the poor and their children during the period of adjustment but only up to certain limit. After that limit, these households may exercise an absolute decline in their living standards, causing irreparable damage to their members through malnutrition.

This trend raises the question of how long these households can adopt the strategy of reducing their food consumption? Evidence for Chile, Sri Lanka, and South Korea reveals that after a long series of such adaptations a decline in per capita calorie intake takes place (Cornia, (1987). Therefore these strategies could be disastrous for the households that already consume the cheapest nutrients, particularly in insufficient quantities.

2. Reduction In The Expenses On Education

Another big issue for households may be the negative effect on their education and health, as a result of a cut in public expenditure and a rise in the cost of living. This means that under severe economic pressure households may have cut costs on these items to protect the consumption of other basic needs, especially food. What happened in this study is illustrated in the Table 14.

TABLE 14

**Percentage of Households Reducing Expenses for
Education by Sex and by Households Income Group**

Sex	Under Rs.3000	Rs.3001 to Rs 6000	Rs.6001 to Rs12000	Rs.12001 to Rs.24000	Above Rs.24001	No.	Total Percent age
Female	4	9	0	0	0	4	3
Both	4	9	12	0	0	9	6
None	81	72	76	81	83	120	78
N-A ^{2c}	11	9	12	19	17	21	13
Total	100	100	100	100	100	154	100

Source : *Field Survey.*

The findings reveal that a cut each on expenses for education was given the least priority by the households and 78 per cent (120) of them did not reduce the education expenses of their children as shown in Table 14. One of the main reason for this low cost of education in the public schools, while another important reason was the tough competition for better jobs in the labour market in the urban areas, which demanded better education and skills. Therefore, the majority of the households were highly concerned about the education of their children.

In 9 per cent (13) of households, expenses on education for girls (3 per cent) or for both sexes (6 per cent) were cut by withdrawing them from education, by shifting them from private schools to public schools or by dropping their extra educational coaching. Education for female children was only affected in the two lowest income groups, while education for both sexes was affected in the first three income groups. These children were either not able to continue their studies at all because of the extreme poverty of their households or the neighbourhood was such that most children were not interested in higher education. Some children did not abandon their studies but had been shifted from expensive private schools to public schools.

Another important finding was that, almost all households had started to economize in their use of energy sources. To that end, some low-income households had adopted different strategies to reduce the consumption of electricity to a minimum. This behaviour was mentioned by one of the respondents in the following words :

I have reduced our consumption of electricity to the extent that my kids wear clothes without ironing them. After washing clothes I fold them and keep them under pillows. After one or two days, they get pressed into better shape and are able to be worn. I do all this in the fear that the electricity line to my house will be disconnected if I am not able to pay the bill. (Respondent No. 5).

5. Reduction in Expenses on Clothing and Socialisation

Expenses on clothing were the least disruptive for the household budget, because it was only a secondary item for many low-income and middle-class households for which extra outlay could be avoided. Many of the poor households that could not afford to buy clothes were able to obtain used clothes from better-off households.²⁸

The other important findings in this study as elsewhere (Beneria, 1992) was the sharp cut in expenses on socialization which had restricted the social life of households to their own families. Many households curtailed celebrating religious and traditional ceremonies. People tried to avoid attending ceremonies where they were supposed to donate money or gifts, except ceremonies connected with their most important relatives. Poor households on the other hand, could not even think about having any kind of party. For those families the most important priority was the provision of basic necessities for their survival.

VI CONCLUSION

The findings reveal that the increasing cost of living has changed the pattern of budgets in almost all households in the study area. The households have had to reduce expenses on many consumer item, starting from secondary to very basic necessities, such as socialization, clothing, transportation, education, health care, food, etc., according to their socio-economic situation. The study has uncovered the positive response of households to macro-economic policies by adopting different kinds of strategies to reallocate their resources within households as well as in the labour market. But this resource reallocation must have limits. Poor households have already surpassed these limits by sending their children and women into the labour market to generate income. Moreover, they have cut their expenditure on nutritious, food, education and health care. However, they are still endeavouring to survive in response to macro-economic adjustment, despite the fact that their survival strategies have received scant recognition at national level and are viewed as 'private' by the policy markers.

It seems that macro economists take household responses to economic change for granted. The reason is that so long as the households are able to absorb the costs of resource-reallocation without any impact on the monetary variables, i.e., wages, prices, balance of payments, gross national product, etc., then resource reallocation can be treated as cost-less (Elson, 1992). For that reason, they do not appreciate the process whereby households and individuals make choices, generate income opportunities, and reorganize existing resources, including labour, to meet household subsistence needs. Households need recognition and support for their survival strategies by being incorporated into the development process at the macro level. This support should be seen as a complement to and not a substitute for efficient and equitable macro-economic policies and the sustained growth of the economy (Cornia, 1987).

REFERENCES

1. Individual who are all sharing a common kitchen or the same cooking pot and living under the same roof.

2. The reason for using the sample of only working women is that the data used in this study was basically generated for author's Ph.D. thesis about working women under the title of *'Urban Women in Households and in the Labour Market under Structural Adjustment Policy and Programmes : A Case Study of Pakistani Working Women'*, Leeds University, UK, April 1999.

3. According to the World Bank (1989) the formal sector has the following characteristics : difficult entry, large scale, secure employment, regulated enterprises, corporate ownership, links with international trade, capital-intensive, modern technology, fixed locations and reported/legal activity.

4. Less than Rs.2000
Rs.2001<Rs.4000
Rs.4001<Rs.8000
Rs.8001 and above.

5. The reason of a very high percentage of households belonging to upper-income group in present study as compared to the percentage at national level is the nature of the sample itself. The sample in this study consists on only working women whose participation in economic activity is an extra source of income for the households. While the sample at national level includes all urban households where female labour force participation rate is only 7 per cent (Government of Pakistan, 1997).

6. In 1995 the IMF suspended its \$1.5 billion assistance to Pakistan under the ESAF and EFF due to non-fulfilment of the given deficit, growth, terms of trade and inflation targets. After a hectic dialogue the Pakistan government was able to negotiate and put the IMF agreement back on track in 1996. The new \$600 million agreement was made as a 15 month standby arrangement at a higher mark-up of 5 per cent as compared with the 0.5 per cent attached to the ESAF and EFF. Pakistan was able to secure only one tranche of this arrangement because the last two tranches were suspended, as a sign of disapproval of the country's economic policies following 1996.

7. Ms. Benazir Bhutto, Leader of Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP).

8. In this package, Rs.13 billion were to be collected by increased taxes, Rs.20 billion by cutting development expenditures, and Rs.7 billion by non-development expenditures.

9. The Government of the Pakistan Muslim League Party (PML).

10. Average estimated from Economic Survey of Pakistan of various years.
11. The rate of inflation averaged 2.6 per cent during the 1960s. It jumped to double figures for several years during the 1970s, because of two major oil shocks, massive currency devaluation, and devastating floods that destroyed agricultural crops. The country returned to single figures during the 1980s as a result of a high growth-rate combined with cheap external and domestic financing during the 1980s (Haque and Montiet, 1992). Since 1990-91, the rate of inflation has been in double figures except for 1992-93. According to the 1996-97 annual report of the State Bank of Pakistan, the consumer price index in 25 urban centers rose by 11.8 per cent during 1996-97 as compared to 10.8 per cent in the preceding year.
12. As mentioned by Hasan, Khan, Pasha, and Rasheed (1995:929).
13. Gas/Kerosene Oil.
14. Chant (1991) found similar behaviour in the case of Quertaro (Mexico) where many privileged households had stopped saving money to replace it by a much more day-to-day approach to survival.
15. Woodward (1992) categorizes these strategies as follows :
 - (i) Internal or external migration of one or more members of the household.
 - (ii) Engaging one or more members of the household, previously not economically active, in economic activity.
 - (iii) Increasing labour time by one or more members of the household.
 - (iv) Changing type or nature of economic activity by one or more members of the household;
 - (v) Substituting home-made goods and services for market purchases.
16. Chant 1991 for the case of Mexican cities.
17. In her study, Bneria found that in Mexico City 69.4 per cent of households reduced the outlay on food, clothing, shoes, and other daily expenses such as transportation, drinks and snakes, to adjust their budgets according to the income and the background of the households.
18. In this study a reduction in the quality of food means the replacement of cheaper-quality vegetables, fruits, meat, edible oil, rice, etc., for the quality which households were consuming before. A reduction in the quantity of food for higher-income groups means a decrease in excessive quantities of some food items commonly consumed before, while for lower-income groups, it means a lowering of the consumption of some expensive but nutritious food items from household budgets.

- Grown, C. and Sebstad, J. (1989), "Introduction : Towards a Wider Perspective on Women's Employment." *World Development*, Vol. XVII, No. 7, pp.937-52.
- Haque, N. and Montiel, P. (1992), "Fiscal Policy Choices and Macro-economics Performance in the Nineties" A. Nasim', (eds.), *Financing Pakistan's Development in the 1990s*, Oxford University Press, Karachi.
- Hassan, M.; Khan, A.; Pasha, H.; and Rasheed, M. (1995) *Pakistan Development Review* Vol. XXXIV, No. 4, Part III, pp. 927-43.
- Kemal, A. R. and Mahmood, M. (1997), "Poverty and Policy in Pakistan," T. J. Banuri; R. S. Khan, and M. Mahmood, (eds.), *Just Development : Beyond Adjustment with a Human Face*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 63-85.
- Lim, L. (1993), "The Feminization of Labour in the Asia-Pacific Rim Countries : From Contributing to Economic Dynamism to Bearing the Brunt of Structural Adjustment", N. Ogawa; G. Jones, and J. Williamson, (eds.), *Human Resource in Development along the Asia-Pacific Rim*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, New York, pp. 175-209.
- Massiah, J. (1989). "Women's Lives and Livelihoods : A View from the Commonwealth Caribbean." *World Development*, Vol. XVII, No. 7, pp. 965-78.
- McCleary, W. A. (1991), "Pakistan Structural Adjustment and Economic Growth," V. Thomas; A. Chhibber; M. and M. Ailamiand Jaime, (eds.), *Restructuring Economies in Distress : Policy Reforms and the World Bank*, Oxford University Press, Oxford pp.197-214
- Bilquees, F. (1987), "The IMF Stabilization Package and Pakistan's Stabilization Experience," *Pakistan Development Review*. Vol. XXVI, No. 4 (Winter 1987), pp.767-774.
- McFarren, W. (1992), " The Politics of Bolivia's Economic Crisis : Survival Strategies of Displaced Tin-Mining Household," L. Beneria and S. Feldman, (eds.), *Unequal Burden : Economic Crises, Persistent Poverty, and Women's Work*, Westview Press Oxford, pp. 131-58.
- Moser, C. (1989), "The Impact of Recession and Adjustment at the Micro Level : Low Income Women and their Households in Guayaquil, Ecuador," *The Invisible Adjustment : Poor Women and the Economic Crisis*, UNICEF, New York, 1989.
- Moser, C. (1992), "Adjustment from Below : Low-Income Women, Time and the Triple Role in Guayaquil, Ecuador," H. Afshar, and C. Dennis, (eds.), *Women and Adjustment Policies in the third World*, Macmillan Academic and Professional Ltd, London, pp.87-112.
- Moser, C. (1996), *Confronting Crisis : A Comparative Study of Household Responses to Poverty and Vulnerability in Four Poor Urban Communities*, The World Bank, Washington, D.C.

- Pakistan Link Headlines (August 11, 1997) *IMF Links \$1.6 Billion Under ESAF to Pakistan with improvement in National Economic Indicators.* <http://www.pakistanlink.com/headlines/August/12/01.html>
- Perez-Aleman, P. (1992), "Economic Crisis and Women in Nicaragua," L. Beneria, and S. Feldman, (eds.), *Unequal Burden : Economic Crises, Persistent Poverty, and Women's Work*, Westview Press, Oxford, 1992, pp. 239-58.
- Reilly, C. and Gordon, A. (1995), *Survival Strategies of Poor Women in Urban Africa : The Case of Zambia*, NRI Socio-Economic Series 10, Chatham, UK : Natural Resources Institute.
- Safa, H. and Antrobus, P. (1992), "Women and the Economic Crisis in the Caribbean," L. Beneria and S. Feldman (eds.), *Unequal Burden : Economic Crises, Persistent Poverty, and Women's Work*, Westview Press Oxford, pp. 49-82.
- Sivanandan, A. (1987). "Imperialism and Disorganic Development in the Silicon Age," R. Peet, (eds.), *International Capitalism and Industrial Restructing*.
- Standing, G. (1989), "Global Feminization through Flexible Labour," *World Development*, Vol. XVII, No. 7, pp. 1077-96.
- State Bank of Pakistan (1977), *Annual Report, 1996-97*.
- Stewart, F. (1992), "Can Adjustment Programms Incorporate the Interest of the Women?" H. Afshar, and C. Dennis, (eds.), *Women and Adjustment Policies in the Third World*, MacMillan Academic and Professional Ltd., Honk Kong, pp. 13-45.
- Tripp, A. M. (1992), "The Impact of Crisis and Economic Reform on Women in Urban Tanzania," L. Beneria, and S. Feldman, (eds.), *Unequal Burden : Economic Crisis, Persistent Poverty, and Women's Work*, Westview Press Oxford, pp. 159-80.
- UNICEF (1989), *Kashmir Society of Scientific and Social Research Statistical Report*. Muzaffarabad, Azad Kashmir, Pakistan.
- Waylen, G. (1992), "Women, Authoritarianism and Market Liberalization in Chile, 1973-89," H. Afshar, and C. Dennis, (eds.), *Women and Adjustment Policies in the Third World*, MacMillan Academic and Professional Ltd., Hong Kong, pp. 150-78.
- Woodward, D. (1992), *Debt, Adjustment Poverty in Developing Countries*, Vol. II, *The Impact of Debt and Adjustment at the Household Level in Developing Countries*, Pinter Publishers, London.
- World Bank (1989), *Women in Pakistan : An Economic and Social Strategy*, The World Bank, Washington D.C.

APPENDIX A
Budgetary Position of Households by Income
Groups in Urban Areas of Pakistan in 1996

Average Monthly Total (Rs.)				
Monthly H/H Income Groups	Percentage of households	Household Receipts	Households Expenditure	Deficit (-) Surplus (+)
All Groups	100	4648.36	4634.55	13.82
Up to -1000	1.30	650.00	1300.00	-650.00
1001-1500	1.30	1500.00	2750.00	-1250.00
1501-2000	1.30	1900.00	2000.00	-100.00
2001-2500	7.14	2318.00	3400.00	-1082.00
2501-3000	3.90	2800.00	3183.00	-383.00
3001-3500	3.25	3300.00	4200.00	-900.00
3501-4000	3.90	3933.00	4500.00	-567.00
4001-5000	6.49	4820.00	5190.00	-370.00
5001-6000	5.19	5775.00	5600.00	+155.00
6001-7000	6.50	6710.00	6580.00	+130.0
7001 and above	59.76 ²⁸	12426.00	12277.00	+5148.00

Source : *Field Survey.*

APPENDIX B
Budgetary Position of Household by Income
Groups in Urban Areas of Pakistan in 1992-93

Monthly Households Income Groups	Average Monthly Total (Rs.)			
	Percentage of households	Household Receipts	Households Expenditure	Deficit (-) Surplus (+)
All Groups	100	5012.51	4554.09	458.41
Up to -1000	2.56	822.29	2070.65	-1248.35
1001-1500	4.68	1343.45	1744.70	-401.25
1501-2000	9.49	1817.40	2137.70	-320.29
2001-2500	11.34	2335.79	2483.15	-147.35
2501-3000	9.98	2775.99	2889.57	-113.57
3001-3500	9.66	3212.01	3317.61	-105.59
3501-4000	8.48	3622.74	3580.83	+41.90
4001-5000	12.64	4405.15	4392.03	+13.11
5001-6000	8.39	5325.70	5173.01	+152.69
6001-7000	6.35	6478.75	6065.97	412.78
7001 and above	16.40	13296.04	10042.58	3253.45

Source : *Household Integrated Economic Survey 1992-93* Government of Pakistan, 1996.

Book Review

Syed Karim Haider, *Pakistan's General Elections-1997*,
Pakistan Study Centre, University of the Punjab, Lahore.
Price : Rs. 275/-

The above mentioned book, a publication of Pakistan Study Centre, has been compiled by Syed Karim Haider. Pakistan Study Centre has credit of series of publications providing useful information regarding Pakistan Movement and socio-economic developments in the country. Pakistan's General Elections-1997 is in fact the documented record of the Elections 1997.

The dissolution of National Assembly and removal of the Government of Mohatarama Benazir Bhutto were procedured under Article 58(2) (b) of the Constitution excercised by the President of Pakistan on November 5, 1996. Syed Karim Haider has given the text of Presidential Order that gives the complete background and reasons for the dissolution of the National Assembly.

Following the dissolution of National Assembly, the President promulgated the Representation of People (Fourth Amendment) Ordinance 1996 and Ehtesab (Amendment) Ordinance 1997. The compiler has also documented these two ordinances. The book contains the manifestoes of Pakistan Muslim League (N), Pakistan People's Party, Pakistan Tehrik-i-Insaf, and Jamaat-e-Islami and it also provides the details of election schedule as well as the election results of the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies which have been given in the form of charts which are self-explanatory.

The book also provides the information relating to the election of Speaker, Deputy Speaker, Leader of the House and Leader of the Opposition of National Assembly.

Mr. Karim Haider has made good attempt to preserve the important documents relating to the Elections of 1997. With the passage of time, the work under review would prove more precious and useful for researchers working on the subject.

The 292 pages book has been produced beautifully, hard bound and printed nicely on white paper.

Prof. Dr. Miskeen Ali Hijazi

Statements

SOUTH ASIAN REGIONAL COOPERATION

July 1997 to December 1999

SAARC-CIDA SIGN MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

Ottawa : July 2, 1997

The core areas of SAARC cooperation have generated interest in Canada. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) which is the official arm of the Canadian Government recently entered into a Memorandum of Understanding with SAARC Secretariat to have an annual programme of cooperation and regular interaction for coordination.

At a ceremony held at the CIDA headquarters in Ottawa on July 2, 1997 the SAARC Secretary-General Mr. Naeem U. Hasan and President of CIDA Madame Huguette Labelle signed the Memorandum on behalf of SAARC and CIDA, Respectively.

The Memorandum provides for promotion of cooperation and mutually beneficial relationships between the two organizations in the core areas of mutual concern, which among others, include poverty eradication; economic and trade cooperation; social and human resource development; sustained economic growth; and sustainable development. The two organization will in future have an annual programme of cooperation as well as regular interaction for coordination and exchange of information.

These Statements have been arranged by Abdul Majid, Research Scholar, Centre for South Asian Studies, Quaid-i-Azam Campus, University of the Punjab, Lahore.

The Memorandum also visualises interaction of regional institutions and non-governmental organizations in SAARC Countries with CIDA.

SAARC Secretary-General also visited the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs, International Trade Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and the Conference Board of Canada where matters of mutual interest were discussed.

During his stay, the Secretary-General was in visited by the Agha Khan Foundation and Carleton University where he made use of the opportunity to brief a select group of intellectuals on the on-going regional cooperation in South Asia under the SAARC framework.

THIRD ROUND OF TRADE NEGOTIATIONS UNDER SAPTA BEGINS

Kathmandu, Nepal : July 29-31 1997

The environment for free trading in South Asia depends upon largely the removal barriers to market access and encouragement of frequent exchange of business delegations and the interaction of government officials of SAARC countries.

The first meeting of Inter-Government Group on Trade liberalization (IGG) to initiate the Third Round of Trade Negotiations under SAPTA was held on July 29-31, 1997 at the SAARC Secretariat in Kathmandu, Nepal.

The IGG which consisted of senior official from the Ministries of finance, trade, commerce and industries of the Member Countries, underlined the importance of removing impediments to market access

between all Member States along with tariff reduction and urged that all Member States should strive for removal of the remaining non tariff measures at the earliest. The Meeting also agreed that direct bilateral talks and frequent exchange of business delegations and government officials should be organized to accelerate trade in the region with a view to realising SAFTA by the targeted date.

The three-day Meeting was opened by Secretary-General of SAARC, Mr. Naeem U. Hasan and was attended by representatives from all Member States. Director, Mr. Ashok K. Attri represented the SAARC Secretariat. Mr. U.S. Bhatia, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Commerce and the Leader of the delegation of India was elected Chairman of the Meeting.

Speaking at the opening session of the Meeting, SAARC Secretary-General emphasised the crucial importance of the Third Round as it would put SAPTA on the fast track for realizing South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) by the mandated time schedule of 2001.

The delegates conducted in-depth multilateral and bilateral negotiations with a view to expanding the list of products and deepen the tariff concessions on products already covered under SAPTA. The delegates used a combination of negotiation approaches such as product-by-product, sectoral and across-the-board bargains. In addition, they held bilateral negotiations to over products which were being actively traded between the Member States.

With regard to the least developed countries of SAARC, the Group high-lighted the necessity to provide more favourable concessions to them and requested Member Countries to identify and provide list of items of their specific export interest for deeper tariff concessions and duty-free access.

The Group also reviewed the status of implementation of the SAPTA Agreement. It agreed that the Member States should coordinate their approaches on vital issues concerning trade and tariffs in the international for a like World Trade Organization, World Customs Organization for more effective projection and protection their collective interests. The Group appreciated the efforts of the SAARC Secretariat in acquiring relevant computerized and published trade and tariff-related databases and emphasized that these databases should be further strengthened for facilitating future trade negotiations at the Secretariat has they serves as useful tools in their discussions.

The Group felt that it should be possible to complete the deliberations in the Third Round by January 1998. For this purpose, two more meetings will be scheduled at the SAARC Secretariat.

The second meeting of IGG to continue the trade negotiations under the Third Round of SAPTA will be held in late September or early October 1997 at the Secretariat.

TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT MEETS IN COLOMBO

Colombo, Sri Lanka : August 12-13, 1997

The Sixteenth Meeting of the SAARC Technical Committee on rural Development was held in Colombo on August 12-13. The meeting inaugurated by Mr. Reginald Cooray, Deputy Minister of Samurdhi, Youth Affairs and Sports of Sri Lanka was attended by representatives from all Member States. The Secretariat was represented by Director, Mr. Liaquat Ali Choudhury.

The meeting held extensive discussions on a wide range of issues and took a number of important decisions with significant bearing for regional cooperation in the key sector of rural development. The meeting particular emphasised the importance of ensuring greater participation of the poor in the implementation of poverty eradication of poverty eradication programmes. In this regard, the meeting recalled the Ninth SAARC Summit decision to designate 1997 as the "SAARC Year of Participatory Governance." The meeting took note of the initiatives taken by Nepal to prepare a plan to observe this year in a befitting manner.

Other Member States apprised the meeting about concrete plans/programmes being implemented in their national context to ensure maximum popular participation in the preparation and implementation of development programmes to address the main concerns of the poor. Among others, the Committee was also informed that the Government of India would be hosting a consultation seminar in Mussoorie (India) during the last quarter of 1997 on the working of the Panchayat system and cooperatives in India as a part of the national programme to observe the theme for the year.

The meeting reviewed progress in the implementation of its earlier decisions with regard to net working arrangements among institutions in SAARC dealing with appropriate Rural Technology and compilation of SAARC Directory on Experts on Rural Development.

While taking note of the various activities held during the calendar year 1997, the meeting in particular took note of the proposal by Sri Lanka to host an additional workshop cum training programme for youth on development of micro enterprises to be held sometime in October-November 1997 and recommended that the host government consider having an intense round of discussion at the level of concerned Secretaries from Member Countries on policy issues to fully involve the youth in Member Countries in various constructive way as agents of

development. It was also recommended that the Member Countries may consider including youth activist from non-government sectors in the respective country delegations. The meeting urged member Countries to undertake appropriate programmes for the year 1998 as part of the SAARC youth and Volunteers programme for the year.

The meeting drew up the Calendar of Activities for the year 1998 taking into account the priority areas in identified by the Committee.

**TERRORISTS AND CRIMINALS EXPLOIT
LAPSES IN POLICE COOPERATION**

Male', Maldives : September 9-11, 1997

Terrorism and organised crimes are frequently transnational whereby terrorists and criminals exploit the lapses in cooperation amongst police forces of the region, declared the Attorney-General of Maldives, Dr. Mohamed Munavvar, when he inaugurated the 2nd SAARC Conference on Cooperation in Police Matters held on September 9-11, 1997 in Male', the capital of the Maldives.

The three-day Conference was attended by the Police Chiefs as well as delegates of other law enforcement agencies such as customs of the SAARC Member States consequent to a decision by SAARC leaders who saw a need for constant dialogue and interaction by the concerned agencies dealing with combating terrorism and drug trafficking. Two Regional conventions have been signed to suppress terrorism and prevent narcotic drug trafficking. Two Regional Conventions have been signed to suppress terrorism and prevent narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances in 1987 and 1990, respectively.

The Conference was told that terrorism, drug abuse and drug trafficking has become a menace to every country in the region and law enforcement agencies have increased their surveillance to combat the menace. A clear nexus is linked to terrorism and narcotic drug trafficking with evidence emerging that inroads had been made to invade even legitimate economic activities through violation of economic laws of these countries by organised crime gangs. Strong arguments were made for the need to adopt a further convention to thwart the efforts of these anti-social organised crime gangs who illicitly manufacture and traffic in firearms, ammunition and explosives. The need for Member Countries to cooperate more effectively in strengthening the SSARC Monitoring Desks on Drugs and Terrorism, STOMD and SMOMD respectively, was stressed by the Police Chiefs.

The Police Conference also saw the need for the establishment of another monitoring desk for organised with the adoption of a Convention for the Prevention of Organised Crimes, since the region is increasingly facing economic crimes such as money laundering, illicit trafficking in women and children, tendering of fictitious title deeds and in many other organised group crimes.

The Conference was chaired by Brig. Adam Zahir, Commissioner of Police from the Republic of Maldives and the SAARC Secretariat was represented by T.Z.A. Samsudeen, Director.

**TC ON WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT MEETS
IN KATHMANDU**

Kathmandu, Nepal : September 21-22, 1997

The twelfth meeting of the SAARC Technical Committee on Women in Development was held in Kathmandu on 21-22 September 1997. The

meeting was inaugurated by the Minister for Women and Social Welfare of Nepal, Sahana Pradhan and attended by representatives from Member Countries. The SAARC Secretariat was represented by Director, Kunzang C. Namgyel.

Representatives from member countries made presentations on the status of implementation of the Plan of Action on Women, Girl Child and Dhaka Resolution on Women, in their respective countries. The Committee in this context drew up regional progress reports on each of the issues based on country reports presented by the delegates.

As per directives of the Ninth SAARC Summit, the committee examined the feasibility of establishing a Regional Convention on Combating the Crime of Trafficking in Women and Children for Prostitution. The modalities for drafting the Convention were considered and it was decided that India would host an Expert Group Meeting to draft the Convention. In preparation for the meeting of the Expert Group all Member Countries will provide information on the existing laws and enforcement mechanisms relating to trafficking to India.

“Violence against Women” is the theme selected for the fifth issue of the SAARC Solidarity Journal. The journal will be published by Sri Lanka in time for the Tenth SAARC Summit.

The Committee proposed two activities for funding under the SAARC-Japan Special Fund and one activity under the first window of the South Asian Development Fund (SADF), besides including three activities under the Calendar of Activities for 1998.

**SAARC ENVIRONMENTAL MINISTERS MEET IN MALE'
MALDIVES PRESIDENT EXPRESSES CONCERN
AT SLOW GLOBAL PROGRESS ON
ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES**

Male', Maldives : October 15-16, 1997

President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom of the Republic of the Maldives, in his inaugural address at the SAARC Environment Conference held in Male' on October 15-16, 1997 highlighted the deteriorating environmental situation at the global, regional and national level, and expressed disappointment at the slow implementation of Agenda 21. The President further expressed concern at the slow progress in the implementation of the recommendations of the two SAARC Regional Studies on Environment and urged the Governments of Member Countries to use their collective wisdom to ensure a prosperous future for the future generation. While drawing attention to the unsustainable life styles and consumption patterns by the affluent and industrialized countries of the world he emphasized on the need for sustainable life styles for environmental conservation and preservation. He stated that "... we must demonstrate to the world, through cooperation and through our own policies and actions, that a sustainable life style is the only progressive step ahead for civilization".

Secretary-General Naeem U. Hasan also addressed the inaugural Session of the Conference and emphasized that "It is imperative for all of us to act both regionally and globally to address all our environmental problems in a holistic manner first through the identification of the inter-linked factors contributing to this problem, and secondly by initiating concrete actions on implementable plans with utmost seriousness".

The SAARC Environment Minister's Conference was held pursuant to the decision of the Heads of State or Government during their Ninth

SAARC Summit (Male', May 12-14 1997), which had expressed the urgent need for the implementation of the recommendations of the SAARC Regional Studies on the 'Greenhouse Effect and its impact on the Region', and the 'Causes and Consequences of Natural Disasters and the Protection and Preservation of the Environment'.

The Ministers / Heads of Delegations in their Country Statements highlighted the efforts made by their respective countries towards the protection and preservation of environment and reiterated their commitment to further the efforts of regional cooperation in this vital area.

The conference reviewed the recommendations of the two SAARC Regional Studies on Environment and decided to identify priority areas for immediate action. The Conference also provided the framework for enhanced partnership and cooperation. The Ministers decided to adopt measures for their implementation which are reflected in the Male' Declaration on Environment issued by the Conference. The Declaration contains an Action plan which inter alia, includes preparation of a SAARC State of the Environment Report by the end of 1999; examination of the possibility of establishing a Group of Eminent Scientists and Experts to assess the impact of climate change in the region on a regular basis; and establishment of a SAARC Coastal, Forestry Center and a SAARC coastal Zone Management Centre.

The Ministers, recognizing the importance of sound environmental protection in the region, and as per the directive of the Heads of State or Government at the Ninth SAARC Summit, agreed to study the feasibility of a Regional Treaty on Environment in the context of existing international conventions.

The Environment Ministers also formulated a common SAARC position on Climate Change to be presented to the Third Meeting of the Conference of the parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change to be held in Kyoto, Japan later this year.

GOVERNING BOARD OF SAARC TUBERCULOSIS CENTRE MEETS

Kathmandu, Nepal : October 26-27, 1997

The Seventh Meeting of the Governing Board of SAARC Tuberculosis Centre (STC) was held in Kathmandu on October 26-27, 1997. The meeting inaugurated by Shanti Shamsher Rana, Minister for Health of Nepal was attended by representatives from all SAARC Secretariat was represented by Director Kunzang C. Namgyel.

Under the chairmanship of Dr. G.R. Khatri, Deputy Director General (TB), DGHS, MOH from India. The meeting reviewed the status of implementation of the activities proposed by the Sixth Meeting of the Governing Board. The administrative and financial matters pertaining to the Centre including Budgets for the year ending December, 1998 were considered Regarding strengthening the technical expertise of the Centre, a number of recommendations were made, including review of salaries and allowances of the Professional and General Services Staff of STC. The Board in this SAARC Secretary-General to take up the matter with the appropriate authorities for consideration.

The Board noted the various measures instituted to enhance the functioning of the Regional Centres as a result of the detailed review which was carried out earlier by the SAARC Secretary-General in close coordination with the Directors of the relevant Centres. The Board in this context expressed their appreciation to the SAARC Secretary General for the timely initiative which would benefit the Centres immensely.

The Board recognised the importance of STC maintaining close coordination with other organizations working for the cause of TB

control both within and outside the region. For the purpose, the Board emphasised the usefulness of establishing formal working linkages between the STC and WHO and urged Member Countries to consider urgently the signing of an MOU between SAARC and WHO.

A calendar of activities for the year ending 1998 was formulated, which includes meeting of TB Programme managers, training programmes for regional TB Coordinators, multicentric study on primary drug resistance, meeting to review the status of action on recommendations emanating from activities held earlier, Workshop for evolving formulation of uniform Management Information systems in Member Countries etc.

STC ORGANISES WORKSHOP ON TB AND HIV RESEARCH

Kathmandu, Nepal : October 28-29, 1997.

The Workshop relating to Research on TB and HIV in the SAARC Countries was held in Kathmandu on 28-29 October 1997 immediately following the Seventh Meeting of the Governing Board of SAARC Tuberculosis Centre (STC).

Presentations were made by all Board Members on research underway relating to TB and HIV at their national level. Discussions were held on the subject and it was observed that at present most of the countries did not have an effective collaboration in respect of the diagnosis and management of the dual infection of HIV and TB although the countries were fully aware of the need to implement research activities in this field. In order to address the issues in a holistic manner, the meeting identified advocacy, training, community based service delivery and research as the major areas of collaboration both at the intra and inter-country levels.

The recommendations made by the workshop include: the need to develop a strategy aimed at involving the politicians, administrators and technocrats so that management activities commitment as well as technical and administrative support including funding; the need to develop basic training for health workers of both AIDS and Tuberculosis in order to equip them to manage the dual infection; recognizing DOTs as the most viable tool to tackle the menace and thus the need to improve community based services; and priority attached to research in TB and HIV. This must be linked to programme needs and coordinated between the national AIDS and TB programmes. It was also recommended that the SAARC TB Centre provide support for TB HIV research initiatives by providing platform for interaction, collection and dissemination of information.

COMMERCE SECRETARIES OF SAARC DELIBERATE ON SAPTA AND SAFTA

Male', Maldives : November 16-17, 1997

The SAARC Commerce Secretaries held intensive discussion on the acceleration of trade and economic cooperation in the region during the Ninth Meeting of Committee on Economic Cooperation (CEC) held in Male on November 16-17.

Abdullah Yameen, Minister of Trade, Industries and Labour of Maldives, while inaugurating the meeting, emphasized the importance of the work of the CEC and recalled the decision of the Ninth SAARC Summit to achieve SAFTA by the year 2001. He stated that SAPTA has become an important topic of discussion among the business and academic communities in the SAARC countries and expressed his confidence that the SAPTA movement would be carried forward with

due regard for it to benefit all Member States and particularly keeping in view the special requirements of the Least Developed Member Countries of SAARC.

SAARC Secretary General, Naeem U. Hasan also addressed the inaugural session and recalled that since the last meeting of the CEC significant progress has been made towards expansion of trade and economic cooperation. He felt that the meeting of the CEC would be able to provide the necessary guidance and directives to the Inter-Governmental Group on Trade Liberalization (IGG) to successfully conclude the Third Round of Trade Negotiations within the stipulated deadline of January 1998.

The CEC meeting was also addressed by the Vice President of SAARC Chambers of Commerce and Industry, W. Granwille Perera, who informed the meeting about the activities of the SCCI, particularly, in support of SAPTA. The CEC, while reviewing progress in the transition from SAPTA to SAFTA, also held discussion on the status of exchange of information on intra SAARC trade flows under SAPTA.

SAARC COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEETS IN MALE'

PRESIDENT OF MALDIVES INAUGURATES THE SESSION

Male', Maldives : November 29-30, 1997

The Nineteenth Session Of The SAARC Council of Ministers was held in Male from November 29-30. The Session was presided over by Fathulla Jameel, Foreign Minister of the Maldives.

The Session was inaugurated by President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom of the Republic of Maldives and current Chairman of SAARC. In his address on the occasion, the President emphasized the importance of carrying forward the momentum of regional cooperation achieved at

the Ninth SAARC Summit. He highlighted the importance of mutually reinforcing cooperation among Member States in the vital areas of economic and trade cooperation, social progress, poverty eradication, and protection of the environment through implementation of specific measures to promote sustainable development. He also underscored the imperative need to make SAARC more effective and stressed the importance of successful conclusion of various review exercises now underway to identify specific measures to revitalize SAARC and to enhance its capacity to meet future challenges.

Minister Fathulla Jameel and SAARC Secretary General Naeem U. Hasan also addressed the Inaugural Session.

The SAARC Foreign Ministers during their two days of deliberations reviewed the follow-up and implementation of the decisions of the Ninth SAARC Summit including progress on the ongoing SAPTA trade negotiations and the transition to SAFTA; the SAARC Visa Exemption Scheme; establishment of a SAARC Human Resource Development Centre in Pakistan; and SAARC Cooperation with international, regional and other organizations. They considered and endorsed reports of the other meetings held on various issues since the Ninth Summit, including the Ministerial meetings on Tourism and Environment, Independent Group of Experts on the Intergrated Programme of Action (IPA), and the Civil Aviation Authorities of SAARC Countries. The budgets of the Secretariat and the Regional Centres were also approved.

During its nineteenth session, the Council held a special ceremony at which the first SAARC Youth Award – 1997 was presented to the successful candidate from the nominations received from all Member States. The Winner of the Award Md. Sukur Salek of Bangladesh was invited to address the Council after the presentation ceremony. It may be noted that the SAARC Youth Award will henceforth be an annual feature to encourage the participation of youth in the SAARC region in social service to the community.

The Session of the Council of Ministers was preceded by the Meetings of the SAARC Standing Committee (November 27-28), comprising the Foreign Secretaries, and the Programming Committee (November 25-26) also held in Male'.

WORKSHOP ON NAFTA/SAFTA

Kathmandu, Nepal : December 1-5, 1997

A five day Workshop on NAFTA/SAFTA organised by the SAARC Secretariat in collaboration with the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) was held at the SAARC Secretariat from December 1-5. The Workshop brought together eminent economic experts, Government officials from SAARC countries, academics and representatives of the private sector to discuss various issues relating to the creation of free trade areas. The Workshop was inaugurated by Jagat Bahadur Bogati, Minister of State for Commerce of His Majesty's Government of Nepal. The Secretary General of SAARC, Naeem U. Hasan and Canadian Ambassador to Nepal Peter F. Walker also addressed the inaugural session held at the SAARC Secretariat. Leading Canadian trade negotiation experts acted as resource persons for the Workshop and made the presentations on specific economic issues relating to the creation of free trade areas.

The workshop, held in collaboration with CIDA within the framework of SAARC CIDA MoU of cooperation, was the first joint activity organised by the two organisations. It provided a useful opportunity to the participants to have a comprehensive overview of the present trends in different parts of the world towards the establishment of free trade areas. It also facilitated the sharing of experience on the creation of the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) and its relevance for the creation of a free trade area in South Asia. The Workshop was also devoted to apprise the participants about the recent developments in the World Trading System, Regional Free Trade Areas (FTAs), Trade in Goods and Services, Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights, and specific issues on tariff regimes, rules of origin and issues relating to investment.

**DR. NAJMUL HASNAIN SHAH OF PAKISTAN AWARDED
SECOND SAARC YOUTH AWARD**

For, 1998

The Second SAARC Youth Award was awarded to Dr. Najmul Hasnain Shah of Pakistan in recognition of his discovery of a vaccine against the virulence of Haemorrhage Septicaemia (HS) causing bacteria of cattle and buffalo. The Award was presented at a special ceremony organised at Colombo during the Inaugural Session of the Council of Ministers. Sri Lankan Foreign Minister, Lakshman Kadirgamar and Chairman of the Council presented the Award which carries a Gold Medal, a Citation and a token cash prize.

Earlier, Secretary General Naeem U. Hasan introduced the Pakistani Winner of the Award to the Council Members and also briefed them on the process of selection of the Youth Award for 1998.

The 30 year old Dr. Shah is a Veterinary Doctor currently serving the Centre of Animal Bio-technology Veterinary Research Institute in Peshawar (Pakistan). His discovery was part of a research work undertaken by him for Doctorate research.

The SAARC Youth Award Scheme which was initiated in 1997 aims to encourage the South Asian youth to excel in various fields. The First Award was presented in 1997 on the theme "Outstanding Service in Community Welfare", while 1998 award was based on the theme "New Inventions and Discoveries". A Selection Committee composed of personalities from three Member States with the SAARC Secretary General acting as facilitator meets annually to decide on the recipient for the Award from amongst applications received from SAARC countries.

**COMMITTEE OF PARTICIPANTS REVIEWS SAPTA
PROGRESS**

Dhaka, Bangladesh : July 5-6, 1998

The meeting was inaugurated by the Commerce Secretary of the Government of Bangladesh who emphasised the importance of enhancing intra-SAARC trade and of accelerating the pace of trade and economic cooperation in the region.

During its two day deliberations in Dhaka, the Committee, inter-alia, reviewed the implementation of the SAPTA Agreement and held discussions on the benefits accruing to the Member States from this Agreement and recommended that the third Round of Trade Negotiations under SAPTA should be concluded early. It also recommended that Inter-Governmental Group on Trade Liberalisation should initiate the required spade work for launching the next Round.

The Committee of Participants was established under Article-IX of the SAPTA Agreement to review the progress made in the implementation of the Agreement and to ensure benefits of trade expansion emanating from the Agreement.

**SAARC FOOD SECURITY RESERVE BOARD REVIEWS
FOOD SITUATION IN SOUTH ASIA**

Colombo, Sri Lanka : July 25, 1998

• A significant part of the deliberations of the Board was focused on consideration of concrete steps to further improve the operation of the SAARC Food Security Reserve. In this context, the Board emphasised

the need for timely dissemination of information regarding anticipated shortfall in the agricultural production in the Member States so that action can be triggered for timely release of food-grains from food stock reserves of Member States to cope with the shortfall in individual Member States. The Seventh Meeting of the Board suggested a number of steps, including timely transmission of vital food production and demand data facilitate of timely utilization of food reserves maintained by individual Member States within the framework of SAARC Food Security Reserve arrangement.

The Meeting was presided over by N.B. Liyanarachchi, Food Commissioner of Sri Lanka. It was also addressed by Naeem U. Hasan, Secretary General of SAARC who underscored the need for a better and more effective utilisation of the SAARC Food Security Reserve.

The next meeting of the SAARC Food Security Reserve Board will be held in Nepal prior to the Eleventh SAARC Summit in Kathmandu in 1999.

SAARC STANDING COMMITTEE MEETS

Colombo, Sri Lanka : July 25-26, 1998

The Committee, during its two-day meeting considered the reports of the four Technical Committees, which had met since its last session held in Male' in November 1997. These included Technical Committees on Prevention of Drug Trafficking and Drug Abuse, Education, Culture and Sports, Health, Population Activities and Child Welfare, and Women in Development. These reports had been reviewed and forwarded by the Programming Committee, which earlier met on 24-25 July 1998 in Colombo.

A Report on the various activities and an assessment of SAARC was presented to the Standing Committee by the Secretary General, with particular emphasis on the role of the Secretariat in follow up and implementation of the various decisions of the Association. The Standing Committee commended the Report and endorsed it to the Council of Ministers. Member States also announced their financial pledges to SAARC activities during the Standing Committee meeting.

An important item on the agenda of the Standing Committee was the Final Report of Independent Expert Group set up by the Secretary General to undertake a comprehensive review of the Integrated Programme of Action (IPA). The Committee decided that in view of the complex and far reaching recommendations put forth by the Expert Group, more time would be needed to study the report in depth and an additional day is to be devoted to the consideration of the report at its next meeting. The Secretariat was asked to carry out an analysis of the report for circulation to Member States before the next Session of the Standing Committee.

The Committee welcomed the finalization of the Draft Convention on Preventing and Combating trafficking in Women and Children for Prostitution and recommended its approval by the Council of Ministers. The Committee also recommended that Member States explore the possibility of creating a Regional Fund for rehabilitation of victims of trafficking in women and children for prostitution on the basis of voluntary contributions.

Other reports considered by the Standing Committee included the status report of the Secretary General on the functioning working and re-organization of the Regional Centers and the report of the third meeting of the Governing Board of South Asian Development Fund.

The Foreign Secretaries also reviewed SAARC's ongoing cooperation with international and regional organizations and approved the list of activities/programmes to be financed from SAARC Japan Special Fund for the year 1998-99 and finalised the SAARC Calendar of Activities for the coming year.

As recommended by the Secretary General the Committee approved that the "SAARC Association of Town Planners" will be accorded the status of SAARC Recognised Body.

**20TH SESSION OF THE SAARC COUNCIL OF
MINISTERS HELD**

Colombo, Sri Lanka : July : 27-28, 1998

The Council had before it a number of reports of sectoral Ministerial meetings held since its last session which were transmitted to the Summit for adoption. These included the Information Ministers' meeting held in Dhaka in April 1998, and the Communication Ministers' Conference held in Colombo in May 1998, where Plans of Action in these areas were adopted to forge closer cooperation among the Member States. The Ministers also endorsed the report of the Standing Committee which had met prior to their meeting.

Economic issues were a major item on the Council's agenda and it called for the acceleration of the process of economic cooperation and the importance of working towards achieving SAFTA as mandated by the Ninth Summit.

A number of important issues on the social agenda of SAARC were also prominently featured in the Council's agenda. Other subjects

included the further expansion of the SAARC Visa Exemption Scheme; establishment of the SAARC Human Resource Development Centre in Islamabad; and SAARC's Cooperation with international, regional and other organizations.

The 21st Session of the Council will be held in Colombo in February 1999.

**TENTH SAARC SUMMIT CONCLUDES IN COLOMBO
SAARC LEADERS REAFFIRM COMMITMENT TO
REGIONAL COOPERATION**

Colombo, Sri Lanka : July 29-31, 1998

In an impressive opening ceremony at the Bandaraaike International Convention Centre on July 29. President Chandrika Kumaratunga Bandaranaike, in her inaugural address, highlighted the need to significantly strengthen SAARC, keeping in view the rich heritage of the region on the one hand and imperative need to promote cooperation to overcome many complex challenges facing South Asia. Stressing the need to seriously pursue the economic goals of SAARC, the Sri Lankan President also high lighted the importance of striving to achieve both economic progress and peace and stability in the region simultaneously. The President noted that an ambrence of confidence which would embrace all seven States as members of one family, is imperative for progress in the agreed areas of cooperation and called for an assessment of the progress in the SAPTA process and movement towards SAFTA. She particularly emphasized the Importance of narrowing the gap between the decisions made by the SAARC Leaders on a wider range of issues and their implementation to make the SAARC process truly beneficial and effective.

The other Heads of State or Government of Member States attending the Summit in their respective statements also highlighted the abiding and enduring relevance of the SAARC process for the countries in South Asia in the contemporary context and reiterate their commitment to regional cooperation in South Asia under the aegis of SAARC.

The SAARC Secretary General Naeem U. Hasan, who also addressed the Tenth SAARC Summit, highlighted the achievements of SAARC during recent years, both in the economic and social sectors. He referred to the expanding agenda of SAARC and the concomitant need to strengthen the institutional mechanisms of the Association.

During their formal sessions and informal consultations and informal consultations at the Retreat held under the Chairpersonship of the Sri Lankan President, the Heads of State or Government reviewed the progress in the implementation of the decisions that had been taken at the Ninth Summit in Male', including the Report of the Group of Eminent Persons (GEP) mandated to undertake a comprehensive review of SAARC and its activities and to suggest future directions for the Association.

The SAARC leaders reiterated the importance of achieving SAFTA as mandated by the Ninth Summit and decided that a regulatory framework for creating a free trade area should be finalised by the year 2001. They noted with satisfaction the outcome of the Second Meeting of the Commerce Ministers held in Islamabad and welcomed the decision of the Ministers to coordinate SAARC position on issues of common concern at the WTO. They further noted the progress made in preparations for the Second SAARC Trade Fair to be held in Colombo in September 1998.

Regarding SAPTA negotiations, the Summit called for early conclusion of the Third Round and also decided that discriminatory

practices and non-tariff barriers should be simultaneously removed on items in respect of which tariff concessions are granted or have been granted earlier. The Summit directed that domestic content requirements under SAPTA Rules of Origin should be reduced and that the SAPTA Committee of Participants should meet by mid October 1998 in Colombo to finalise the extent of reduction. The need for measures to enable smaller and Least Developed Countries to benefit equitably from economic liberalization was specially highlighted.

Reports and Plans of Action recommended by several SAARC Ministerial Meetings since the Ninth SAARC Summit were also discussed and approved by the Summit. Similarly, plans for convening a number of other Ministerial meetings were also endorsed by the leaders, including the meeting for the first time of SAARC Cultural Ministers in Colombo next year.

**SAARC GROUP ON CUSTOMS COOPERATION
MEETS IN JAIPUR**

Jaipur, India : August 24-26, 1998

The meeting was chaired by P.R.V. Ramanan, Joint Secretary (Customs), Department of Revenue of India. The SAARC Secretariat was represented by Director Tahir Iqbal Butt.

In his inaugural address, Sukumar Shankar, Member (Customs & Export Promotion), Central Board of Excise and Customs of India, stressed the growing importance of regional economic integration and mentioned that the World Trade Organization lists more than 75 Free Trade Zones or Customs Unions, of which more than half have been established in the 1990s. He emphasised that if the SAARC free trade

arrangement is to be operationalised by the target date, the customs laws and procedures must be harmonized in the region.

Tahir Iqbal Butt from the SAARC Secretariat speaking on behalf of the Secretary General apprised the delegates that the Tenth SAARC Summit in Colombo had a comprehensive review of the progress made in the SAPTA negotiations. There was consensus that to accelerate progress in the next round of SAPTA negotiations. There was consensus that to accelerate progress in the next round of SAPTA negotiations, deeper preferential tariff concessions should be extended to products which are being actively traded or are likely to be traded, among Members; that discriminatory practices and non-tariff barriers should be simultaneously removed on items in respect of which tariff concessions are granted or have been granted earlier. Measures to remove structural impediments should also be taken in order to move speedily towards the goal of SAFTA. Hence cooperation among customs officials of Member States was an important pre-requisite for trade liberalisation in South Asia.

The Group identified several activities for harmonization of customs regulations of the Member States including preparation of a commodity description code, expanding the 6-digit H.S. Code to accommodate description of goods in vogue within the SAARC region; baggage laws, procedure and allowances, law, procedure and exemption limits on gifts and postal goods; and matters related to temporary import of vehicles and other goods imported and subsequently re-exported in the same State.

It was also agreed that the chairmanship of the SAARC Group on Customs Cooperation would be for a period of two years and rotated alphabetically. Sri Lanka would take up the chairmanship of the Group at the end of 1998 from Pakistan.

The next meeting of the Group would be organised by the SAARC Secretariat in April/May 1999.

SECOND SAARC TRADE FAIR**Colombo, Sri Lanka : September 8-15, 1998**

In his inaugural address, the Sri Lankan Minister said that the SAARC Trade Fair was conceived as an integral part of the economic cooperation policy within the region so as to give an opportunity for businessmen in the region to offer their products as they have to exports as well as enhance their network and from alliances between themselves.

Over 30,000 persons visited the fair which was highly successful in terms of products covered and generated widespread business enquiries. Each of the seven Member States had their own National Day to mark the Fair.

It may be mentioned that the First SAARC Trade Fair was held in New Delhi in January 1996. The Third SAARC Trade Fair would be held in Islamabad in 1999.

**WORKSHOP ON SCIENCE BASED APPROACHES TO
HARMONISATION OF REGULATORY, FOOD QUALITY AND
SAFETY MEASURES IN THE SAARC REGION****Faridabad, India on : September 21-23, 1998.**

Inaugurating the Workshop, P.S.Bhatnagar, Secretary, Food Processing Industries of India said that latest facilities in the food regulatory system, almost endemic in the countries of the SAARC Region, have become more vulnerable on account of the new demands imposed by the Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures (SPS) and Technical Barriers to Trade (T&T) Agreements of the WTO. Mr. Bhatnagar said that under the WTO regime, the high norms and

standards, propagated by Codex have become the benchmark for food quality and safety. Their implications in terms of international food trade, as well as domestic transactions are significant for the developing countries of the SAARC region. He urged the Workshop, therefore to envisage a regional strategy for harmonisation in the overall context of the WTO regime.

Amit Dasgupta represented the SAARC Secretariat at the Workshop and at the Inaugural Session read out the text of the Secretary General's message. The message commended the initiative taken to hold the Workshop and focus on the critical issues that concern the region as a whole especially since the food and agricultural sector accounts for a significant part of gross national product, employment generation and foreign exchange earnings of all the Member States. To the extent that the harmonization of regulatory food quality and safety measures in the SAARC region may assure the supply of quality and safe foods and create the enabling condition for gainful trade in agricultural products in South Asia on a large scale, through effective steps for standardisation are of critical importance for the countries in the region.

The participants attending the workshop were drawn from Government departments, industry, testing facilities and laboratories Food Technologists and experts from International Life Sciences Institute, Washington and FAO participated as resource persons through the presentation of papers. The objective of the Workshop was to draw attention to the need in the region to develop strict guidelines and norms, including legislation, in the area of food quality and safety. This would extend to testing facilities and laboratories, training of personnel, consumer awareness, labeling of products etc. so that the region could harmonize its position and thereby, have due leverage during negotiations at WTO. Such measures were also necessary in the context of greater regional economic integration and intra-SAARC trade in food products and more significantly, the export of food from within the region especially since the total food production in the region is more than that of USA.

TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT**Colombo, Sri Lanka : September 24-25, 1998.**

In his inaugural address, the Deputy Minister highlighted on the prevailing situation in the SAARC region, where poverty, hunger, disease, malnutrition and unemployment is rampant in rural areas. While explaining the significant and earnest steps taken by Sri Lanka to enhance the living conditions of the rural population, the Deputy Minister noted that his government is deeply concerned about providing solutions to the problem of unemployment which has become a grave problem among the youth, through mobilizing direct participation of the youth in development and introducing employment opportunities and sources of income generation. The Deputy Minister elaborated at length on the important aspects and activities under the Samurdhi Programme which is the national programme for alleviation of poverty being implemented since 1994. The meeting was also addressed by Dr. R.M.K. Ratnayake, Secretary, Ministry of Samurdhi, Youth Affairs & Sports of Sri Lanka and Tahir Iqbal Butt, Director, SAARC Secretariat.

The Committee reviewed the status of implementation of the activities since its last meeting and the progress on the "Networking arrangements among institutions in SAARC Member States dealing with appropriate rural technology" and "compilation of SAARC, Directory of Experts on Rural Development".

During the meeting, the delegation from Bangladesh presented two directories, one on Institutions in SAARC member States dealing with Appropriate Rural Technology prepared by Rural Development Academy Bogra and the other on Rural Development Experts of SAARC Countries compiled by Bangladesh to the Chairman of the Committee.

The Committee also proposed to the Standing Committee its calendar of activities for the year 1998/99 which included one activity under the Integrated Programme of Action and two activities under the SAARC Japan Special Fund.

SAARC FOREIGN MINISTER MEET IN NEW YORK

New York on : September 28, 1998

Detailed discussions were held during this meeting on the implementation of the major decisions of the Tenth SAARC Summit in Colombo and progress of various SAARC initiatives in such important areas as cooperation on the core economic issues, SAARC's social agenda and matters pertaining to the strengthening of the SAARC Secretariat. The meeting also identified poverty indication and rights of women and children as two important issues on which the SAARC Countries could coordinate their positions in the context of the discussions on social and economic issues during the current session of the UNGA. The SAARC Ministers present on the occasion also considered a number of concrete measures to strengthen the collaborative arrangements between SAARC and important UN bodies and specialized agencies. They also took a number of important decisions to further strengthen mutually beneficial interaction and cooperation between SAARC and EU and SAARC and ASEAN.

The meeting decided to constitute a Committee of Representatives from the Member States of SAARC in New York to regularly liaise on issues of common interest to all the countries in South Asia and take joint initiative in future, where appropriate to project and protect the interests of the Member States of SAARC.

**TECHNICAL COMMITTEE REVIEWS PROGRESS ON
ENVIRONMENT MATTERS****Kathmandu, Nepal : October 14-16, 1998**

The meeting was opened by the Officer in Charge of the Secretariat, Liaquat Ali Choudhury who while welcoming the participants on behalf of the SAARC Secretary General emphasised that the foremost responsibility of the meeting would be to prepare for the next meeting of the environment ministers in order to carry forward the process of cooperation among the SAARC countries on common environmental concerns of South Asia with increasing focus on fruition of regional plans and programmes to avert further deterioration of the region's environment.

The Committee's main tasks were to consider the follow up matters to implement the decisions arising from the previous SAARC Ministerial Meetings that were held in New Delhi and Male and also to work as a preparatory meeting for the Environment Ministers Conference in Colombo.

The Committee considered measures for the implementation of the SAARC Action Plan on the Environment. It studies eleven areas in the Action Plan and formulated recommendations to be submitted to the Ministers for their consideration. The Committee also considered reports of the activities held in the field of meteorology and made recommendations on the findings of the reports for implementation. It also recommended a workshop to examine the mechanism for sharing information on disaster preparedness and mitigation in the region.

**CHIEF JUSTICES OF SAARC COUNTRIES MEET
SEVENTH SAARC LAW CONFERENCE HELD IN
COLOMBO**

Colombo, Sri Lanka : October 23-25, 1998

The Conference, which was inaugurated by the President of Sri Lanka and the current Chairperson of SAARC, Mrs. Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga, was attended by a large number of delegates from SAARC countries, including 400 judges, lawyers and members of the legal community. The President of SAARC LAW, Amirul Islam, Chief Justice of Sri Lanka G.P.S. de Silva, Minister of Justice, Constitutional Affairs, Ethnic Affairs and National Integration, Prof. G.L. Peiris, President of the Sri Lanka Charter of SAARC LAW, Sarath N. Silva and the Secretary General of SAARC LAW, Dhara Wijayatilaka were among the speakers who addressed the inauguration ceremony.

During the Conference, SAARC LAW organised a number of academic sessions on such topics as judiciary, legal profession, criminal banking and insurance law, women and violence, family, trade and media law, chemical control, constitutional and intellectual property law, public interest litigation and corruption, amongst others. The SAARC LAW Conference also considered the establishment of a SAARC LAW University and expressed interest in associating itself with various SAARC activities, including the formulation of the SAARC Social Charter as envisaged in the Tenth SAARC Summit Declaration.

At the Closing Session of the SAARC LAW Conference, the Chief Justices of all the SAARC countries, highlighted the importance of the gathering of the legal community. This annual Conference of the SAARC legal community helps foster close cooperation and people to people contact and provides an ideal forum for debate, interaction and cooperation amongst its members.

SAARC LAW was established in Colombo in 1991 and was recognized as a Regional Apex Body by SAARC in 1994.

**FOURTH CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF EXECUTIVE
HEADS OF SAARC; ASEAN; ECO; FORUM AND ESCAP HELD
IN KATHMANDU**

Kathmandu, Nepal on : October 26-27, 1998.

The Meeting was inaugurated by Girija Prasad Koirala, Prime Minister of Nepal. In his inaugural address to the meeting, he referred to the abiding relevance of regional cooperation and the need to further strengthen interaction among sub-regional organizations in Asia and the Pacific signified in the context of the current global economic developments. He especially referred to the serious ramifications for the Asia Pacific countries of the recent financial crisis and certain aspects of the globalization process, as a result of which the interests of the developing countries are increasingly being marginalized. The sub-regional organizations, he emphasized, could play a significant role in implementing a comprehensive strategy to address these important issues and challenges by pursuing alternative developments models.

The Heads of Sub-regional Organizations and ESCAP shared their concerns on the negative consequences of the ongoing financial crisis for the countries in the region. They stressed that efforts are necessary to develop a comprehensive strategy to address the root causes of this crisis and initiate concrete measures which are in keeping with the needs of the Asia Pacific region and the greater interest of the global economy at large. They reiterated the commitment of their organizations to regional cooperation and regional economic integration as a means to promote sustained development with equity and stability in the widest possible sense. They deeply appreciated the valuable assistance being extended to

the sub-regional organizations in Asia and the Pacific and ESCAP by concerned international and regional institutions, UN specialized agencies and bilateral donors. They recognized that such assistance should be enhanced and increased in keeping with the needs of the sub-regional organizations and ESCAP to enable them to realize their full potentials. They urged UNDP to extend all possible help and support to the sub-regional organizations in Asia and the Pacific and ESCAP under its Regional Cooperation Framework (RCF).

In the course of their deliberations, the Heads of Sub-regional Organizations and ESCAP expressed their deep satisfaction at the enhanced pace and seriousness with which these organizations coordinated their actions to promote cooperation in such key areas as exchange and sharing of experiences on matters pertaining to trade liberalization promotion of investment development of infrastructure poverty eradication human resources development and complementing each others' institutional capabilities in these areas to achieve specific objectives. They resolved to continue their useful work in these areas and further strengthen cooperation among them through identifying focal points for sharing of information and experience more frequent use of each others' websites, accelerating progress towards networking of trade related research institutions and data bases on a sub-regional scale, greater cooperation in the area of transport and infrastructure development, networking of centers of excellence for research and training for human resources development, dissemination of HRD studies as well as implementation of targeted programmes in the area of poverty eradication.

The participating delegates stressed the continued importance attached by their organizations to the useful role the private sectors may play in supplementing the inter-governmental efforts in promoting cooperation amongst different sub-regions in Asia and the Pacific. They stressed that concrete steps would be considered by their organizations to promote such cooperation within the framework of their agreed plans and programmes as well as mandates.

The Heads of sub-regional organizations and ESCAP expressed their deep gratitude to the Secretary General of SAARC and his colleagues at the Secretariat for the warm hospitality extended to them and the excellent arrangements made for their meeting. Deep gratitude was also conveyed to the Executive Secretary of ESCAP and his colleagues for their valuable contribution in organizing the meeting and preparing necessary background documents.

The Heads of sub-regional organizations and ESCAP also welcomed the offer of the south Pacific Forum to host their Fifth Meeting in Suva, Fiji at a mutually convenient time in 1999.

**SAARC ENVIRONMENT MINISTERS.ADOPT COMMON
ENVIRONMENT PROGRAMME**

Colombo, Sri Lanka : from 30 October to 1 November 1998

The Fourth SAARC Environment Ministers' Conference was inaugurated by Chandrika Bandaranaika Kumaratunga, President of Sri Lanka and current Chairperson of SAARC.

In her inaugural address, President Kumaratunga highlighted the environmental dimensions of development that would guide the government in the region along a sustainable path to economic growth. She underscored the fact that SAARC region, which is home for nearly one fifth of the world population, was confronted with worsening poverty, ill health, illiteracy, social instability and continued degradation of the environment.

The President said that SAARC countries possessed a rich cultural heritage and took pride in their cultural, philosophical and spiritual traditions. She said our way of life from time immemorial has been one

of simplicity and environment friendly.” The President called for a regional approach to translate good intentions into concrete action to harness the energies and capabilities of the region and to strengthen national efforts.

Nandimithra Ekanayake, MP, Minister of Environment and Forestry of Sri Lanka and SAARC Secretary General also addressed the inaugural session.

During the course of their discussions, the Ministers noted that poverty was one of the major contributory factors to environmental degradation in the SAARC region and emphasised the need for an enabling international environment to support the efforts of the SAARC countries for eradication of poverty. They underscored the need for the international community to increase their support and assistance for these efforts since they felt that alleviation of poverty was the overriding priority in all member countries of SAARC.

The conference reviewed the progress that has been made in following up their previous decisions and deliberated at length how best they could improve on the SAARC Action Plan on the Environment. It also examined in detail the recommendations of the Technical Committee on Environment and Meteorology that was requested to study the Action Plan. Several meetings of experts and/or expert groups were planned on various aspects of the environment to evolve a common approach for access to genetic resources and to work out implementable proposals for expanding cooperation for the protection and conservation of bio-diversity in the region, trans-boundary movement of hazardous wastes in the region, strengthening of the environment management infrastructure, and for establishing a networking mechanism to assist Member States to protect and preserve the environment. Offers to host some of these meetings from India and Sri Lanka were welcomed and dates for these meetings were also announced. The conference decided to

focus on a single theme for their future conferences with a view to identifying specific environmental projects within the region. The Ministers identified biodiversity as the theme for the year 1999.

The Conference adopted a common SAARC position for presentation at the Fourth Session of the Conference of the Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change in Buenos Aires.

THIRD ROUND OF SAPTA NEGOTIATIONS CONCLUDES

Kathmandu, Nepal : November 21-23, 1998

Inaugurating the meeting, SAARC Secretary General Naeem U. Hasan stressed the importance of carrying forward the process of trade liberalisation in South Asia so as to unlock the process of growth and development in the Member States for the well-being and common good of peoples of the region.

The meeting held detailed discussions to identify items which are actively traded or likely to be actively traded so that concessions may be given to such products. It also attempted to deepen tariff concessions and expand the range of product coverage, including the dismantling of discriminatory practices and non-tariff barriers, while taking into account the special interest of the LDC member states of SAARC.

During the Third Round of Trade Negotiations under SAPTA, over 5500 items were covered for preferential tariff concession ranging between 5 to 75 percent. It was also decided that henceforth, negotiations would preferably be conducted chapter wise or on sectoral basis or across the board in order to make more substantive progress on trade negotiations within the region. Furthermore, the next round would also specifically start focusing on the South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA).

It is also expected that the Fourth Round would initiate discussions on Intellectual Property Rights and Liberalisation of Trade in Services. The Fourth Round of Trade Negotiations under SAPTA is expected to be launched early next year, following the Twenty First Session of the SAARC Council of Ministers.

It may be recalled that at the Colombo Summit held in July, it was decided to conclude the Third Round before the Twenty first Session of the SAARC Council of Ministers to be held in Colombo in February 1999, reflecting commitment of the Member States to strengthen and carry forward the SAPTA process.

**SAPTA RULES OF ORIGIN FURTHER RELAXED
COMMITTEE OF PARTICIPANTS MEETS**

Kathmandu, Nepal : November 23-24, 1998

Following detailed deliberations and with a view to liberalising the trade regimes, the delegates recommended to a further downward revision of the present ratio of origin requirement as it would help intensify intra SAARC trade. Accordingly, products which are not only produced or obtained in the territory of the exporting SAARC Countries with inputs coming from outside the SAARC region (which now stands at 50 percent) has been revised to 60 percent. The level of domestic value addition would now stand at 40 percent to make a product eligible under SAPTA. Similarly, the Rule dealing with Cumulative Rules of Origin under SAPTA has been revised downward from its present 60 percent to 50 percent. In the case of least Developed Countries, however, following the SAARC principle to take special cognizance of their interests, the benefits stand increased by an overall additional 10 percent in respect of both the above two categories. Accordingly, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives and Nepal would stand to benefit from the decision.

EXPERT GROUP RECOMMENDS EXPANSION OF SAARC VISA EXEMPTION SCHEME

Kathmandu, Nepal : November 25-26, 1998

The meeting recommended to expand the Scheme by nearly doubling the number of categories entitled to be included for visa exemption under the Scheme. At present, there are some 1 categories of persons who are exempted from requiring visa for travel within the SAARC region. The Expert Group meeting also deliberated on improving the existing guidelines/procedures of the Scheme. It is hoped that the simplification of visa procedures across the board would help accelerate trade and tourism in the region through facilitation of increased people to people contact.

The recommendations of the Expert Group will now be considered by the next meeting of the Council of Ministers, scheduled for February 1999.

The Scheme was initially launched in 1988, with the aim of promoting closer and more frequent contacts amongst the peoples of the region.

SAVED RADIO AND TV PROGRAMMES FOR 1998/99

RADIO

Following SAVE Radio programmes will be broadcast by national channels of all SAARC Member States on 15th of every month beginning from December 1998:

Produced by

Programme

Bangladesh

Ilish: The King of Fishes

Bhutan	The Bhutanese Adolescent
India	Villupattu
Maldives	Traditional Dwelling
Nepal	Friend of Environment
Pakistan	Festival Songs of Pakistan
Sri Lanka	Issues Affecting the Environment In Sri Lanka
Bangladesh	Aarshi Nogar
Bhutan	Handmade Paper Making in Bhutan
India	Songs of the Soil
Maldives	Currency
Nepal	Nepalese Folk Music On the Crossroads
Pakistan	Folk Flavour in Modern Music
Sri Lanka	Majestically Yours – Sri Lanka

TELEVISION

Following SAVE TV programmes will be telecast by national channels of all SAARC Member States on 1st of every month beginning from December 1998.

Produced by	Programme
Bangladesh	“St. Martins” The Island of Amazing Beauty
Bhutan	Thunder Dragon Kingdom
India	Folk Performing Arts of Andhra “Shadow Puppet Theatre”
Nepal	Folk Dances of Nepal
Pakistan	Uddyana
Sri Lanka	Craft Wood Carvings

Bangladesh	The Colour of Emotion in the Cloud and the Green
India	Taj Mahal
Nepal	Milkey – A Paradise Full Of Rhododorons
Pakistan	Lok Rang
Sri Lanka	Mclody of Spring (Spring Rondezvous)

MEETING ON INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY COOPERATION

Colombo, Sri Lanka on : December 1-2, 1998

The meeting was inaugurated by Kingsley Wickramaratne, Minister for Internal and International Commerce and Food of the Government of Sri Lanka. In his inaugural address, the Minister emphasised the importance of the meeting as it focused attention on a crucial area for the region in which cooperation and coordination is of utmost urgency. In fact, intellectual property issues in the area of biotechnology, biodiversity, environment, protection of indigenous knowledge and heritage such as indigenous medicines and folklore are on the active agenda of multilateral debate and negotiations. Since the countries in the SAARC region have an important stake in these issues it is imperative that they seek out commonality of interests and put into place an intellectual property regime and protection mechanism. The Minister said that such a mechanism, once in place, would be beneficial and conducive to regional synergy, while providing the enabling atmosphere to attract investment in the region.

The meeting, which was assisted by resource persons from WIPO, was attended by representatives of all Member States drawn from their

respective national intellectual property offices and concerned government departments. The SAARC Secretariat was represented by Amit Dasgupta Director who presented a paper titled. An Overview of Economic Cooperation Among SAARC Countries.

SAARC AND CIDA HOLD WORKSHOP ON NAFTA/ SAFTA

Kathmanud, Nepal : December 1-5, 1998

A five day Workshop on NAFTA/SAFTA organised by the SAARC Secretariat in collaboration with the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) was held at the SAARC Secretariat from December 1-5. The Workshop brought together eminent economic experts, Government officials from SAARC countries, academics and representatives of the private sector to discuss various issues relating to the creation of free trade areas. The Workshop was inaugurated by Jagat Bahadur Bogati, Minister of State for Commerce of His Majesty's Government of Nepal. The Secretary General of SAARC, Naeem U. Hasan and Canadian Ambassador to Nepal Peter F. Walker also addressed the inaugural session held at the SAARC Secretariat. Leading Canadian trade negotiation experts acted as resource persons for the Workshop and made the presentations on specific economic issues relating to the creation of free trade areas.

The workshop, held in collaboration with CIDA within the framework of SAARC CIDA MoU of cooperation, was the first joint activity organized by the two organisations. It provided a useful opportunity to the participants to have a comprehensive overview of the present trends in different parts of the world towards the establishment of free trade areas. It also facilitated the sharing of experience on the creation of the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) and its relevance for the creation of a free trade area in South Asia. The

Workshop was also devoted to apprise the participants about the recent developments in the World Trading System, Regional Free Trade Areas (FTAs), Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights, and specific issues on tariff regimes, rules of origin and issues relating to investment.

SAARC CHARTER DAY OBSERVED

Nepal : December 8, 1998

The Thirteenth Charter Day of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was marked on 8 December 1998 with a reception hosted by the outgoing Secretary General, Naeem U. Hasan. The function was graced by the prime Minister of His Majesty's Government of Nepal, Girija Prasad Koirala and members of the cabinet, diplomatic corp, and a number of senior government officials. Many leading dignitaries in the private and public sectors, including those associated with the SAARC process, also attended the event.

The Association, comprising Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka was established in 1985 with the signing of its Charter by the Heads of State or Government of seven South Asian countries. A number of significant steps have since been undertaken to expand the areas of cooperation under the aegis of SAARC, of which poverty eradication and other socio-economic issues have received much prominence. SAARC has consistently aimed at addressing such critical issues in the region as those relating to children, disabled persons, women, and youth. High on the SAARC agenda has also been the promotion of people to people contacts among the member countries to facilitate greater interaction and appreciation of the rich common cultural heritage of the region.

SAARC has recently concluded a comprehensive appraisal of the Association during the past decade by a Group of Eminent Persons (GEP) drawn from the region. Their Report, which was presented to the Tenth SAARC Summit held in Colombo in July 1998 contained a number of recommendations aimed at strengthening the Association and a Plan of Action including a SAARC agenda for 2000 and beyond.

One of the most memorable achievements of SAARC has been the operationalization of SAARC Preferential Trading Arrangement (SAPTA) which came into force in December 1995. Under SAPTA three rounds of trade negotiations have been concluded and the fourth round is expected to commence in early 1999. Moreover, in its efforts to promote greater economic cooperation within the region, steps are already underway to initiate the realisation of a treaty regime on a South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) by the year 2001.

The SAARC Secretariat was established in Kathmandu on 16 January 1987. The signing of SAARC Charter on 8 December 1985 is marked annually as SAARC Charter Day by the Secretariat.

**GOVERNING BOARDS OF SAARC REGIONAL
CENTRES MEETSAARC TUBERCULOSIS CENTRE**

Kathmandu, Nepal on : December 22-23, 1998

Under the chairpersonship of Mrs. L. Savitri, Member of the Governing Board from India, the meeting reviewed progress in the implementation of the decisions taken at its Seventh Meeting. The administrative and financial matters pertaining to the Centre including budget estimates for the year January – December 1999 were also considered. The Board emphasised the importance of enhancing the professional capability of the Centre in view of the increased responsibility

that the Centre was called upon to carry out in the field of TB control. The meeting, in this context, noted the important initiatives underway between SAARC and CIDA to strengthen the Centre in terms of both programme content and institutional capability.

Under the calendar of activities for the year 1999, the meeting recommended SAARC Trainers Training Course for TB Control Managers, SAARC CIDA Workshop for formulation of regional strategy of TB and HIV/AIDS Control; SAARC meeting to formulate Urban TB Control Programme; SAARC Seminar on Gender and Sociological Issues related to Tuberculosis; Operational Research on Identification of Effective Models of Supervision and Different Models of Treatment Observation; and a Multi-centric Study of Drug Resistance.

The next meeting of the Governing Board of STC was proposed to be held in November 1999.

SAARC AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH CENTRE

Dhaka, Bangladesh : December 27-29, 1998

The Thirteenth Meeting of the Governing Board of SAARC Agricultural Information Centre (SAIC) was held in Dhaka from December 27-29. The Board reviewed the implementation of the decisions of its last meeting and considered the revised institutional and programme cost budget as well as the projected institutional and programme cost budgets of the Centre for the year 1999. This proposed budget would come up for consideration during the next sessions of the Standing Committee and Council of Ministers. In suggesting new programmes for the Centre for the year 1999, the Governing Board emphasised the need to enhance the quality of the programmes to be implemented by the Centre and to ensure tangible benefits for the Member States. The Board also noted that there was much scope for

reorienting the activities of the SAIC to take into account the new challenges facing South Asia and to ensure the timely dissemination of critical information needed for the sustained development of agriculture in all the SAARC countries.

SAARC 1998 – THE YEAR AHEAD

Among other important meetings, the SAARC Secretariat will host the Fourth Consultative Meeting of the Executive Heads of the Sub-Regional Organisations and ESCAP during, 1998

The year 1998 is likely to be an exciting year for SAARC. The mantle of SAARC Chairmanship will be passing on to Sri Lanka, which has already offered to host the next Summit some time in August. It will be the second time that Sri Lanka will be assuming the SAARC Chairmanship, the first having been during the Prime Minister ship of late Ranasinghe Premadasa. Ministerial meetings on Information and Communication are slated for March and May in Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, respectively. Undoubtedly, these meetings will be considerable landmarks in enhancing the visibility of SAARC in the region and its contributions to the cause of regional cooperation for the benefit of the peoples of the region.

Economic cooperation will continue to be a major agenda of SAARC in 1998. The Commerce Ministers will meet for the second time in Pakistan in February and the Second SAARC Trade Fair is also planned for 1998. The soon to be completed Third Round of Trade Negotiations will bring further momentum to the process of economic cooperation in the region.

On the social front, the 'Third Meeting of the SAARC Finance/ Planning Ministers, the first tier of the three tier mechanism on Poverty Eradication will be focusing on efforts to achieve the SAARC target of poverty eradication by the year 2002. The Environment Ministers, who are now scheduled to meet annually, will also be holding their third meeting in Sri Lanka. The 1998 theme for the SAARC Youth Award is "New Inventions and Discoveries".

Another important event in 1998 will be the hosting of the Fourth Consultative Meeting both the Executive Heads of the Sub-Regional Organisations and ESCAP at the SAARC Secretariat by the Secretary General. This will indeed be a first for the Secretariat and reflects the growing recognition of the Association amongst the international community.

MOVING TOWARDS SAFTA THIRD ROUND OF TRADE NEGOTIATIONS

Kathmandu, Nepal : January 20-22, 1998

In order to continue the process of Third Round of Trade Negotiations under SAPTA, the Second Meeting of the Inter-Governmental Group on Trade Liberalisation was held at the SAARC Secretariat, Kathmandu on January 20-22, 1998. The Meeting, attended by the representatives of all SAARC Member Countries, was chaired by G.M. Mandal, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Commerce, Government of Bangladesh and leader of the delegation of Bangladesh.

In his opening remarks, Ashok K. Attri, Director SAARC Secretariat, welcomed the delegates and outlined the mandate of the meeting. He expressed the hope that the Third Round of Trade Negotiations would be completed on schedule as per directives of the SAARC Leaders.

In the bilateral negotiations, the delegates discussed request lists supplied earlier and exchanged new request lists and information on trade and trade control measures. The main thrust was on conducting chapter wise and sector wise trade negotiations in addition to covering those products which are already being traded by the Member States. It was agreed to consider the across the board approach also in the subsequent Meetings of the present and the future Rounds of Trade Negotiations under SAPTA which would facilitate the task of moving towards SAFTA as per the mandated time schedule.

It may be recalled that the Council of Ministers at its Nineteenth Session (Male, November 29-30, 1997) also stressed the need for coordinated and effective action to achieve SAFTA within the stipulated time frame of 2001. The Council directed that this round must result in significant and equitable benefits to all Member States through substantial reduction in tariffs, increase in product coverage, removal of non-tariff barriers and other structural impediments to trade in the SAARC region. It also stressed the importance of adequately addressing the special needs of Least Developed Countries (LDCs), including preferential trade concessions on a non-reciprocal basis.

The Group also reviewed the progress in the implementation of the SAPTA Agreement and the recommendation of its first meeting at the national level. It agreed to hold its final meeting to Conclude the Third Round of Trade Negotiations under SAPTA in the last week of March 1998.

**STC ORGANISES TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR
STRENGTHENING IEC ACTIVITIES WITH SPECIAL
EMPHASIS ON TB AND HIV**

New Delhi, India : February 10-23, 1998

A TWO-WEEK SAARC TRAINING PROGRAMME was organized by the SAARC Tuberculosis Centre (STC) for Strengthening Information, Education and Communication (IEC) activities with special

emphasis on TB and HIV in the Central Health Education Bureau. The programme which was held in New Delhi from 10-23 February 1998 was attended by participants from Member Countries. The STC was represented by Dr. D.S. Bam, Director and Dr. P. Kumar, Deputy Director of the Centre.

The objective of the programme was to sensitise the participants about the role of STC in creating awareness and promoting behavioural changes for prevention and control of TB and HIV among different sections of the population.

While inaugurating the programme, Dr. S.P. Agarwal, Director General Health Services, New Delhi, India, informed that this IEC training programme is the first of this kind organised in the region and expressed appreciation to STC for organising the programme at a time when HIV and TB dual infection is on the increase in many parts of the developed and developing countries. He emphasized that this sort of training is relevant in the present time when we have no tools to treat HIV as of today and our 'hopes' lie only in strengthening the preventive aspects through effective IEC.

Country presentations were made by leaders of the delegations on IEC activities being undertaken in National TB Control Programmes of Member Countries.

At the conclusion of the training programme, participants were able to describe different components of IEC in raising awareness and promoting healthy behaviour; discuss the health situation in relation to TB and HIV in the SAARC region for assessing communication needs of the communities/clients; describe various stages of IEC planning, implementation and evaluation; identify different media and their role in promotion, prevention and control of TB and HIV; identify various IEC strategies for high risk groups such as, child labour, industrial workers,

migratory groups, population below the poverty line, sex workers, peddlers, intravenous drug users; share IEC experiments and experiences undertaken including innovative approaches among various SAARC countries to discuss the capacity building activities required for promoting IEC in health; and prepare an action plan for implementation of IEC activities by the participants in their respective countries.

INDIA HOSTS THE SECOND MEETING OF GROUP OF EMINENT PERSONS

New Delhi, India : February 16-19, 1998

The Second Meeting of the Group of Eminent Persons (GEP) was held in New Delhi, India from February 16-19, 1998. The Meeting was inaugurated by the Foreign Secretary of India, K.V. Ragunath. The Secretary General of SAARC, Naeem U. Hasan and the Chairman of the Group, Ibrahim Hussain Zaki also spoke at the Inaugural Session. Other Members of Group attending the second meeting of the GEP included, Prof. Rehman Sobhan from Bangladesh; Dasho Nado Rinchhen from Bhutan; Prof. Muchkund Dubey and Dr. V.A. Pai Panandiker from India, Y.K. Silwal and Dr. Badri Prasad Shrestha from Nepal; Niaz A. Naik from Pakistan; Mangala Munasinghe and Prof. Senake Bandaranayake from Sri Lanka.

The focus of discussion during the second meeting of the GEP was primarily on economic issues. Presentations on economic issues were made to the Group by a number of notable personalities: Dr. V.R. Panchmukhi, Director of the Research and Information System for the Non-Aligned and Other Developing Countries, New Delhi, and members of the SAARC Chamber of Commerce and Industry (SCCI). In addition, K.R. Venugopal, the Indian member of the Independent Commission on the Poverty Eradication and K.K. Bhargava, Convenor of the CASAC and former Secretary General of SAARC, also made presentations to the Group on issues of poverty eradication and the Integrated Programme of Action of SAARC (IPA), respectively. The Group also heard from the Secretary General regarding the achievements of SAARC in the past and future challenges ahead for the Association.

During their stay in Delhi, the members of the GEP were hosted by the Vice President of India at a dinner held in their honour. They also had an opportunity to call on the Prime Minister of India.

The Group of Eminent Persons was set up by the Ninth Summit to undertake a comprehensive appraisal of SAARC and to suggest ways and means of making the Association more effective in the future. The Group has also been asked to develop a perspective plan of action, including a SAARC Agenda for 2000 and beyond, spelling out targets that can and must be achieved by the year 2020.

The Final Report of the Group of Eminent Persons is expected to be presented to the SAARC leaders during their Tenth Summit scheduled to be held in Sri Lanka in July of this year.

**INDEPENDENT EXPERT GROUP ON IPA MEETS REVIEW
EXERCISE ON INTEGRATED PROGRAMME OF ACTION
(IPA) COMPLETED**

Kathmandu, Nepal : March 9-11, 1998.

THE INDEPENDENT EXPERT GROUP, set up by the Secretary General of SAARC, completed a major review exercise on the SAARC Integrated Programme of Action (IPA) in its final meeting held at the SAARC Secretariat from 9-11 March 1998.

Headed by Faruq Ahmad Choudhury, Former Foreign Secretary of Bangladesh, the Group comprises several other prominent members, including Abul Ahsan and K.K. Bhargava, former Secretaries General of SAARC from Bangladesh and India respectively; Ambassador (Mrs.) Manel Abeysekera from Sri Lanka; Ambassador Sundar Nath Bhattarai

and Prabal S.J.B. Rana from Nepal; Ambassador Kamran Niaz from Pakistan; Ahmed Latheef from Maldives; and Thinley Dorji from Bhutan.

The Group carried out a major review of the IPA which forms a key component of the SAARC process and focuses on promoting cooperation among Member Countries of the Association in areas such as agriculture; communication; education, culture and sports; environment and meteorology; health, population activities and child welfare; prevention of drug trafficking and drug abuse; rural development; science and technology; tourism; transport; and women in development.

The Group made important and far reaching recommendations to significantly overhaul the IPA programmes and enhance their effectiveness viz., Nomenclature and number of Committees; Chairpersonship and frequency of the Meetings of the Committees; Regional Centres; Ad-hoc Bodies; Selection of IPA projects, programmes and activities; level of participation; participation of NGOs/Private Sector and Professional Bodies in the activities of SAARC; procedure for reporting on activities; procedures for communication; follow up measures; implementation; financing mechanism; monitoring; evaluation; assessment and directives; strengthening of National Focal Points (NFPs) and Sectoral Focal Points (SFPs) and coordination between them; strengthening of SAARC Secretariat; and dissemination of information.

The Secretary General of SAARC, Naeem U. Hasan addressed both the inaugural and concluding sessions of the final meeting of the Independent Expert Group held at the SAARC Secretariat and expressed the confidence that the very useful work done by the Group would make a major contribution to the strengthening of the IPA in a significant way.

**SECRETARY GENERAL ATTENDS CAIRO CONFERENCE
ON "THE EMERGING ARAB MARKET, EU, ASEAN AND
SAARC"**

Cairo, Egypt : March 14-18, 1998

SECRETARY GENERAL NAEEM H. HASAN attended the four-day International Conference held in Cairo from March 14 to 18 on the theme, "Unleashing Market Forces and Building Cohesion : The Emerging Arab Common Market, EU, ASEAN and SAARC". Organized by the renowned German NGO, the Friedrich Naumann Stiftung (FNSt), in collaboration with the Arab League Headquarters the Conference was attended, amongst others by high level representatives from the Arab League, EU, ASEAN and SAARC.

The Secretary General in his presentation to the Conference referred to the recent trends towards greater globalization and its various consequences. He noted that regional cooperation may help countries in South Asia and other regions around the globe to create adequate space for mutually beneficial trade and investment, and stressed that regional cooperation is also necessary to address problems and challenges of a cross-boundary nature. Mr. Hasan also briefed the participants on SAARC's rich economic and social agenda and underscored the need for greater interaction among regional organizations to benefit from each other's experience.

While in Cairo, the Secretary General also held extensive discussions with his counterparts from the Arab League, EU and ASEAN on matters of mutual interest.

SCCI CONVENES SAARC ECONOMIC COOPERATION CONFERENCE

Islamabad, Pakistan : March 18-19, 1998

SAARC CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY (SCCI) organized the Second SAARC Economic Cooperation Conference in Islamabad from March 18 to 19. The two day Conference in Islamabad which was inaugurated by Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif brought together all the SCCI representatives from the Member States, including a large number of personalities from the private sector in the region. Mr. Muhammad Ishaq Dar, Commerce Minister of Pakistan delivered the keynote Address at the Inaugural Session of the Conference.

Addressing the Inaugural Session of the conference, Secretary General Naeem U. Hasan complimented the SCCI for its timely and commendable initiative to hold the Conference and cited the potential of private sector to reinforce the SAARC process for accelerating growth and development in the region. Mr. Hasan also referred to many daunting challenges that the South Asian countries must address both individually and collectively to ensure peace, progress and stability in the region, and in this context, expressed the confidence that the present Conference would be yet another move forward in activating private sector to effectively respond to the emerging needs of the Association.

The SCCI Conference in Islamabad concentrated on the many formidable challenges facing South Asia and considered most effective ways to address them. The issues covered during the Conference include important subjects such as Trade, Telecommunication, Women Entrepreneurs, Human Resources Development, Science and Technology, Travel and Tourism, Investment, Energy, Business Information and Data Networking, and Social Dimension of Business Development.

The Economic Conference in Islamabad was preceded by the SCCI Seminar on SAARC Economic Union and Eleventh Executive Committee meeting in Karachi and Lahore respectively.

It may be recalled that the First SAARC Economic Cooperation Conference was held in New Delhi in November 1996 under the auspices of the SAARC Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

**TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON PREVENTION
 OF DRUG TRAFFICKING AND DRUG
 ABUSES MEETS IN MALE'**

Male', Maldives : March 25-26, 1998

The Twelfth Meeting Of The Technical Committee On Prevention Of Drug Trafficking And Drug Abuse was held in Male' on March 25-26, 1998. The meeting was inaugurated by the Maldivian Commissioner of Police, Brigadier Adam Zahir who reiterated the commitment of his Government to the efforts of SAARC Community to combat the menace of drug from the region. The SAARC Secretariat was represented by Director, Tahir Iqbal Butt.

The Committee considered the reports of the four day Workshops on Money Laundering, and on Relapse Prevention held in Islamabad and New Delhi, respectively in 1997. It also reviewed the progress in its earlier decisions on several ongoing cooperation activities. The Committee was informed that the Government of Pakistan has enacted enabling legislation under the SAARC Convention on Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances and also that further amendments to the existing Legislation were expected to be made shortly by the Government of India.

The SAARC Drug Offences Monitoring Desk (SDOMD) is to be further strengthened through cooperation in making available

information/data to the Desk on a quarterly basis. It was also agreed that the networking arrangements among existing institutions in drug abuse prevention, treatment and rehabilitation would be strengthened.

GET MEETS AT THE SAARC SECRETARIAT

Kathmandu, Nepal : April 2-5, 1998

The Members Of The Group Of Eminent Persons (GEP) met at the SAARC Secretariat from April 2-5, 1998 for their third meeting.

The meeting was chaired by Ibrahim Hussain Zaki, Minister of Tourism of Maldives, and was attended by Mohammed Mohsin from Bangladesh; Lhatu Wangchuk from Bhutan; Prof. Muchkund Dubey and Dr. V.A. Pai Panandiker from India; Y.K. Silwal and Dr. Badri Prasad Shrestha from Nepal; Niaz A. Naik from Pakistan; Mangala Munasinghe, and Prof. Senake Bandaranayake from Sri Lanka; and Naeem U. Hasan, Secretary General of SAARC.

The Secretary General of SAARC, who opened the meeting, welcomed the members of the GEP to the Secretariat, underscored the responsibility entrusted to the Group and the significance of its third meeting in Kathmandu.

The Group deliberated specifically on the areas of Functional Cooperation within the framework of IPA; Poverty Eradication; Social Agenda; Institutional matters, including the strengthening of SAARC Secretariat. The Group further discussed matters pertaining to the comprehensive appraisal of SAARC and measures and mechanisms to further vitalize and enhance the effectiveness of the Association; Perspective Plan of Action beyond 2000, including a vision for 2020 in Economic and Trade Cooperation. They also agreed on the work programme for their Fourth Meeting. The Group is expected to finalize its report and recommendations at its next meeting in Male' in June 1998. Thereafter, the Report of the Group would be presented at the Tenth SAARC Summit, scheduled to be held in Colombo in July this year.

SDC GOVERNING BOARD MEETS IN NEW DELHI**New Delhi, India : April 16-17, 1998**

The fifth meeting of the Governing Board of the SAARC Documentation Centre (SDC) was held on April 16-17 at the Indian National Scientific documentation centre (INSDOC) in New Delhi.

The meeting was attended by the Members of the Governing Board from Bangladesh, India, Maldives, Nepal and Sri Lanka. Director Tahir Iqbal Butt represented the SAARC Secretariat at the meeting.

The meeting during its two-day deliberations reviewed the implementation of its activities/programmes for the year 1997-98 and agreed on the activities/programmes to be organized during the year 1998-99. The Board considered three major database products which have come out of SDC in the last year namely: (i) Select bibliography on Alternative Systems of Medicine in the SAARC region; (ii) Directory of Research and Industrial Institutions in SAARC region; and (iii) Directory of SAARC Periodicals.

While noting the importance of short-term courses and training programmes in enhancing the capacity of the professionals in the field of library and information science, the Governing Board emphasised the importance of information dissemination and the necessity to carry out awareness programmes in the member countries.

FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION IN THE SAARC REGION**SAARC Information Ministers adopt eighteen point
Plan of Action****Dhaka, Bangladesh : April 25-26, 1998**

THE SAARC INFORMATION MINISTERS meeting in Dhaka on April 25-26 adopted the Dhaka Communique on a Plan of Action on

SDC GOVERNING BOARD MEETS IN NEW DELHI**New Delhi, India : April 16-17, 1998**

The fifth meeting of the Governing Board of the SAARC Documentation Centre (SDC) was held on April 16-17 at the Indian National Scientific documentation centre (INSDOC) in New Delhi.

The meeting was attended by the Members of the Governing Board from Bangladesh, India, Maldives, Nepal and Sri Lanka. Director Tahir Iqbal Butt represented the SAARC Secretariat at the meeting.

The meeting during its two-day deliberations reviewed the implementation of its activities/programmes for the year 1997-98 and agreed on the activities/programmes to be organized during the year 1998-99. The Board considered three major database products which have come out of SDC in the last year namely: (i) Select bibliography on Alternative Systems of Medicine in the SAARC region; (ii) Directory of Research and Industrial Institutions in SAARC region; and (iii) Directory of SAARC Periodicals.

While noting the importance of short-term courses and training programmes in enhancing the capacity of the professionals in the field of library and information science, the Governing Board emphasised the importance of information dissemination and the necessity to carry out awareness programmes in the member countries.

FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION IN THE SAARC REGION**SAARC Information Ministers adopt eighteen point
Plan of Action****Dhaka, Bangladesh : April 25-26, 1998**

THE SAARC INFORMATION MINISTERS meeting in Dhaka on April 25-26 adopted the Dhaka Communique on a Plan of Action on

Information and Media. The 18 point Plan of Action aimed to facilitate free flow of information, among others, includes: provisions for holding an annual conference of editors and working journalists from SAARC countries; creation of a web page for exchange of news amongst news agencies of SAARC countries; exploring the feasibility of setting up a SAARC Information Centre with Media Production, Research and Training Units, as well as a SAARC Media Development Fund.

The Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Sheikh Hasina inaugurated the meeting. In her inaugural address, the prime Minister stressed the need for fully realizing the potential of better flow of information in order to promote regional cooperation in South Asia and pursue specific regional objectives in the vital areas of agriculture, health, education, industries, commerce, tourism and culture. She underscored the fact that greater cooperation among the representatives of the print and electronic media is a prerequisite for the promotion of peace, progress and prosperity in South Asia.

The State Minister for Information of Bangladesh, Prof. Abu Sayeed, welcomed the delegates and stated that the media organizations of SAARC countries have an important role to play in achieved the cherished goals of friendship, cooperation and as vancement of the people of the SAARC region.

The Secretary General of SAARC, Naeem U. Hasan also addressed the inaugural session of the meeting. He underscored the need for evolving a SAARC strategy and information agenda in order to fully utilize the potential of media and communications in South Asia. He also emphasised the need for effective steps to project the image of SAARC both in South Asia and the outside world.

**ACCELERATION OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION
IN SOUTH ASIA****SAARC COMMERCE MINISTERS MEET IN ISLAMABAD****Islamabad, Pakistan : April 30, 1998**

The two-day Second Meeting of the SAARC Commerce Minister concluded on April 30, 1998 in Islamabad by adopting a number of important proposals to accelerate economic cooperation in South Asia.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mohammad Nawaz Sharif, inaugurated the meeting and the Commerce Minister of Pakistan, Mohammad Ishaq Dar presided over its deliberations. The Commerce Ministers of all the Member Countries participated in the meeting. The Secretary General of SAARC Naeem U. Hasan was also present on the occasion.

During the meeting, the Commerce Ministers of SAARC Member Countries exchanged ideas and shared information on the highlights of the recent trade policies of their countries and steps taken by them to reinforce the SAARC process of trade liberalization within the framework of SAPTA. They also considered several concrete measures to accelerate greater economic cooperation in the region, enhance intra-SAARC trade flow, protection and promotion of investment within a regional framework, promotion of trade inducing investment, avoidance of double taxation, harmonisation and simplification of customs procedures, improvement of transport and communication system and establishment of an effective dispute settlement mechanism.

It was decided during the meeting that the Member Countries would conclude the Third Round of Trade Negotiations under SAPTA on a priority basis before the Tenth SAARC Summit and necessary preparatory work would be undertaken for the Fourth Round of Trade

Negotiations immediately after the conclusion of the Third Round of Trade Negotiations. The meeting also decided that the third meeting of the inter-Governmental Expert Group (IGEG) on Transition to SAFTA would carry on the necessary preparatory work on specific issues relating to the creation of a free trade area in South Asia. To help the IGEG it has also been decided that a comprehensive Study would be carried out on the implications for Member Countries of the transition to SAFTA.

During their deliberations, the Ministers decided to encourage greater coordination among Member Countries to adopt a uniform approach on issues of common concern in the context of specific WTO negotiations. It was also decided to establish a Coordinating Group of SAARC Permanent Representatives at the WTO to facilitate consultations on various issues of concern to the Member Countries including the new issues being pursued by the developed countries for inclusion in WTO with a view to adopting coordinated and convergent positions which are mutually supportive.

Bangladesh announced its offer to host the Third Meeting of the SAARC Commerce Ministers in Dhaka in February 1999 to carry forward the important work of the SAARC Commerce Ministers. Similarly, the meeting also welcomed the offer of Pakistan to host the Third SAARC Trade Fair in 1999. It would be preceded by the Second SAARC Trade Fair to be held in Colombo during September this year.

During the meeting, an interactive consultative session was organised by the SAARC Chamber of Commerce and Industry (SCCI) which provided a welcome opportunity to the Ministers and representatives of SCCI to discuss various ways to further strengthen mutually reinforcing role of Governments of SAARC Countries and the private sector to promote greater economic cooperation in South Asia.

PRESIDENT GAYOOM VISITS THE SAARC SECRETARIAT

Kathmandu, Nepal : May 4, 1998.

President of the Republic of Maldives and the current Chairperson of SAARC, Maumoon Abdul Gayoom visited the SAARC Secretariat on May 4, 1998. President Gayoom was making an official visit to Nepal as part of his tour of the SAARC countries. Before coming to Nepal, he had already visited Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Bhutan.

The President was welcomed to the Secretariat by the SAARC Secretary General, Naeem U. Hasan. The President and the Secretary General exchanged views on SAARC related matters, particularly with regard to the follow up action being taken by the Secretariat following the Ninth SAARC Summit and the subsequent Council of Ministers meeting held in Male last year. The Secretary General apprised the President about the working of the Secretariat and the increasing need for professional staff to enable the Secretariat to address, the expanded responsibilities being entrusted to it in recent times.

During his visit to the Secretariat, the President also met with the Directors and complimented the Secretary General and his staff for their hard work and the important role played by the Secretariat in strengthening the SAARC process. The President also took the opportunity to visit the Secretariat library and signed the visitor's book.

The Secretary General thanked the President for visiting the Secretariat and presented him with a logo of SAARC on the occasion.

President Gayoom was accompanied by the Minister of State for Presidential Affairs, Mohammed Hussain, Deputy Foreign Minister of Maldives, Salah Shihab, Ambassador of Maldives to Nepal, Abdul Azeez Yoosuf and other senior officials.

**HIGH LEVEL EXPERT GROUP ON
TELECOMMUNICATIONS MEETS AT THE SAARC
SECRETARIAT**

Kathmandu, Nepal : May 11-13, 1998

A High Level Expert Group Meeting on Telecommunications was held at the SAARC Secretariat on May 11-13, 1998 at which the experts on telecommunications from all SAARC countries were present. A representative from ITU also participated in the meeting as an observer. The High level Expert Group Meeting was constituted by the Council of Ministers at its Seventeenth Session held in New Delhi in December 1996.

The representatives from Member States presented country papers highlighting the present status of telecommunications in their respective countries and future plans. They emphasised the need for greater cooperation amongst Member Countries in the field of telecommunications and made several proposals to enhance cooperation in the area. The ITU representative also made a presentation to the Group.

After detailed deliberations, the Expert Group made several recommendations for enhancing cooperation in the field of telecommunications in the SAARC region. The salient features of the recommendations include: adoption of cost effective communication links; reduction of telecom tariffs in the intra-SAARC region to the lowest extent feasible; providing direct links, especially across borders between Member Countries wherever feasible; digitalization of all inter-country links, preferably by December 1999; seeking assistance from ITU to avail of the resources of the Centre Excellence in setting up Websites/Databases etc. in the region for exchanging information to accelerate telecommunications development; introduction of No.7 signalling on the inter-country links among SAARC Countries, wherever feasible; deferring the establishment of a SAARC Satellite until

generation of required demand; standardisation and harmonisation of customer premises equipment in the SAARC region; promotion of R&D activities and exchange of expertise in all telecom disciplines among the Member States; adopting the products and technologies developed in the SAARC region to the extent that such products and technologies conform to the specifications and standards of respective countries; and development of human resources in the telecom sector.

It may be mentioned that the above recommendations were considered by the First SAARC Communication Ministers' Conference, which was held in Colombo. Several of these recommendations were included in the Plan of Action adopted by the Communication Ministers.

**TELECOM TARIFFS WITHIN THE SAARC REGION TO BE
REDUCED TO THE LOWEST EXTENT FEASIBLE
SAARC COMMUNICATION MINISTERS MEET IN
COLOMBO**

Colombo, Sri Lanka : May 22-24, 1998

The three-day SAARC Communication Ministers' Conference held in Colombo on May 22-24, 1998 concluded with the adoption of a SAARC Plan of Action on Telecommunications by the Ministers. The first ever Communications Conference was attended by all Member States and the SAARC Secretary General, Naeem U. Hasan, represented the SAARC Secretariat.

The Conference which was chaired by Mangala Samaraweera MP, Minister of Posts, Telecommunications and the Media of the Government of Sri Lanka, deliberated on the many issues confronting the region in the field of telecommunications. It identified several goals and objectives of a SAARC strategy to promote cooperation among Member States on a sustained basis in this vital field for development.

The Plan of Action adopted by the Ministers envisaged, inter-alia, reduction of telecom tariffs within the SAARC region; utilization of direct links across borders wherever feasible; facilitating intra-regional communications for the traveler and entrepreneur; encouraging cooperation among regulatory authorities and administrations to develop appropriate performance indicators for the region setting up of websites/database in exchange formation on telecommunication standards, and consultations at multiple levels among communications ministries and regulatory authorities in the SAARC region to evolve common positions on issues of regional concern on telecommunications at international fora.

The Conference was inaugurated by the President of Sri Lanka, Mrs. Chandrika Bandaranaika Kumaratunga, who in her key note speech referred to the importance of addressing the two inter-related phenomena of globalisation and the rise of information societies. The President emphasised the role of competition, private investment and regulation in reforming the telecommunications sector. She expressed confidence that the Conference would build on the synergies of telecommunications reform processes in the region in a way that SAARC telecommunications systems would be knit together.

The SAARC Secretary General, Naeem U. Hasan also addressed the inaugural session. He underscored the need for evolving a SAARC strategy and harnessing the resources of the region to address the twin objectives of improving the telecommunications facilities within South Asia and upgrade it adequately to fully realize the potential of the ongoing communications revolution in the region.

SAARC MEET REVEIWS EDUCATION, CULTURE AND SPORTS ACTIVITIES

Thimphu, Bhutan : May 26-27, 1998

The fifth meeting of the SAARC Technical Committee on Education, Culture and Sports was held in Thimphu, Bhutan on May 26-

27, 1998. All SAARC Member States participated at this meeting and the SAARC Secretariat was represented by Director, Suresh Pradhan.

The meeting was inaugurated by the Deputy Minister of Health and Education, Lyonpo Tsewang Rixin. In his inaugural address, the Deputy Minister, elaborated on the achievements of the SAARC region in the field of education, culture and sports. While recognizing these achievements and genuine efforts being made by individual countries, he also urged the Technical Committee to facilitate regional collaborative efforts in addressing many of the issues and concerns.

The Committee reviewed the progress in the seven priority areas under education, networking arrangements for sharing of information on mass literacy programmes, preparation of an anthology of short stories of the SAARC region, joint production of books, audio and visual cassettes and the preservation of oral traditions by recording, holding of SAARC Cup cricket tournament. The meeting also identified a number of problems associated with implementation of the SAARC Chairs, Fellowships and Scholarships Scheme and submitted proposals to strengthen the scheme in future.

The Committee also decided that Pakistan would prepare a concept paper to create a Consortium of Open Universities in the SAARC region. It may be mentioned here that Pakistan, Sri Lanka, India and Bangladesh have such Universities in the region and Nepal is in the process of establishment. During the Ninth SAARC Summit in Male' the Heads of State of Government recognizing the resource, manpower and infrastructural constraints to the promotion of vocational and higher education in the region, had agreed that the possibility of the creation of Consortium of Open Universities in the region should be explored, considering that new and innovative methods like open learning and a distance education can play an effective role in meeting regional needs in a cost effective and flexible manner.

A tour programme by ship for youth of SAARC Countries under the title "SAARC-SHIP" was also envisaged in this meeting.

The Committee formulated its Calendar of Activities for the year 1999. Including activities to be funded under SAARC Japan Special Fund.

**SECRETARY GENERAL CALLS ON THE NEPALESE
PRIME MINISTER**

Kathmandu, Nepal : June 2, 1998

Secretary General Naeem U. Hasan paid a courtesy call on Rt. Hon. Girija Prasad Koirala, Prime Minister of Nepal on June 2, 1998 during which the Secretary General felicitated the Prime Minister on the latter's re-assumption of the high office.

During the meeting, the Secretary General apprised the Prime Minister about the activities of SAARC, with particular emphasis on the forthcoming Tenth SAARC Summit to be held in Colombo in July this year. The work of the Group of Eminent Persons (GEP) set up by the Ninth Summit also figured prominently in the discussion.

Later that day, the Secretary General called on H.E. Mr. Murari Raj Sharma, Foreign Secretary of Nepal at the latter's office. During the call, the Secretary General updated the Foreign Secretary about the current SAARC activities. Matters pertaining to the Tenth Summit also came up for discussion.

**TECHNICAL COMMITTEE MEETS ON HEALTH,
POPULATION ACTIVITIES AND
CHILD WELFARE**

Colombo, Sri Lanka : June 2-4, 1998

The sixteenth meeting of the Technical Committee on Health, Population Activities and Child Welfare was held in Colombo from June 2-4, 1998.

The meeting was inaugurated by Nimal Siripala De Silva, Minister of Health and Indigenous Medicine of Sri Lanka. In his inaugural address, the Minister highlighted the importance of feedback and follow up action of the proposals made by the Committee to ensure actual impact on the health of the communities in the Member Countries. He further emphasized the need for development of sustainable health policies by the SAARC countries to address the health issues and challenges in the 21st century.

The meeting considered a number of subjects, including implementation of the Rawalpindi Resolution on Children (1996), which among others, called to eliminate child labour from the region by the year 2010 A.D. and the establishment of a Study Group at an appropriate level to examine the social compulsions that create the problem.

The three-day meeting reviewed progress achieved since its last meeting in the areas relating to networking arrangements for eradicating malaria, and periodic meetings of Programme Managers; establishment of networking arrangements among institutions in the Member States in the field of Population Research and Training, and harmonization of National Laws in the areas of Health and Population Activities.

The Committee reviewed the situation of children in SAARC countries for 1997 including the polio immunization campaign carried

out annually in SAARC countries and prospect for further cooperation among Member States to eliminate polio from the region Other subjects discussed at the meeting included emerging problems in the field of communicable and non-communicable diseases and need for inter-country cooperation; improvement of nutritional standards particularly for children and women in the SAARC region, including possibility of elaborating a SAARC initiative in the matter, and proposal for cooperation with UN, international and regional organizations in the field of health, population activities and child welfare. During the meeting the Maldives delegation circulated a draft on the proposed Convention on regional arrangements on the promotion of child welfare in South Asia.

GOVERNING BOARD OF SADF MEETS IN NEPAL

Kathmandu, Nepal : June 4-6, 1998

The third meeting of the Governing Board of the South Asian Development Fund (SADF) was held in Pokhara, Nepal from June 4-6, 1998. The SAARC Secretariat was represented by Director Tahir Iqbal Butt.

The meeting finalized the operational modalities of Window-II of the Fund and urged Member States to forward their views/comments to SADF on operational modalities for Window-III. It reviewed the present position of sponsorship for the project studies completed/commissioned and made recommendations for action by the Member States including exploration of possibility of syndicate finance, formation of joint venture, and wider dissemination of information. A draft Memorandum of Understanding for project sponsors was also finalised.

The meeting reiterated the need for creation of a US\$ 5.0 million corpus fund with the contributions from Member States for Window II of

the Fund, and suggested that Nodal DFIs should forward a list of core institutions dealing in financial, management and skill development so that possibility of exchange programme could be explored for human resource development.

The Board also suggested a Training Programme in the field of Financial Management/Executive Development from SAARC Japan Special Fund.

The Chairmanship and the Secretariat of the Fund would move to Industrial Development Bank of India (IDBI) with effect from June 18, 1998 with the completion of the tenure of Bangladesh.

**GROUP OF EMINENT PERSONS
CONCLUDES ITS WORK**

Male', Maldives : June 8-11, 1998

With the adoption of its final Report, the Group of Eminent Persons (GEP) concluded its work at its fourth and last meeting held in Male' from June 8 to 11. The Report of the GEP will be considered by the Heads of State or Government at the forth coming Tenth SAARC Summit scheduled to be held in Colombo from July 29-31, 1998.

The GEP which was constituted by the Ninth Summit held in Male' in May 1997 comprised personalities from within the SAARC region with distinguished backgrounds in activities pertaining to regional cooperation. The GEP was mandated to undertake a comprehensive appraisal of SAARC and identify measures including mechanisms to further vitalize and enhance the effectiveness of the Association in achieving its objectives. The Group was also entrusted to develop a long range vision and formulate a perspective plan of action including a SAARC Agenda for 2000 and Beyond.

The Group which began its work at its first meeting held in Male' from December 5 to 6, 1997 continued its strenuous task at its subsequent meetings held in New Delhi from February 16 to 19, 1998 and at the SAARC Secretariat in Kathmandu from April 2 to 5, 1998, before concluding its task at its final meeting held in Male' last month. Hon. I.H. Zaki, Minister of Tourism of the Government of Maldives and one of the Maldivian nominees to the Group, served as the Chairperson of the Group.

During the course of four rounds of meetings it held, the Group had occasions to interact with top political leaders; members of intelligentsia, experts on economic and social issues, and regional cooperation; and representatives of business community, including the SAARC Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Naeem U. Hasan, SAARC Secretary General attended all meetings of the Group and made several presentations on the subjects deliberated by the Group.

SCCI PRESIDENTIAL MISSION VISITS SAARC SECRETARIAT

Kathmandu, Nepal : June 18, 1998

Led by its President, Mr. K.K. Podar, a SAARC Chamber of Commerce and Industry (SCCI) delegation comprising SCCI representatives from the SAARC Member States visited the Secretariat on June 18. The SCCI delegation was warmly received by Secretary General, Naeem U. Hasan and the Directors at the Secretariat.

During the visit, the SCCI team had an interactive session with the Secretary General. The session was devoted to discussion on the ongoing

economic cooperation under the framework of SAARC during which a wide range of economic issues, including matters pertaining to SAPTA and SAFTA, was covered. The Secretary General also briefed the visiting delegation about the outcome of the Second SAARC Commerce Ministers' meeting held in Islamabad early this year.

Subsequently, the Secretary General addressed the SCCI Conference on SAARC Economic Union held in Kathmandu on June 19. During the address, the Secretary General complimented the SCCI "for their very positive contribution to the promotion of SAARC cooperation in the core economic areas, particularly in providing the much needed forum to facilitate interaction to the private entrepreneurs and investors from the region who can and must play a vital role in accelerating economic cooperation in our part of the world".

**EXPERT GROUP FORMULATES
DRAFT SAARC CONVENTION ON PREVENTING AND
COMBATING TRAFFICKING IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN
FOR PROSTITUTION**

New Delhi, India : June 18-19, 1998

An Expert Group meeting to negotiate the text of a SAARC Convention on Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Women and Children for Prostitution was held in New Delhi from 18-19 June 1998. All Member States participated in the meeting. The SAARC Secretariat was represented by Director Kunzang C. Namgyel.

Ms. Asha Das, Secretary, Department of Women and Child Development of India inaugurated the meeting. She outlined the legal and other steps taken in India to deal with the problem of trafficking in women and children. She stressed the need to identify common ground

and formalise the commitment to eliminate trafficking of women and children for prostitution. The Secretary expressed the hope that member States would be able to draw up an effective and enforceable convention on prevention of trafficking in women and children in the region by sharing with one another their experiences in the efforts to curb trafficking.

The Expert Group considered the working paper prepared by India and which was based on inputs received from Member States for the purpose of negotiating the draft Convention on Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Women and Children for Prostitution.

The Group, after detailed discussion, decided to submit a draft on the subject with their comments for the consideration of the Thirteenth meeting of the Technical Committee on Women in Development. Brief presentations on the situation of trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation as well as the legal and other steps taken to combat trafficking in their respective countries were made by the country delegates at the meeting.

**SAARC MEET REVEIWS THE PLAN OF
ACTION ON WOMEN**

Kathmandu, Nepal : June 28-30, 1998

The thirteenth meeting of the SAARC Technical Committee on Women in Development was held in Kathmandu from June 28-30, 1998.

The meeting was inaugurated by Ms. Meena Panday, Minister of State for Women and Social Welfare of Nepal. Addressing the participants, she highlighted the importance attached to the issues relating to women which was one of the priority areas in the develop-

ment agenda of Nepal. The Minister of State referred to the multidimensional initiatives taken by His Majesty's Government of Nepal to bring women to the mainstream of development. Among others who addressed the opening session were Ms. Kamala Pant, Assistant Minister of State for Women and Social Welfare of Nepal and Ms. Kunzang C. Namgyel, Director of SAARC Secretariat.

The Technical Committee reviewed the implementation of the SAARC Plans of Action on Women, Girl Child and Girl Children in Especially Difficult Circumstances. Status reports were presented on the common formats approved for the purpose of uniform reporting. The country presentations focused on action taken at the national level to implement the various plans of action in keeping with the priority attached to the issues of women and the girl child by the Member States.

The Committee also identified gender desegregated data as a major constraint for planners and policy makers engaged in formulating and monitoring implementation of Plans for women and children. In this context, the Committee endorsed the proposal by Sri Lanka on setting up of a data bank at the Women's Cell at the Secretariat to compile and generate data relating to vital statistics on women.

Among other issues, the meeting reviewed implementation of Dhaka Resolution on women, and finalisation of Guide Books on Women in Development. The Committee also selected "Women in Politics" as the theme for the Sixth SAARC Solidarity Journal.

One of the most important tasks before the Technical Committee was to finalise the draft Convention on Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Women and Children for Prostitution directed by the Ninth SAARC Summit. The draft Convention, along with the comments of the Committee, will be submitted to the forthcoming session of the Standing Committee schedule to meet in Colombo during the last week of July.

**TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON PREVENTION OF DRUG
TRAFFICKING AND DRUG ABUSE MEETS****Male', Maldives : January 27-29, 1999**

The thirteenth meeting of the Technical Committee met in Male' from 27-29 January. Delegates from all Member Countries participated and the Secretariat was represented by Director, Abdul Ghafoor Mohamed.

Reviewing the implementation of activities since its last meeting, the Committee noted the recommendations made by the two workshops held on Money Laundering and on Relapse Prevention in Islamabad and New Delhi, respectively. The Committee endorsed the recommendations for consideration by the higher SAARC bodies and noted that some legal provision covering Money Laundering was already available in the national legislation of most Member States. While agreeing with the recommendation of the workshop on Relapse Prevention that a sub-committee should be established within the existing Technical Committee, it, however, decided that the suggested measures could be for the present addressed by the committee itself as a whole.

During the meeting, the Committee also reviewed progress in enactment of enabling legislation under the SAARC Convention on Narcotics Drugs and Psychotropic Substances and progress in the implementation of networking arrangements among existing South Asian Institutions in Drug Abuse Prevention, Treatment and Rehabilitation.

The Committee recommended for inclusion in the calendar of activities for the year 1999 (a) workshop on precursor, chemical for law enforcement officers and industry, and (b) workshop on legislation for money laundering with emphasis on Narcotics Drugs. Both workshops would be hosted by India. Pakistan and Nepal offered to host two activities under the SAARC-Japan special fund.

**PROCESS OF REGIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION
STRENGTHENED**

**COMMERCE SECRETARIES OF
SAARC COUNTRIES MEET IN DHAKA**

Dhaka, Bangladesh : January 31st and 1 February, 1999

The tenth meeting of Commerce Secretaries (Committee on Economic Cooperation) was held in Dhaka on 31st January and 1st February and was inaugurated by Tofail Ahmed, M.P., Minister of Commerce and Industry, Government of Bangladesh. The Minister drew attention to the role regional economic cooperation can play in the amelioration of poverty.

SAARC Secretary General, Nihal Rodrigo drew specific attention to the fact that South Asia needed also to urgently consider how best it should deal with the challenges posed to the region by its international economic environment, especially in respect of the many issues relating to Intellectual Property Rights, and international monetary, financial and investment matters, that are being debated at the multilateral level, including at WTO.

The meeting agreed on a number of important issues which would positively impact on regional economic cooperation. In the area of multi-lateral negotiations, the Meeting recognised the need to intensify consultations among Member States so as to coordinate positions. A series of meetings have accordingly been proposed, first at the level of Commerce Secretaries to be followed up with Ministerial level consultations on a variety of subjects such as the forth coming WTO Ministerial Meeting, issues pertaining to Intellectual Property Rights, Food Safety and Hygiene, Standards, Multilateral Agreement on Investments, etc.

On the subject of boosting intra-regional trade, the meeting set deadlines for the commencement and conclusion of the Fourth Round of Trade Negotiations under SAPTA and agreed further that the negotiations would preferably be on sectoral, chapter wise or on across the board basis. The special interests and concerns of the Least Developed Countries would be fully protected and ensured as mandated under the SAPTA Agreement. Furthermore, the downward revision of the domestic content requirement of the SAPTA Rules of Origin was approved.

A schedule of meetings has been agreed to facilitate putting into place a series of enabling mechanisms which would give substantive fillip to the process of regional economic cooperation and integration.

**NETWORK OF SAARC RESEARCHERS ON GLOBAL
FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES LAUNCHED**

Colombo, Sri Lanka : February 23-24, 1999

Following a decision taken at the Tenth Summit in Colombo to establish a Network of Researchers on Global Financial and Economic Issues, the first meeting was held in Colombo 23-24 February 1999 under the Chairmanship of Dr. Gamini Corea. The Network brings together representatives from private sector, the Central Banks, the Planning Ministries, research institutions, eminent economists, government and others whose principal responsibility would be to identify, analyse and help SAARC face up to current global, financial and economic developments affecting the region. Dr. Corea said that the Network would focus on external economic issues and the manner in which they impact not only on the Member States individually but on the region as a whole. The emerging global economic environment and the negotiations in the multilateral economic arena posed challenges which, Dr. Corea said, the network would critically examine with a view to identifying commonalties so that the region's interests were fully

protected and projected. In this context, the East Asian financial crisis, the forthcoming 3rd Ministerial WTO Meeting and in particular the attempt to introduce environmental standards, labour standards and other issues to restrict market access in the developed world, matters related to intellectual property rights, issues concerning international guidelines and norms with regard to food safety, hygiene, packaging and labeling, etc were raised by the participants as timely and urgent for consideration by the region.

Sri Lanka would be the coordinator for the Network for a period of two years after which the baton would pass on to Bangladesh. The SAARC Secretariat would interface with the coordinator and the other National Focal Points to facilitate identifying issues and bringing out reports. The next Meeting of the Network would be held in Colombo in May 1999.

**SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY MEET ENDS IN NEW
DELHI**

New Delhi, India : February 24-26, 1999

Sixteenth meeting of the SAARC Technical Committee on Science and Technology was held in New Delhi on February 24-26, 1999. Representatives from all Member States attended the meeting. SAARC Secretariat was represented by Director, Abdul Ghafoor Mohamed.

The meeting reviewed implementation of its earlier decisions and recommended new programmes and activities. One day was specially devoted for discussions on cooperation in biotechnology amongst SAARC countries this time. It was decided that in future, a one day session of experts in the area of biotechnology would be organised along with the annual meeting of the SAARC Technical Committee on Science and Technology. Member States agreed to consider a concept paper prepared by India on developing an institutional framework for cooperation in biotechnology.

The Committee identified a number of areas for collaboration and developing detailed Plans of Action, which would be prepared by the Department of Biotechnology, India, based on inputs received by the concerned Member States by end May 1999. The areas include, Plant Tissue Culture, Preparation of Inventory of medicinal and Aromatic Plants of the SAARC countries and Preparation of Various Herbal medicines used in Traditional Systems of Medicines; Plant Biotechnology, including Therapeutic Products, Edible Vaccines, etc. Vaccines and Diagnostics for Humans and Animals; Aquaculture; and Human Resource Development in Biotechnology.

An Expert Group meeting is to be held in India to finalize the action plan for cooperation in biotechnology.

A number of special projects are also to be submitted for consideration by the forthcoming meeting of the Science and Technology Ministers of SAARC countries to be held in India later this year. The Ministers have been mandated by the Tenth SAARC Summit to launch a SAARC Technology Initiative and Member States have been urged to submit proposals under the SAARC Technology Initiative for consideration by the SAARC S&T Ministers' Conference.

The Committee recommended that it would be highly desirable to prepare a common position of SAARC countries on the agenda and documents to be adopted at the World Conference on Science to be held at Budapest, Hungary from June 26 – July 1. It agreed to work towards finalizing a Consensus Report on behalf of SAARC countries for submission to the next meeting of the SAARC Council of Ministers.

The meeting also reviewed progress in the implementation of its activities under IPA and the SAARC Japan Special Fund and identified new proposals for implementation in 1999.

TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON TRANSPORT MEETS IN ISLAMABAD

Islamabad, Pakistan : March 3-4, 1999

The seventeenth meeting of the Technical Committee on Transport was held in Islamabad on March 3-4 with the participation of all Member States. The Committee discussed follow up actions taken since its last meeting on the Compendia of Information of Roads; Road Transport; Railway Transport; Air Transport; Directories on (1) Centres of excellence and (2) Consultants and experts in the field of transport; Highway safety; Public passenger transport; Driving licenses; Cooperation with international and regional organizations in the field of transport; and involvement of NGOs and the professional bodies in expanding cooperation in the transport sector.

The meeting felt that the recommendations as contained in the report on "Transport Infrastructure and Transit Facilities in the SAARC Region" needed to be updated by incorporating developments which had taken place in the region since the report was prepared in 1994. The Committee recommended that a team of experts, including a transport expert be constituted to identify specific measures for the implementation of the recommendations as contained in the report.

The launching of a SAARC website containing information on the transport sector was discussed at length. The need to develop a suitable format for launching information on transport in the website was flagged for the Committee's future consideration.

During the two day meeting, papers focusing on policy reforms and institutional re-structuring; road development and future strategy; axle load situation; and road management and financing were presented to the Committee.

The Committee agreed on the need to take up a technical study of the various rail systems operative in the SAARC countries and suggest measures for their development, maintenance and standardization as well as also train railway managers to improve their skill in the area of rail transportation management and multi-modal transportation. The study could dwell upon the possible areas of private participation.

The question of exploring possibilities of according recognition to a common Motor Vehicle Driving License acceptable to all Member States was discussed by the Technical Committee.

The Committee emphasized the need for follow up actions at national as well as Regional level on the recommendations made by the seminars/workshops held on a regular basis under this Committee. The Secretariat was requested to gather information in this respect from the Member States and prepare a document for the meeting of the Technical Committee on Transport in future.

SAARC STANDING COMMITTEE

HOLDS ITS TWENTY SIXTH SESSION

Nuwara Eliya, Sri Lanka : March 15-17, 1999

The twenty sixth session of the SAARC Standing Committee, comprising the Foreign Secretaries of Member States, was held at Nuwara Eliya, Sri Lanka on 15-17 March under the Chairmanship of the Foreign Secretary of Sri Lanka, Wilhelm Wourterz.

The three day meeting, which preceded the twenty first session of the Council of Ministers devoted one day specially to examination of the recommendations made by the Group of Eminent Persons on revitalizing SAARC and the Independent Expert Group on the Integrated Programme of Action which had reviewed the functioning of the various Technical Committees under the IPA.

The Committee heard the Analytical Report by the Secretary General of SAARC, Nihal Rodrigo, which reviewed the activities of SAARC since the twenty-fifth session of the Standing Committee. The Report also identified a number of priorities for action during the months leading up to the Eleventh SAARC Summit scheduled for later this year and highlighted matters on which decisions were required by the Committee.

The Foreign Secretaries approved various Reports of the Technical Committees that had met since the last meeting of the Standing Committee, which included, Agriculture, Science and Technology, Prevention of Drug Trafficking and Drug Abuse, Transport and the Report of the SAVE Committee.

The Reports of the Governing Boards of the SAARC Regional Centres, along with their budgets were approved by the Standing Committee during its twenty-sixth session. The Committee also considered the Report of the Expert Group on the Salaries and Allowances in the Regional Centres as well as the Report of the Secretary General regarding the implementation of the decisions of the Standing Committee on the functioning of the Regional Centres. It reviewed progress in the implementation of the two Regional Conventions on Drug Abuse and Terrorism. A meeting of Legal Experts is to be held in June in Sri Lanka which will, inter-alia, examine the need to update the Convention on Terrorism in the light of current developments in the field.

On the economic front, the Committee stressed the importance of accelerating trade and economic cooperation within the region and the need to identify areas of convergence with regard to the forthcoming trade negotiations in the multinational for a. The Committee of Experts set up to draft the treaty on SAFTA was asked to outline a definitive programme of work which will enable finalisation of the text of a comprehensive treaty regime for creating a free trade area by the year

2001. The Committee of Experts will also subsume the work of the IGEG which will now cease to exist. The Committee is expected to meet in Kathmandu shortly.

With regard to evolving common positions on issues of common concern at the WTO, the Commerce Secretaries are expected to meet in June and September, followed by a meeting of the Commerce Ministers prior to the Third WTO Ministerial Meeting to be held in Seattle.

A presentation, on the outcome of the first meeting of the Vice Chancellors of Open Universities held in Sri Lanka in January 1999, was made by Prof. N.R. Arthenayake, Vice Chancellor. The Standing Committee endorsed the recommendation of the meeting to commence work towards the establishment of SAARC Consortium of Open and Distance Learning (SACODIL) in the near future.

The Standing Committee also addressed a number of issues relating to the Secretariat, including the approval of the 1999 budget and the appointment of Auditors from Sri Lanka and Nepal to audit the accounts of the Secretariat and the Regional Centres for the past year.

The Committee decided that the theme of the 1999 SAARC Youth Award, which is to be presented during the Council of Ministers meeting preceding the Eleventh Summit, will be "Creative Photography". The SAARC Youth Award Scheme, which came into effect in 1997, is to be reviewed by an Expert Group meeting later this year.

The twenty sixth session of the Standing Committee was preceded by a two day meeting of the Programming Committee, comprising senior officials, which scrutinized the Reports of the various Technical Committees and the proposed budget of the Secretariat for the year 1999, before presenting the same to the Foreign Secretaries. The Programming Committee also considered the Integrated Programme of Action and submitted its recommendations to the Foreign Secretaries.

debate has been proceeding in SAARC countries on both the positive aspects of free trade as also its complex ramifications. He mentioned the need to be conscious of the inherent economic asymmetries in South Asia and to contend realistically with structural impediments, discriminatory practices and trade imbalances which have contributed to constrain trade within the region.

Following detailed deliberations, the Committee unanimously adopted its Terms of Reference and a work programme. The Terms of Reference include defining the scope and coverage of SAFTA and the principles for exceptions; provision of a tariff reduction scheme; identification and the elimination with an agreed timeframe of all non-tariff and para-tariff barriers; identification of existing trade inhibiting infrastructural bottlenecks; preparation of rules of origin; compliance with WTO provisions, including Articles I and III of GATT 1994; and provision of necessary trade facilitation measures in the area of customs cooperation etc.

The Terms of Reference also provide for special measures that are necessary in favour of smaller and least developed Member States to meet the objectives of SAFTA.

The SAARC Secretariat has been requested to prepare the preliminary draft of the Treaty for discussion at the second meeting of the Committee to take place from October 26 to 30, 1999. This Meeting would also consider tariff and non-tariff measures and rules of origin. India would prepare the preliminary draft of the rules of origin for discussion by the Committee.

SAARC COMMERCE MINISTERS MEET IN MALDIVES ON WTO ISSUES

Maldives : August 7-8, 1999

As a follow up to the New Delhi Meeting of SAARC Commerce Secretaries on WTO issues (May 10-12, 1999), a second Meeting of

Commerce Secretaries was held in Maldives (August 7-8) preparatory to the SAARC Commerce Ministers Meeting held on August 9th 1999. Underlining the importance of the forthcoming Seattle Meeting, the Ministers emphasized the need for the SAARC Member States to participate actively so as to effectively project the region's collective concerns. The Ministers issued a Joint Statement and agreed on the need to continue the consultative process as developments evolved.

**JOINT STATEMENT BY THE SAARC COMMERCE
MINISTERS ON THE FORTHCOMING
THIRD WTO MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE (SEATTLE)**

Pursuant to a decision taken at the Second Commerce Ministers Meeting in Islamabad and thereafter endorsed at the Colombo Summit to intensify consultations among SMRC Member States on WTO related issues, the Commerce Secretaries of SAARC Countries held two Consultative Meetings respectively in New Delhi (10-12 May 1999) and in Bandos Island, Maldives (7-8 August 1999) with a view to adopting a common position well in advance of the forthcoming Third WTO Ministerial Conference scheduled to be held in Seattle later this year.

2. The Commerce Ministers of SMRC Countries are of the view that :
 - a. preparations in the WTO General Council are for the forthcoming Seattle Ministerial Conference and not for any new or fresh round of multilateral trade negotiations as is being proposed by some countries. There has been no agreement so far nor any consensus on structuring future work as a new Round of Negotiations, much less on a single undertaking;
 - b. it is premature, accordingly, to discuss at this stage, the contours of any new negotiating agenda or the question of a

single undertaking, unless members are satisfied with the details of the scope or the nature of the agenda before them. The mandated negotiations and the mandated reviews taken together with implementation issues provide a sufficiently broad agenda for consideration;

- c. There is a move to further overload the WTO agenda with new issues such as social clauses, environment, 'governance', labour standards etc. Since these are not trade related, they should be kept out of the multilateral trading system;
- d. The SAARC region should strongly emphasize that expeditious action be taken for the full and fair implementation of existing agreements and commitments made thereon, with special reference to the impact on developing and Least Developed Countries, and that imbalances and asymmetries in these Agreements be addressed as a clear priority. This would enhance the credibility of the multilateral trading system among developing and least developed countries;
- e. There is a need to deepen and broaden concessions already provided under S&D clauses in favour of developing and least developed countries. Operationalisation of these clauses need to be addressed as stand alone issues to balance the substantive obligations already assumed by the developing and least developed countries under the Uruguay Round;
- f. The Uruguay Round negotiations did not result in greater market access for the exports of developing and least developed countries as was expected, due to the existence of 'tariff peaks', the phenomenon of tariff escalation, and the

use of non-tariff barriers, in respect of products of export interest to the developing and least developed countries. Action should be taken to ensure effective market access for the exports of these countries;

- g. There is a need for meaningful integration of textile and clothing sector under GATT. Measures which would result in increased market access for textile and clothing items need to be considered. These would include, inter-alia, adequate and faster coverage of items for meaningful integration, regular monitoring of the process of integration by the Textile Monitoring Body, dis-allowing unilateral modification of rules of origin to the detriment of developing and least developed countries, avoidance of arbitrary antidumping, anti-subsidy or safeguard measures by developed countries and full and effective compliance with the special and differential treatment provisions;
- h. Increased commitment should be sought from developed countries with regard to market access in services especially by way of movement of natural persons;
- i. With regard to the TRIPS agreement, extension of the moratorium on applicability of the non-violation clause be sought as also a finite extension of the transition period for the implementation of the provision of TRIPS for the developing countries, which is at present scheduled to end on 1/1/2000. There is a need to prevent piracy of traditional knowledge built around bio-diversity and to seek the harmonization of the TRIPS Agreement with the UN Convention on Biological Diversity so as to ensure appropriate returns to traditional communities. It would be desirable to join forces with other developed and developing

countries for the grant of higher level of protection by way of geographical indication to products apart from wines and spirits so that products of export interest to the region could benefit. The relevant provisions of the TRIPS Agreement relating to meaningful transfer and dissemination of technology to developing and least developed countries should be effectively operationalised;

- j. As regards the TRIMS Agreement, there should be an extension of the transition period for developing countries for removal of trade related investment measures. There should be no further amplification of the list of such measures under the disciplines of the TRIMS Agreement. Greater flexibility in TRIMS Agreement for developing countries is important to enable them to pursue their developmental objectives. In particular, the local content requirement is important as it (i) promotes domestic activity in raw material and intermediate inputs; (ii) encourages ancillary industry to upgrade production level; (iii) affects saving in foreign exchange spendings thus impacting balance of payment situations; and (iv) establishes a balance between FDIs and national growth levels;
- k. In view of the increasing marginalization of LDCs in world trade, the following measures, among others, should be taken within the framework of the WTO to enhance their participation in the multilateral trading system:
 - a) Least developed country applicants for WTO membership should be allowed to accede on a fast track basis with obligations commensurate with their stage of development. The duration of the accession process should be shortened, conditions simplified, and these

must not be more restrictive than those applied to other LDCs 'during' the change of their membership from GATT to WTO. In the case of LDCs the transitional period provided under various Agreements should commence from the date of their accession;

- b) Special and differential provisions under all WTO Agreements and Decisions should continue to be an integral part of the multilateral trading system,
- c) LDCs should be granted duty free access on an autonomous basis for their exports. These should be exempt from anti-dumping duties, safeguard actions and non-tariff barriers;
- d) Rules of origin, including those under unilateral preferential regimes such as the GSPI applicable to LDCs should be harmonized and tailored to promote their participation in global production chains;
- e) Export subsidies should be exempt from competitiveness thresholds and non-actionable categories of subsidies expanded to include subsidies for development, diversification and upgrading of industries.
- f) All notification requirements should be made simpler and deadlines for full implementation of all Agreements extended to match their technical capacities.
- g) The proposed legal advisory center and a special cell for LDCs in WTO should be established as soon as possible.
- h) Technical assistance should be regarded as a right for LDCs and adequate resources should be made available under the WTO regular budget, and
- i) Developed countries should give priority to the concessional transfer of technology to LDCs.

- l. the use of unilateral trade measures inconsistent with International law, WTO Agreements and the basic tenets of a multilateral trading system should be rejected, and
- m. representatives of SAARC Countries accredited to the WTO in Geneva should consult more closely and coordinate their positions on all matters relating to the preparatory process leading to the Third Ministerial Conference in Seattle.

**DRAT CONVENTION ON CHILD WELFARE IN SOUTH
ASIA FINALISED**

Colombo, Sri Lanka : August 12-14, 1999

The draft Convention on the Regional Arrangements for the Promotion of Child Welfare in South Asia has been finalised by the SAARC Technical Committee on Health and Population Activities at its seventeenth meeting held in Colombo on August 12-14. The meeting, attended by all member States was chaired by Dr. (Mrs.) Dula de Silva, Deputy Director General of Health Services (Public Health) of the Ministry of Health and Indigenous Medicine of Sri Lanka. The SAARC Secretariat was represented by Director Thinley Dorji at the meeting.

The three day meeting of the TC was inaugurated by Hon. Pavithra Devi Wanniarachchi, Deputy Minister of Health and Indigenous Medicine, who in her inaugural address, highlighted a number of pressing problems faced by the SAARC region, which she felt could be solved by collective thinking and pooling knowledge. The Deputy Minister also reiterated that SAARC must harness the technological and scientific progress which the world is experiencing, to serve the poor, in particular, the children.

During its review of the activities in the past year, the Committee considered, inter alia, recommendations of the expert group meeting on Poisoning and Chemical Safety held in Kathmandu on 17-19 May, and expressed concern on drinking water safety.

It felt that studies need to be undertaken to determine the extent and type of contaminants as a matter of priority. It also reviewed the need for a focal institute for Malaria which the Committee had been considering for some time. Nepal agreed to explore the possibility of the Vector Borne Disease Control Centre in Hetauda assuming the role of Focal Point for Malaria. Member States were also urged to send updated information on networking arrangements among institutes in the field of Population Research Training so that Bangladesh could collate the information. Similarly, it was also agreed that information on national laws in the field of health would be updated to facilitate harmonization of laws at the earliest. The Committee recommended that the SAARC Secretariat carry out a Situation Analysis of Children in South Asia, using selected key indicators.

A brief presentation on the establishment of an International Centre for Tropical Medicine was made to the Committee of Prof. Janaka de Silva, Dean of the University of Kelaniya, Sri Lanka, who said that the Centre would make available its training and education facilities to the trainees of Member States.

SAARC FILM FESTIVAL IN SRI LANKA

Colombo, Sri Lanka : September 17-24, 1999

Sri Lankan President, Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga inaugurated the SAARC Film Festival in Colombo from September 17-24. All SAARC member countries participated in the event, the first of its kind in the region. In her inaugural address, the President stated that the objectives of SAARC should go beyond mere regional politics and create close ties among the group of seven nations. Describing cinema as an universal language common to all human beings, she added that cinema could help bring a sense of togetherness among the nations in the world and that the SAARC nations should use this medium to foster harmony and build a strong base for regional peace.

Three seminars were also held on different aspects of cinema including on film as cultural expression, film marketing and distribution and the future of the film industry.

The Cinema in South Asia virtually parallels the one hundred year history of World Cinema. The film industry was introduced to the subcontinent with production of silent movies around ninety years ago. The South Asia remains the major film producing region in the world.

**SAARC WORKSHOP ON FOLLOW UP ACTION ON
FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN**

New Delhi, India : September 28-29, 1999

A Workshop on Follow up Action on Fourth World Conference on Women organized under the aegis of SAARC was held in New Delhi from 28-29 September under the chairmanship of Rina Ray, Director, Ministry of Human Resource Development of India. Representatives from all Member States attended the workshop.

The delegations made country presentations on the follow up action on the Beijing Conference and briefed the workshop on the progress made as per the National Plan of Action for the SAARC Decade of the Girl Child. The considerable progress made in all the SAARC countries was noted though, marginal performance groups still persisted. To bridge the performance gaps, in addition to making more vigorous efforts, the meeting felt the need to redefine the goals for the girl child for the next millennium.

The recommendations that emerged from the workshop included : maintenance of gender desegregated data on all indicators concerning survival and development of girls and women; the non-recruitment of children as combatants during armed conflicts; and relief and rehabilitation measures that take into account the special needs of women and children especially in households headed by women during armed conflicts.

Recalling Paragraph 45 of the Colombo Declaration of Tenth SAARC Summit, the following recommendations were made for incorporation in the proposed draft Social Charter :

- * Expansion of the area of “protection of children” to include other three areas of the rights of the child as enunciated in CRC i.e. survival, development and participation at appropriate levels on all issues impacting on them.
- Inclusion of the interests of the girl child as a component in the policies and programmes concerning children.
- Mainstreaming women in the national development process.
- Prevention of the trafficking of women and girls in the SAARC region and rehabilitation and reintegration of these women and girls into their families and communities.
- The undertaking of measures to protect rights of women workers including women migrant workers.
- Creation of a women friendly and mother friendly working environment.
- Elimination of child labour.
- The care and continued integration of elders in the society with special attention to the needs of women.
- Utilization of the media in a positive manner to create awareness of issues relating to women and girl child.
- Dissemination of the goals of the SAARC Social Charter through various media for a.

**GOVERNING BOARD OF SAARC METEOROLOGICAL
RESEARCH CENTRE**

Dhaka, Bangladesh : October 20-21, 1999

The sixth meeting of the Governing Board of the SAARC Meteorological Research Centre (SMRC) took place in Dhaka on

October 20-21 under the Chairmanship of Abdullahi Majeed, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Home Affairs and Environment of the government of the Republic of Maldives.

While highlighting the activities of the Centre during the past ten months, the Director of SMRC informed the meeting that the research programme "The Impact of Tropical Cyclones on the Coastal Regions of SAARC Countries and their influence in the Region" had been published and circulated to member states as well as to renowned meteorological agencies and universities around the world. The CD-ROM version was also sent to Member States.

Other research programmes being undertaken by the Centre included: the Study of Climatological Inputs Supplied by Member States in Different Perspectives; Variability and Probabilistic Extremes of Monsoon Rainfall over the SAARC Region; and Sea Level Rise and Its Impact.

The Governing Board meeting also considered the institutional and programme cost budget for the year 2000.

A Select Bibliography of Books and Periodical Literature on SAARC and South Asia

July 1997 to December 1998

PERIODICALS

BANGLADESH

Abul Kalam, "One year of AI foreign Policy," The Past Shadows present, *Holiday* (Weekly) Dhaka, August 1, 1997.

"The acid throwers" (Editorial), *The Bangladesh Observer*, Dhaka, January 6, 1988.

Amanullah, "The Politics of Confrontation," *Holiday* (Weekly) Dhaka, August 1, 1997.

Ataus Samed, "For a lasting peace" *Holiday* (Weekly). Dhaka, November 14, 1997.

Ataus Samad, "The Mid-term tussle" *Holiday* (Weekly) Dhaka August 21, 1997.

"At what price this nuclear pride and prowess?" *The Bangladesh Observer*, Dhaka, May 13, 1998.

"Bangladesh Affairs, Across a round table" (Editorial), *The Bangladesh Observer*, Dhaka, December 26, 1997.

"Bangladesh-India Security Issues and perspectives" *Holiday* (Weekly). Dhaka, December 5, 1997.

"Bangladesh Pakistan relations" (Editorial), *The Bangladesh Observer*, Dhaka, January 20, 1998.

This Bibliography has been prepared by Sh. Muhammad Ashfaq, Centre for South Asian Studies, Quaid-i- Azam Campus, University of the Punjab, Lahore.

- "Developing the human resource (Editorial), *The Bangladesh Observer*, Dhaka, May 20, 1998.
- "Education Putting policy into perspective" (Editorial), *The Bangladesh Observer*, Dhaka, November 20, 1997.
- "Farewell to arms" (Editorial), *The Bangladesh Observer*, Dhaka, February 11, 1998.
- Habib, Haroon, "Bungla forces along border with Indian Put on alert." *The Hindu*, Delhi, August 11, 1998.
- Harun-ur-Rashid, "Indian Nuclear Gamble" *Holiday*, (Weekly), Dhaka, May 14, 1998.
- Hussain Zahid, "Investment in Bangladesh," *The Bangladesh Observer*, Dhaka, January 22, 1998.
- "Impending arsenic disaster" (Editorial), *The Bangladesh Observer*, Dhaka, August 8, 1997.
- Ishtiaq Raza, Syed, "Power for Growth" *Holiday*, (Weekly), Dhaka, may 1, 1998.
- Islam, K. Z. "Devaluation fallacy" *Holiday*, (Weekly), Dhaka, February 2, 1998.
- Kamal-ud-din Sayed, "Aid without abetment?" *Holiday*, (Weekly), November 7, 1997.
- Kamal-ud-din Syed, "Govt. Refuses to accept facts Economy keeps slipping." *Holiday* (Weekly), Dhaka, September 12, 1997.
- Katyal Anita, "Bangladesh will hand over 50 insurgents," *The Time of India*, New Delhi October 24, 1997.
- Kazi Ibn-e-Shakoor, "Ganges Barrage to be or not to be," *Holiday* (Weekly), Dhaka, March 13, 1998.
- Kazi Ibn-e-Shakoor, "The Mending of JP," *Holiday* (Weekly), Dhaka, September 25, 1998.
- Kazi Ibn-e-Shakoor, "The Thorns of friend ship," *Holiday* (Weekly), Dhaka, August 28, 1998.

- Khan Enayatullah, "Diplomatic Mistire," *Holiday (Weekly)*, Dhaka, February 13, 1998.
- Khan, Sadeq, "Hasina's India brief" *Holiday (Weekly)* Dhaka, January 19, 1998.
- Khan, Sadeq, "India's Trojan Horse arguments," *Holiday (Weekly)*, Dhaka, July 10, 1998.
- Khan, Sadeq, "Statistics as Ploy," *Holiday (Weekly)*, Dhaka, April 5, 1998.
- Khasru, Amir, "Ershad's declaration taken with Salt," *Holiday (Weekly)*, December 18, 1998.
- Khasru, Amir, "In diplomatic stracts?" *Holiday (Weekly)*, Dhaka, February 13, 1998.
- "A marked step in parliamentary politics" (Editorial), *The Bangladesh Observer*, Dhaka, March 4, 1998.
- Mohan C, Raja, "Bangladesh Coming into it own." *The Hindu*, Delhi, January 14, 1998.
- Mothotra, Jyoti, "Hasina's crisis of Identity," *The Indian Express*," New Delhi, September 7, 1998.
- Muhammad Qamrul Islam, "National Budget 1998-99 reform needed not routine" *Bangladesh Observer*, June 22, 1998.
- Muhammad Qamrul Islam, "Roopur Nuclear Power Project, why and how we must drop it," *The Bangladesh Observer*, Dhaka, March 23, 1998.
- Nag, Nitai, "Devaluation Hurts National Interest," *The Bangladesh Observer*, Dhaka, March 11, 1998.
- Nag, Nitai, "Our Natural Gas and US Advise," *The Bangladesh Observer*, Dhaka, January 9, 1998.
- Nanda, SR, "Stop Infiltration of Bangladesh," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, September 18, 1998.

- "One Year of AI-Foreign Policy old mold," *Holiday* (Weekly), Dhaka, August 15, 1997.
- "Restoring Law and Order," (Editorial), *The Bangladesh Observer*, Dhaka, march 21, 1998.
- Rose, Rosaline, "Barrack Intrigue" *Sunday* (Weekly), Calcutta, January 11, 1998.
- Sadequl-Islam, "International Trade and Competitiveness : How is Bangladesh doing?" *The Bangladesh Observer*, Dhaka, September 23, 1998.
- Shahriar, Hassan, "Trouble in the bill, again?" *Holiday* (Weekly), Dhaka, April 24, 1998.
- "Time for Parliamentary Stalemate to End," (Editorial), *The Bangladesh Observer*, Dhaka, February 26, 1998.
- "UN peace keeping" (Editorial), *The Bangladesh Observer*, Dhaka, February 16, 1998.
- "Up Elections" (Editorial), *The Bangladesh Observer*, Dhaka, October 22, 1998.
- Zaman, Roushan, "Energy hang-up," *Holiday* (Weekly), Dhaka, February 27, 1998.

BHUTAN

- "Bhutan Concerns" (Editorial), *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, October 9, 1998.
- "Bhutan Security" (Editorial), *The Statesman*, New Delhi, November 1, 1998.
- Parmanand, "China and Bhutan Border dispute unresolved yet." *The Statesman*, New Delhi, August 2, 1997.
- Pradhan, Suhan, "Bhutanese refugees living in no man's land fear for their leaders," *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, December 12, 1997.

INDIA

- Abraham, Amrita, "Congress options are clear cut. This part's not over yet." *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, March 16, 19.
- Abraham, Amrita, "CTBT Manoeuvres, Why out of Pokharan mess," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, August 1, 1998.

- Abraham, A.S. "Restructuring relations firming up the Kathmandu connection," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, October 17, 1997.
- Abraham, Tomes, "E.U asks India Pakistan to talk to China," *The Hindu*, New Delhi, June 18, 1998.
- Abid Shah, "Refurbishing of Party image needed" *The Statesman*, New Delhi, August 9, 1997.
- Acharya, R.C. Railways suffering from political interference," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, November 3, 1997.
- "Agony of Bihar" (Editorial), *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, July 9, 1998.
- Ahmed Faraz, "UF Meet ignores critical resolution," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, October 4, 1997.
- Ahmed, Faraz and Uttar Pradesh, "Unrest in little Punjab" *India Today* (Weekly), New Delhi, July 27, 1998.
- Ahmar, Moonis, "India's Policy of Indifference" *DAWN*, Karachi, October 21, 1997.
- Ahsan, M.N "Andhra cops put hell to shame" *Blitz* (Weekly), Mumbai, April 25, 1998.
- Aiyar, Mani Shankar, "The CTBT conundrum skirting the key issue." *The Indian Express*. New Delhi, December 15, 1998.
- Aiyar, Mani Shankar, "Journey to Pakistan" *India Today* (Weekly), New Delhi, November 10, 1997.
- Aiyar, Mani Shanker, "The Post Pokharan Foreign Policy," *The Indian Express*. New Delhi, October 6, 1998.
- Alagh, Y. K "Strength is Security" *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, April 28, 1998.
- Anand, Kumar, "Sonia Does Cautions Revamp," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, April 28, 1998.

- Ananth, V. Krishana, "It is more than religious identity," *The Hindu*, Delhi, October 15, 1998.
- Ananth, V. Krishana, "Realignment of Cast groups favoured laloo," *The Hindu*, Delhi, March 7, 1998.
- Aneja, Atul, "Defence Institute chief for small nuclear arsenal," *The Hindu*, Delhi, July 20, 1998.
- Aneja, Atul, "India to seek arms transfers from Russia," *The Hindu*, Delhi, November 11, 1998.
- Aneja, Atul, "Revive Indo-Sri Lanka accord. Wickre-Mesinghe," *The Hindu*, Delhi, October 21, 1997.
- Arora, C.K. "US finds Vajpayee's Policy Statement on N-issues encouraging," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, December 17, 1998.
- Arun, Sunita, "UP Council Poll result boosts BJP hopes," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, January 14, 1998.
- Aslam, Mohammad, "India going back on Islamabad Pact," *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, February 23, 1998.
- Badarinath, K.A. "Burma Seek Indian Know how; finding for Hydel Project" *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, March 9, 1998.
- Bajpai, Kanti, "Indian could do nothing worse than Becoming a Nuclear Weapons Studies Bombs Disposed" *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, August 8, 1997.
- Bajpai, Kanti, "Listening to Nuclear Signals" *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, January 12, 1998.
- Bajpai, Kanti, "Neighbour envy" *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, August 27, 1998.
- Bajpai, K. "Shankar living with America united fears of India," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, December 3, 1997.
- Bal, Prakash, "Driven to the wall : Dalits under Shiv Sena BJP rule" *Economic & Political Weekly*, Mumbai, August 2, 1997.

- Balachandran, P.K. "Indo-Pak agree to resume stalled talks," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, July 30, 1998.
- Balachandran, P.K. "Larka situation not apt for renewing UK Wmediation offer," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, October 7, 1998.
- Balachandran, P.K. "Revive Ancient Link; Sinhala Buddhist appeal to India," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, May 1, 1998.
- Banerjee, Santanu "Intellectuals plea to ban further N-test," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, May 23, 1998.
- Bantyal, S.S. "Divided the Congress fell in Punjab," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, March 7, 1998.
- Berdhan, A.B. "Were the tests necessary?" *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, June 2, 1998.
- Bareth, Narayan, "Anti-Conversion war to go on : VHP," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, December 28, 1998.
- Baruch, Amit "Disarmament India, Pak Criticized," *The Hindu*, Delhi, December 7, 1998.
- Baruch, Amit "India, Pak exchanging view on Working groups," *The Hindu*, Delhi, August 10, 1997.
- Baruch, Amit "No Solution to Vajpayee remarks," *The Hindu*, Delhi, August 31, 1998.
- Baruch, Amit "Pakistan officers research proposals," *The Hindu*, Delhi, December 19, 1997.
- Baruch, Amit "Pak Cool to Vajpayee call for freezing Jammu and Kashmir issues." *The Hindu*, Delhi, March 30, 1998.
- Baru, Sanjays, "Terms of Engagement. India should just say. "Yes" *The Time of India*, New Delhi, January 6, 1998.
- Basu, Tarun, "Gujral Sharif Fail to narrow gap : Foreign Secretaries asked to work out modalities for talks," *The Statesman*, New Delhi, October 26, 1997.

- Baweja, Harinder, "State of despair," *India Today*, New Delhi, October, 19, 1998.
- Bedi, R.S. "Bitter truth about Sino Indian ties," *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, August 14, 1997.
- Benedict, Kay, "Janta dal faces crisis in at least 4 states," *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, October 6, 1997.
- Bhandari, Arvind, "Indian need, new population policy," *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, October 23, 1997.
- Bhanmir, Saba Naqvi, "Can the BJP change its colour?" *India Today* (Weekly), New Delhi, December 15, 1997.
- Bhan Prasad, Chandra, "Neo-Brahminism," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, October 30, 1998.
- Bhan, Rohit. "We would not hand over even an inch : PM tells Pak." *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, December 8, 1998.
- Bhanwar, H.S. "Border fencing bane for farmers" *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, September 8, 1997.
- Bhargava G.S. "Failure on Human Rights." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, February 18, 1998.
- Bhargava, G.S. "Focus on Civil Liberty." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, December 9, 1997.
- Bhargava, G.S. "The reality in Andhra," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, April 10, 1998.
- Bhatia, B.M. "Challenge of Inflation," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, October 8, 1998.
- Bhattacharya, Shubbebrata, "Bad for Indian Economy," *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, May 29, 1998.
- Bhaskar, Uday. "Consolidating Nationhood : of Beethoven and Ballistic Missiles," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, August 5, 1997.

- Bhushan, Bharat, "India Pak bow to International Pressure," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, September 25, 1998.
- Bhushan, Bharat, "Report on Sub Continent tension exaggerated Vajpayee tells Annan," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, September 26, 1998.
- Bhusnur math, Mythli, "Interim budget. Danger ahead," *The Economic Time*, New Delhi, March 30, 1998.
- Bidwai, Praful, "The abolition agenda perils of nuclear bargain with US" *The Times of India*, New Delhi, December 16, 1997.
- Bidwai, Praful, "Clutching at nuclear straws front line," *Fortnightly, Chennai*, December 18, 1998.
- Bidwai Praful, "Elite self-delusion : India is no global player Yet," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, October 7, 1997.
- Bidwai Praful, "Retreat from politics : United Front's Poor record," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, September 10, 1997.
- Bidwai Praful, "Set back for BJP decisive shift in Indian Politics," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, December 1, 1998.
- "Bio-Piracy Unlimited" (Editorial), *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, July 3, 1998.
- "BJP Same plan" (Editorial), *The Statesman*, New Delhi, June 17, 1998.
- Bopanna, P.T. "Moving Ahead in space," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, September 15, 1998.
- "Bride-burning on the rise (Editorial), *The Sentinel*, Guwahati, December 19, 1997.]
- Chakrabarti, Ashis, "Scrap Indo-Bangladesh water treaty truly BJP," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, March 15, 1998.
- Chakrapani, "R Annan, Asks India to sign CTBT," *The Hindu*, Delhi, December 6, 1997.
- Chakravaity, Debashis, "Under as Victim of Communal Politics, *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, May 7, 1998.

- Chakravaiya, Nikhil, "Some quiet on the Western Front," *The Hindu*, Delhi, December 28, 1997.
- Chandra, Prakash, "France edges close to India," *The Sentinel*, Guwahati, February 10, 1998.
- Chandra, Prakash, "Indian Economy in Crisis," *The Sentinel*, Gawahati, September 13, 1998.
- Chandran, Ramesh, "Testing time for Indo-US relations." *The Times of India*, New Delhi, May 13, 1998.
- Chandran, Ramesh, "US stresses utility of strategic talks with India," *Times of India*, New Delhi, July 15, 1998.
- Chandra sekhar, C.P. "More trouble ahead *Frontline* (Frotnightly), Cheenai, July 3, 1998.
- Chatterjee, Surjit, "Pakistan ready to discuss regional test ban pact," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, July 15, 1998.
- Chellaney, Brahma "Courting a Foe : India's China Policy," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, December 20, 1997.
- Chellancy, Brahma, "CTBT can take effect without India," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, November 21, 1998.
- Chellancy, Brahma, "CTBT, India's instrument of Leverage," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, July 15, 1998.
- Chellancy, Brahma, "Inter Phase II of the Agni," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, February 25, 1998.
- Chellancy, Brahma, "India's conflicting nuclear signals," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, October 8, 1997.
- Chellancy, Brahma, "India Plays its diplomatic cards well," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, August 12, 1998.
- Challancy, Brahma, "India as a target of US export control," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, February 11, 1998.
- Challancy, Brahma, "Indian Security at 50," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, August 5, 1997.
- Challancy, Brahma, "India trial by storm," *The Hindustan Time*, New Delhi, November 4, 1998.

- Challancy, Brahma, "India-US talks CTBT as a Common flage," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, September 30, 1998.
- Challancy, Brahma, "Nuclear option enters decisive stage," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, March 25, 1998.
- Challancy, Brahma, "Nuclear option. The Unresolved issues," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, August 8, 1997.
- Challancy, Brahma, "Our friends and our foes," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, May 27, 1998.
- Challancy, Brahma, "The real battle has just begun," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, May 13, 1998.
- Chengappa, Bidanda, M. "HAL Copter doesn't fit IAF requirement," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, February 21, 1998.
- Chenoy, Mannika, "Picture imperfect," *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, November 22, 1998.
- Chopra, Pran, "Indian diplomacy since Pokharan-II thin Skin and thick head," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, July 18, 1998.
- Chopra, Pran, "India Pakistan and USA : Nuclear gamble in South Asia," *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, October 28, 1998.
- Chopra, Pran, "Unbalancing act-I and II," *The Hindu*, Delhi, May 19-20, 1998.
- Chowdhury, Neerja, "Durban tells a larger story," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, September 14, 1998.
- Chowdhury Neerja, "Election 98, Regional Parties emerge key Players," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, January 12, 1998.
- Chowdhury, Neerja, "Situation favours Congress but party not ready for polls," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, August 11, 1997.
- Chowdhury, Srinjoy, "Night power Plan for MIG," *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, July 2, 1998.

- "Cops-Cum robbers" (Editorial), *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, September 30, 1998.
- "CTBT without tears" (Editorial), *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, May 16, 1998.
- "Damning Statistics on Primary" (Editorial), *The Hindu*, Delhi, December 26, 1998.
- Dang, Satyapal "Akali-BJP Govt. in Punjab. A balance Sheet," *Mainstream* (Weekly), New Delhi, October 25, 1997.
- Das, Ashok, "Cultivating Suicides" *Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, January 25, 1998.
- Das, Ashok, "Recent Police excesses : Minorities Anhdra feel Victimised," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, April 29, 1998.
- Das, D.P. "Future peace," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, September 30 1998.
- Dasgupta, "Manes Gujarat Assembly dissolved RJP rebels form party," *The Hindu*, Delhi, December 26, 1997.
- Das, Vidhya, "Human rights in human wrongs Plight of tribals in Orssia," *Economics & Political Weekly*, Mumbai, March 14, 1998.
- Das. A.K. "N-Force to be in place soon," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, July 7 1998.
- Dhavan, Rajeev, "Crisis in the Judiciary," *The Hindu*, Delhi, August 14, 1998.
- Dhavan, Rajeev, "Executing the Poor," *The Hindu*, Delhi, March 27, 1998.
- Dhavan, Rajeev, "The Supreme Court and the CBI," *The Hindu*, Delhi, January 2, 1998.
- "Dialogue with Clinton" (Editorial), *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, September 1, 1997.
- Diwakar. "Saffron guns for destabilizing opposition parties," *The Economic Times*, New Delhi, August 24, 1998.
- Dixit, Aabha, "Change of protective gear," *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, March 19, 1998.
- Dixit, Aabha, "Good intentions bad doctrine," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, December 13, 1997.
- Dixit, Aabha, "Indo-US Strategic dialogue," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, January 3, 1998.
- Dixit, Aabha, "Resuming the Indo-Pak dialogue," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, March 6, 1998.

- Dixit, J.N. "Better than before," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, August 5, 1998.
- Dixit, J.N. "Bill Richardson's India visit, "A new strategic dialogue," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, April 30 1998.
- Dixit, J.N. "Cultivating Myanmar and Vietnam., A broader Look cast vision," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, November 12, 1997.
- Dixit, J.N. "Expension of Security Council, No cause for celebration" *The Indian Express*, New Delhi August 5, 1997.
- Dixit, J.N: "Gujral is Non-Profit Doctrine : Poor return on investment." *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, September 3, 1997.
- Dixit, J.N. "100 day Foreign Policy report card struggling to get a grip." *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, July 9, 1998.
- Dixit, J.N. "Indo-Iranian Relations Resuming the good work," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, October 1, 1997.
- Dixit, J.N. "Managing Contradictions on N. Tests : The enemy is self doubt." *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, June 25, 1998.
- Dixit, J.N. "Nucleus of Concerns," *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, January 13, 1998.
- Dixit, J.N. "Nuclear Pressgang," *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, April 11, 1998.
- Dixit, J.N. "Only America will last the course : Time for real politic," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, November 21, 1997.
- Dixit, J.N. "Return to Realism," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, September 2, 1998.
- Dixit, J.N. "The revived Indo-Pak dialogue, No surprises, as usual," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, December 10, 1998.
- Dixit, J.N. "Sign of Progress," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, October 28, 1998.
- Dixit, J.N. "Untying the Gordian knot," *The Hindustan Times*, The New Delhi, August 19, 1998.

- Doogra, Chander Suta, "Dharambhir's dismissal shatters peace." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, September 15, 1998.
- Dreze, Jean, "Biases in Education Statistics," *The Hindu*, Delhi, March 6, 1998.
- Dua, H.K. "The Agony of Bihar," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, October 23, 1998.
- Dubey, Muchkund, "Increasing Isolation India's waring global influence," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, September 24, 1998.
- Dubey, Muchkund, "Membership of the U.N. Council-I," *The Hindu*, Delhi, August 21, 1997.
- Duba P.N., "Imperatives in Kashmir," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, March 5, 1998.
- Dutta, Anubhay, "Economic sovereignty faces threat," *The Sentinel*, Guwahati, September 8, 1997.
- Dutt, J.K. "The Army in the Nuclear Age," *The Statesman*, Delhi, August 10, 1998.
- Dutt, V.P. "Indian's Role in New World Alignments," *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, September 12, 1997.
- Engineer Asghar Ali, "The BJs the Communal Situation," *The Hindu*, Delhi, July 14, 1998.
- Engineer Asghar Ali, "Coinbatore in focus," *The Hindu*, Delhi, February 24, 1998.
- Engineer Asghar Ali, "Communal Interpretation of History," *The Hindu*, Delhi, October 23, 1998.
- Engineer Asghar Ali, "Communal Riots, Culprits and Courts," *The Hindu*, Delhi, May 11, 1998.
- Engineer Asghar Ali, "Communal Violence in 1998-I," *The Hindu*, Delhi, December 29, 1998.
- Engineer Asghar Ali, "Communal Violence in 1998-I, 28-12-98-II," *The Hindu*, New Delhi, December 12, 1998.

Engineer Asghar Ali, "Communal Violence in 1997-I and II," *The Hindu*, Delhi, December 28-29, 1998.

Engineer Asghar Ali, "Education : The BJP and Hindutva," *The Hindu*, Delhi, November 3, 1998.

Engineer Asghar Ali, "The Muslim Personal Law." *The Hindu*, Delhi, July 19, 1998.

Engineer Asghar Ali, "The Police and the Minorities," *The Hindu*, Delhi, February 6, 1998.

"The Face of Poverty" (Editorial), *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, September 4, 1998.

Farooq, Umer, "PWG Blast-Kills 10 Crops in AP," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, June 11, 1998.

Flory, Keith, "Lack of Policy, Effects Defence Planning," *The Statesman*, Delhi, October 10, 1997.

Gandhi, Rajmohan, "Choosing an Enemy," *The Hindu*, Delhi, June 26, 1998.

Gandhi, Rajmohan, "The Role of the Third Parties," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, June 9, 1998.

Gangopadhyay, Shubhashis, "Perils of Protection," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, March 6, 1998.

Ganguli, Amulya, "Decline and Fall" *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, August 8, 1997.

Ganguli, Amulya, "From Babr to the Bomb," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, May 18, 1998.

Ganguli, Amulya, "Hindutva on Hold," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, March 30, 1998.

"Gender gap in Polls" (Editorial), *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, February 17, 1998.

George, Nirmala, "Pure fusion weapons to make CTBT irrelevant," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, July 20, 1998.

- Gharekhan, C.R. "Commit to CTBT. Indian's Interest above all," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, August 28, 1998.
- Ghatak, Aditi Roy, "Reforms and Elections keeping India Poor," *The Statesman*, Delhi, February 1, 1998.
- Ghosh, Arun, "Interim Budget for 1998-99, Pointers and Prognoses," *Mainstream* (Weekly), New Delhi, April 4, 1998.
- Ghosh, Manesh, "US move to impose SOFA on Bangladesh India Expresses concern," *The Statesman*, Delhi June 19, 1998.
- Ghosh, Manesh, "India's Concern over Chinese Intrusions," *The Statesman*, New Delhi, August 8, 1997.
- Gill, Himmat-Singh, "Defence in a Democracy the Unanswered Question," *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, March 5 1998.
- Godbole, Madher, "Judicial prudence," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, October 25, 1997.
- Gonsalves, Michael, "Indian defence Lab achieves twin breakthrough." *The Statesman*, Delhi, September 28, 1998.
- Grover, V.K. "A Flawed Legacy," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, September 24, 1998.
- Guha, Ramchandra, "Mister Bomb and his Indiscreet Charm," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, January 17, 1998.
- Guha, Seema, India, "Pakistan Play down expulsions : *The Times of India*, New Delhi, October 6, 1998.
- Guha, Seema, "No Head way in Indo-Pak Talks on Kashmir," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, October 18, 1998.
- Gupta, Barun Das, "Under the gun (North East Region), *The Hindu*, Delhi, August 30, 1998.
- Gupta, Bhabani, "India's Foreign Policy Breaking the National Consensus," *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, July 29, 1998.
- Gupta, Bhabani Sen, "The BJP's agenda," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, March 26, 1998.

- Gupta, Bhabani Sen, "BJP in the Ascendant with it form stable Govt.?" *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, January 3, 1998.
- Gupta, Bhabani Sen, "Flure of Gujral, Doctrine," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, February 5, 1994.
- Gupta, Bhabani Sen, "Global Development's India can play key role," *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, April 24, 1998.
- Gupta, Bhabani Sen, "Towards Nuclear Instability," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, November 21, 1997.
- Gupta, Harish, "Congress Back to the Family," *India Today* (Weekly), New Delhi, March 23, 1998.
- Gupta, Monobina, "Dal Focuses on welfare to Spruce up image," *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, September 14, 1997.
- Gupta, Narendra, "Time for hot pursuits, not soft approach," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, February 28, 1998.
- Gupta, Ranjan, "Look West through the East," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, August 22, 1997.
- Gupta, Ranjan, "India deserves a larger global role," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, July 10, 1998.
- Gupta, Ranjan, "India as an American ally, They need each other," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, December 12, 1997.
- Gupta, Ranjan, "The Advent of the right, let hawks remain hawks," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, March 27, 1997.
- Gupta Shekhar, "The fallacy of Third worldism, Time to be pro-India," *The Indian Express*, October 6, 1997.
- Gupta, Shekhar, "The Toma hawk tutorial," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, August 26, 1998.
- Gupta, Shishir, "Elaborate defence Strategy chalked out," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, September 9, 1998.

- Gupta, Shishiv, "Foreign Tie-ups for LCA under Study," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, August 5, 1998.
- Gupta, Smita, "Old foes unite to check BJP," *The Time of India*, New Delhi, November 15, 1998.
- Gupta, Sujay BJP brass tell Kalvan to dump Criminals," *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, November 1, 1997.
- Gupta, Surajil, "Test will hit Indo-Pak trade," *The Statesman*, Delhi, May 30, 1998.
- Haider, Alam, "Implement Pact before dialogue Pak tells India," *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, November 9, 1997.
- Haksar, "New Signs of US Interest in India," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, August 20, 1997.
- Hanifa, Aziz, "BJP will have an moderate Govt. Say US experts" *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, March 10, 1998.
- Haniffa, Aziz, "India Averse to Observer US at SAARC," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, October 19, 1998.
- Haniffa, Aziz, "India will sign CTBT, US." *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, December 3, 1997.
- Haniffa, Aziz, "India rules first in the value of arms transfer agreements." *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, September 2, 1997.
- Haniffa, Aziz, "India Lied on Chemical Arms US Think Tank," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, August 2, 1997.
- Haniffa, Aziz, "Indo-US Pact on Space Research," *The Statesman*, New Delhi, December 18, 1997.
- Haniffa, Aziz, "New Indian Govt. will not support LTTE," *The Sentinel*, Guwahati, April 10, 1998.
- Haniffa, Aziz, "Talbot no to N-Safety Valve for India, Pak," *The Pioneer* New Delhi, December 14, 1998.

Harish, Khare, "Political Stability the need of the Hour" *The Hindu*, Delhi, December 5, 1997.

"The Hidden Agenda" (Editorial), *The Hindu*, Delhi, May 27, 1998.

"A Hindu Agenda" (Editorial), *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, October 22, 1998.

Hussain, Wasbir, "Army Assam plan Joint moves with Bhutan," *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, October 29, 1997.

Hussain, Wasbir, "Chetia Case Likely to Sour Indo-Bangla Relations," *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, January 9, 1998.

Hussain, Wasbir, "I wont topple Mahanta Gen Sinha," *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, September 7, 1997.

Ilaiah, Kancha, "The BJP and the Hidden Agenda," *The Hindu*, Delhi, April 29, 1998.

Inderjit, Sabina, "Govt. raised pool expense ceiling ignoring EC fiat," *The Time of India*, New Delhi, January 4, 1998.

Iqbal, Mohammad, "Women sold and bought in Rajasthan," *The Hindu*, Delhi, December 10, 1998.

Iyer, Lakshmi, "Sonia drops the Peace bomb," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, May 24, 1998.

Iyer, Shekhar, "Cong apologizes for Babri demolition," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, January 25, 1998.

Jahangir, Rehman, "Neighbours. Uneasy Passage," *Sunday (Weekly)*, Calcutta, March 15, 1998.

Jaisingh, Hari, "Congress in a new avatar : Tough task for Sonia Gandhi," *The Tribune Chandigarh*, September 18, 1998.

Jaitly, Jaya, "No simple solution Don't genderise what women's bill," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, July 6, 1998.

- Karnad, Bharati "Strategic ties with US," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, December 1, 1997.
- Karat, Prakash. "A Lethal Link," *Frontline* (Fortnightly) Chennai, June 19, 1998.
- Kashyep, Samudra Gupta, "Bangla migrants will take over N-E Sinha," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, May 17, 1998.
- Kashyep, Samudra. Gupta, "Despite curfew Bodes massacre 14 Santhals," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, May 10, 1998.
- Katyal, Anita, "Bangladesh will hand over 50 insurgents," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, October 24, 1997.
- Katyal, K.K. "Clinton Writes to Gujral," *The Hindu*, Delhi, November 5, 1997.
- Katyal, K.K. "The Congress U.F. Shadow boxing." *The Hindu*, Delhi, October 6, 1997.
- Katyal, K.K. "The Govt. feels the coalition Pinch," *The Hindu*, Delhi, April 20, 1998.
- Katyal, K.K. "The lingering uncertainty," *The Hindu*, Delhi, July 13, 1998.
- Katyal, K.K. "Lok Sabha Dissolved, new house by March 15," *The Hindu*, Delhi, December 5, 1997.
- Katyal, K.K. "The Post-Poll Imbroglio," *The Hindu*, Delhi, December 21, 1998.
- Katyal, K.K. "Stability in External Relations," *The Hindu*, Delhi, December 15, 1997.
- Katyal, K.K. "The Two Faces of Indian Polity," *The Hindu*, Delhi, October 27, 1997.
- Kaul Sumer, "Media and Elections," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, January 16, 1998.
- Kaura, Girja. "Shankar, And now, Dhanush Missile." *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, April 4, 1998.
- Khan, Shahid Ahmed, "Pakistan Express Doubts over Process of Dialogue." *The Times of India*, New Delhi, September 1, 1997.

- Khan, Shahid Ahmed, "Pak seeks India's word on Kashmir," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, December 19, 1997.
- Khara Harish, "BJP's Wounds as Self Inflicted." *The Hindu*, Delhi, August 15, 1998.
- Khare Harish, "Cong (I) admits end of one-Party era." *The Hindu*, Delhi. August 31, 1998.
- Khare Harish, "New Delhi Tiwari named U.P. Cong. Chief." *The Hindu*, Delhi, October 18, 1997.
- Khare Harish, "President asks cabinet to reconsider center reverses decisions on U.P." *The Hindu*, Delhi, October 23, 1997.
- Khare Harish, "Why the Congress (I) must wait," *The Hindu*, Delhi, July 1, 1998.
- Kidwai, Rasheed, "Women's Quotaraj in Sonia's Congress," *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, December 11, 1998.
- Koshy, Ninan, "Justice Jain's self-deception. A Consistent by Unsound Policy," *The India Express*, New Delhi, December 30, 1997.
- Kothari, Rajni, "The Congress and its Nemesis," *Frontline*, (Fortnightly). Chemnnai, May 22, 1998.
- Kothari, Rajni, "Democracy beyond Parties," *The Hindustan Times*. New Delhi. February 12, 1998.
- Kothari, Rajni, "Long way home," *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, October 25, 1997.
- Krepon, Michael "Opportunities for Indo-Pak Ties," *The Hindu*, Delhi, October 14, 1997.
- Krishnan, Murali, "Inquiry report blames CBI for rush to army," *The Telegraph*. Calcutta, August 11, 1997.
- Krishnaswami, Srinthar, "Helms fargets CTBT," *The Hindu*. Delhi, May 15, 1998.

- Krishnaswami, Srindhar, "LTTE challengers U.S designation, *The Hindu*, Delhi, November 9, 1997.
- Krishnaswami, Srindhar, "Significant risk of N-war between India, Pak." *The Hindu*, Delhi, November 27, 1997.
- Kumar, Arun, "Budget 98 unlearnt lessons." *The Economics Time*, New Delhi, July 4, 1998.
- Kumar, Arun, "Eternal Triangle, Indian U.S, Pak," *The Sentinel*, Guwahati, October 30, 1997.
- Kumar, Deepak, "FMCT, India Ultimate target," *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, July 8, 1998.
- Kumar, Devesh, "At Lolok's mercy," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, March 23 1998.
- Kumar, Krishana, "Ideological obsession : Neglect of education Countries." *The Times of India* November 25, 1998.
- Kumar, Madhukar, "Capital's Crime graph Shoots up." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, November 3, 1997.
- Kumar, Patash, "India is willing to renegotiate CTBT on give and take basis." *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, May 21, 1998.
- Kumar, Vinay, "Regional Parties post steady growth," *The Hindu*, Delhi, April 9, 1998.
- Lal, Sham, "In a Power Vacuum," *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, July 2, 1998.
- "Law and Disorder" (Editorial), *The Time of India*, New Delhi, May 20, 1998.
- Limbu, Ramyata, "Joint group to review Indo-Nepal Water Treaty." *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, January 25, 1998.
- Lodhi, Maheela, "The Siege with in," *The News Karachi*, August 6, 1998.
- Mahurkar, Uday, "Readying for battle, *India Today*. New Delhi, September 15, 1997.

- Maini, Darshan Singh, "Indo-Pak mindlock A Possible way out," *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, November 13, 1997.
- Majumdar, Aunohita, "Indo-British Ties Sink to a New Law," *The Statesman*, New Delhi, October 21, 1997.
- Malhotra, Inder, "From Male to Manhattan," *The Sentinel*, Gawahati, November 13, 1997.
- Malhotra, Inder, "Good Neighbour," *Sunday (Weekly) Calcutta*, May 10, 1998.
- Malhotra, Inder, "Indian Political Impasse Heart of the Matter," *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, August 1, 1998.
- Malhotra, Tyoti, "Signs of New Order in MEA as Jaswant Takes Charge," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, December 6, 1998.
- Malhotra Jyoti, "Talk Kashmir first, Pakistan tells India," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, June 14, 1998.
- Malhotra Jyoti, "Time to Begin Lobbying," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, January 1, 1998.
- Malkani, K.R. "India, China and the bomb," *The Hindustan Times*, June 3, 1998.
- Malik, N.C. "Belied hopes," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, June 5, 1998.
- Malik, N.S. "Strategic option," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, May 13, 1998.
- Manchanda, Rita, "India does not really heed to bomb." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, February 16, 1998.
- Mathew, George. "The Sanction and the poor," *The Hindu*, Delhi, July 24, 1998.
- Mattoo, Amitabh. "World as optical illusion," *The Telegraph*, Calcutta December 29, 1997.
- Mayaram, Shail, "The debate on women's bill." *The Hindu*, Delhi, July 27, 1998.
- Man Mohan. "Mosestation, torture incidents continue to top list of crimes against women." *The Time of India*, November 27, 1998.

- Mehta, Ashok. K. "Bleeding in Siachen." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, December 29, 1998.
- Mehta, Ashok, K. "Strategic Fallout" *Sunday (Weekly)*, Calcutta, June 28, 1998.
- Mehta, Bulraj, "Elusive price stability middle classes as losers." *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, September 9, 1998.
- Mehta, Bulraj, "WTO : Issue and responses : An opportunity for India." *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, February 19, 1998.
- McMillan, Alistair, "Results : How Indian voted," *India Today (Weekly)*, New Delhi, March 16, 1998.
- Menon, M.S.N. "No clear thinking on economy," *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, February 16, 1998.
- Menon, M.S.N. "Shadow of Asian Crisis, India needs new thinking." *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, February 26, 1998.
- Menon, N.C. "Test have hit India's claim to council seat." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, May 17, 1998.
- Menon, N.C. "Time have to end the twinning," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, September 28, 1998.
- Menon, N.C. "Un likely allies in UN," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, January 26, 1998.
- Menon, Raja, "Lessons for India," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, September 15, 1998.
- "Milestone in Hi-teck" (Editorial), *The Hindu*, August 8, 1998.
- Mishra, Ashok, "Major Shift in Delhi-Politics of Bihar," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, March 9, 1998.
- Mishra, Sidharth, "Debate on security issues." *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, March 10, 1998.

- Misra, Neelesh "BJP ready to do a up at Centre Advani," *The Economic Times*, New Delhi, October 27, 1997.
- Misra, Shefali, "The BJP's fiscal dilemma," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, March 30, 1998.
- Mitra, Ashok, "The hollowness of amour proper," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, February 4, 1998.
- Mohan, C, Raja. "Beyond the Gujral Doctrine." *The Hindu*, New Delhi, February 4, 1998.
- Mohan, C, Raja. "Dealing with sinking Pakistan," *The Hindu*, Delhi, September 17, 1998.
- Mohan, C, Raja. "Foreign Policy, the BJP's Problem." *The Hindu*, Delhi, March 19, 1998.
- Mohan, C, Raja. "Foreign Policy tripod," *The Hindu*, Delhi, December 10, 1998.
- Mohan, C, Raja. "Foreign Poljcy on hold," *The Hindu*, Delhi, November 28, 1997.
- Mohan, C, Raja. "Indo-U.S. Nuclear Cooperation." *The Hindu*, Delhi, April 13, 1998.
- Mohan, C, Raja. "India, U.S Stakes in Bangladesh," *The Hindu*, Delhi, April 1, 1998.
- Mohan, C, Raja. "Pakistan's nuclear Dilemma." *The Hindu*, Delhi, May 15, 1998.
- Mohan, C, Raja. "Pak sets trap for BJP," *The Hindu*. Delhi, March 17, 1998.
- Mohan, C, Raja. "A Sino-Indian dialogue?" *The Hindu*, Delhi, July 23, 1998.
- Mohan. C, Raja. "Time for Indo-Us nuclear dialogue," *The Hindu*, Delhi, May 19, 1998.
- Mohan, C, Raja. "Towards nuclear realism." *The Hindu*, Delhi, November 3, 1997.
- Mohanty, Prasanna. "Naga ceasefire Likely to be extended" *The Statesman*, Delhi, July 14, 1998.

- Mohan, Surendra. "The Changing Politics scenerio," *The Hindu*, Delhi, January 6, 1998.
- Mozumder, Summan Guha, "India Makes a strong cease : Permanent seat in explanded Security Council," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, November 22, 1998.
- Mozumder, Suman Guha. "Then and now Vajpayee eats his words," *The Economic Times*, New Delhi, September 26, 1998.
- Mukerji, Apratim. "Big five to oppose Indians post test moves." *The Hindustan Times* New Delhi, May 28, 1998.
- Mukerji, Apratim. "Fissile material cut of treaty Pact to target India's N-skill Expert." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, October 24, 1997.
- Mukerji, Apratim. "Full-Time Foreign Minister need of Hour." *The Time of India*, New Delhi, March 9, 1998.
- Mukerji, Apratim. "India Opposes Pak back door entry into ARF." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, June 19, 1998.
- Mukerji, Apratim. "Make public intention to sign CTBT US." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, August 3, 1998.
- Mukherjee, Apratim. "Sharit-Govt. Committed to peace : Qazi," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, February 2, 1998.
- Mukherjee, Apratim. "US plan falls short of Delhi's expectation," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, October 22, 1997.
- Mukerjee, Hiran, "Lack of Ideology symptoms of Taliban type chanvinism," *The Statesman*, Delhi, May 18, 1998.
- Mukherjee, Alok. "Indian economy can cope with situation," *The Hindu*, Delhi, May 15, 1998.
- Mukherjee, Pranab. "Evolving a Consensus," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, November 6, 1997.
- Mukherjee, Parnab. "Indo-Bhutan treaty in deep water," *The Asian Age*, Ne Delhi, September 10, 1997.

- Mukhopadhyay, Nilanjan, "The rise of the BJP." *Sunday (Weekly)*, Calcutta, March 15, 1998.
- Mukhopadhyay, Surajit C. "Why not peace?" *The Statesman*, New Delhi, August 11, 1998.
- "Mumbai Mafia" (Editorial), *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, August 14, 1997.
- Muralidharn, Sukumer, "Modest returns," *Frontline (Fortnightly)*, Chennai, October 23, 1998.
- "Muslim identity" (Editorial), *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, January 14, 1998.
- Mustafa, Seema. "The Copy bride and the confident groom." *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, September 6, 1997.
- Mustafa, Seema. "Gujral Discussed Kashmir with Clinton : Pak envoy," *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, October 9, 1997.
- Mustafa, Seema. "Gujral Doctrine had BJP Sanction," *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, March 12, 1998.
- Mustafa, Seema. "Gujral Doctrine II : Hit now repent Later," *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, October 14, 1997.
- Mustafa, Seema. "Gujral rejects council option." *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, August 13, 1997.
- Mustafa, Seema. "Into a dark tunnel : BJP's new foreign policy," *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, July 11, 1998.
- Mustafa, Seema, "Hey India, Hey Pakistan, Big Brother is watching." *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, April 11, 1998.
- Mustafa, Seema, "Kashmir issue may directly effect world peace : US group." *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, November 28, 1998.
- Mustafa, Seema, "Next step if Pak tests bomb : Nuclear warheads on missiles as soon as required Joshi." *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, May 13, 1998.

- Mustafa, Seema, "Nuclear India is isolated at NAM," *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, July 24, 1998.
- Mustafa, Seema, "OIC pressure on India to build Babri, Settle J&K." *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, December 9, 1997.
- Mustafa, Seema, "The Saga of Mr. Gujral Yes, No, may be." *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, August 22, 1997.
- Mustafa, Seema, "Strategic dialogue on predictable lines," *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, October 18, 1997.
- Najeeb, Muhammad, "India, Pak Experts Say "No" to N-arms," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, August 6, 1998.
- Nalapat, M.D. "Emerging Super Power : Charting a Confident Course." *The Times of India*, New Delhi, August 20, 1997.
- Nalapat, M.D. "Initiative shifts to Sonia Gandhi," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, November 30, 1998.
- Nalapat M.D. "Sonia's resume act : It at the cost of UF or the BJP," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, January 27, 1998.
- Nalapat, M.D. "Substance, not form : Mistaking posturing for Progress." *The Times of India*, New Delhi, November 6, 1997.
- Nambiar, Harish. "Triple blasts rock, Pak-eve Mumbai," *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, February 21, 1998.
- Nanda, Prakash Gujral doctrine to be reversed," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, March 19, 1998.
- Nanda, Prakash, "India disfavours use of force against Iraq," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, November 14, 1997.
- Nanda, Prakash, "India : Need to expose us while washing of Chinese misdeeds." *The Times of India*, New Delhi, June 29, 1998.
- Nanda, Prakash, "India objects to us envoy's remarks on BJP manifesto." *The Times of India*, New Delhi, February 6, 1998.

- Naqash, Tariq. "Indian Shelling death toll rises to 34." *DAWN*. Karachi, August 1, 1998.
- Naqvi, M.B. "Raw behind blasts. Says Pakistan." *The Times of India*. New Delhi, March 13, 1998.
- Naqvi, Saeed, "Gujral. Pakistan and XP." *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, September 14, 1997.
- Narayan, Hemendra, "Chakma accord augurs well for India." *The Statesman*, Delhi, February 12, 1998.
- Narayanan, M.K. "To Come to Delhi, Congress needs freshIdeas." *The Asian Age*. New Delhi, September 15, 1997.
- Narayanan, M.K. "Compulshion of Politics in India Today," *The Asian Age*. New Delhi, November 9, 1998.
- Narayanan. M.K. "Congress BJP poised delicately on a difficult turf." *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, January 26, 1998.
- Narayanan. M.K. "Pak's Nuclear in-tent and India's Policy Imperatives." *The Asian Age*. New Delhi. April 13, 1998.
- Narayanan. M.K. "UP exposes the chinks in all parties." *The Asian Age*. New Delhi. October 27, 1997.
- Narayanan, V.N. "Bilateralism Solves nothing Says sharif." *The Hindustan Times*. July 30, 1998.
- Nath Rajendra. "Power Politics in Asia. Time to re-orient Indian Strategy." *The Tribune*. Chandigarh. August 1, 1997.
- Nayar. K.P. "August date to avoid UN stink." *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, July 22, 1998.
- Nayar. K.P. "Bridge of Silence Join PM and his men." *The Telegraph*, Calcutta. October 1, 1997.
- Nayar. K.P. "Diplomacy of disarter?" *Sunday (Weekly)*. Calcutta, October 26, 1997.

- Nayar, K.P. "Gujral yield to howks." Shadow on Pak talks," *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, September 4, 1997.
- Nayar, K.P. "Line of Communication." *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, October 8, 1997.
- Nayar, K.P. "Mirror of the Subcontinent." *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, March 11, 1998.
- Nayar, Kuldip, "The bane of child Labour." *The Hindu*, Delhi, December 20, 1997.
- Nayar, Kuldip, "Court order on Ayodhya quitly and now. please step down." *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, September 15, 1997.
- Nayar, Kuldip, "Costodian or criminals?" *The Hindus*, Delhi, August 1, 1998.
- Nayar, Kuldip, "Damage from big Dams." *The Hindu*, Delhi, September 26, 1998.
- Nayar, Kuldip, "Four Govts. In two years : When will they learn?" *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, December 9, 1997.
- Nayar, Kuldip, "100 days of BJP Govt." *The Sentinel*, Guwahati, June 25, 1998.
- Nayar, Kuldip, "Importance of the no-war pact-offer," *Mainstream* (Weekly), New Delhi, October 27, 1997.
- Nayar, Kuldip, "Indian and Bhutan," *The Hindu*, Delhi, March 24, 1998.
- Nayar, Kuldip, "Indian Politics turns enigmatic will the real BJP Stand up?" *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, June 20, 1998.
- Nayar, Kuldip, "Is congress ready for mid-term Polls?" *The Sentinel*. Guwahati, December 1, 1998.
- Nayar, Kuldip, "Politics-attack record," *The Sentinel*, Guwahati, August 6, 1997.
- Nayar, Kuldip, "A prickly neighbourhood," *The Hindustan Times*. New Delhi, April 25, 1998.
- Nayar, Kuldip, "Redeeming the Pledge." *The Hindu*, Delhi, June 29, 1998.
- Nayar, Kuldip, "The real face of BJP." *The Hindustan Times*. New Delhi, February 20, 1998.

- Nayar, Kuldip, "Rule by default," *The Sentinel*, Guwahati, August 5, 1998.
- Nayar, Kuldip, "The take must go on." *The Sentinel*, Guwahati, October 8, 1997.
- Nayar, Kuldip, "The test were a fait accompli. A critical nuclear divide." *The Indian Express*. New Delhi, May 26, 1998.
- Nayar, Kuldip, "Vajpayee regim's 200 days. Lack of experience, ideas," *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, September 25, 1998.
- Nayar, Kuldip, "Why no representation to women?" *The Hindu*, Delhi, December 15, 1998.
- Nayar, Veena, "Ending male monopoly." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, March 11, 1998.
- Nigam P.K. "Security Council and Indian." *The Sentinel*, Guwahati, February 22, 1998.
- Noronha, Frederick, "Toxic wastes piling up in India," *The Statesman*, Delhi April 28, 1998.
- Norrani, A.G. "Indo-Pak impasse-I, why blame the officials?" *The Statesman*, Delhi, December 2, 1998.
- Norrani, A.G. "Indo-Pak impasse-II Delhi's stubborn attitude," *The Statesman*, December 3, 1998.
- Norrani, A.G. "Of Minorities-II Testing the water of Secularism." *The Statesman*. Delhi, November 9, 1998.
- Norrani, A.G. "Siachens Shimla-I : Hollowness of Indian Claim." *The Statesman*. Delhi, December 10, 1998.
- Omerdt, Gail, "Saying no to education," *The Hindu*, Delhi, October 10, 1997.
- Oommen, T.K. "Religion and culture." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, January 7, 1998.
- Padmanabhan, Chitra. "Awesome statistics of Crimes against women." *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, December 16, 1998.

- Pai, Panandikar V.A. "Emerging global Power." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, December 31, 1997.
- Pal, R.M. "Human Rights. Order Challenged by Centre." *The Statesman*, Delhi, October 6, 1997.
- Panandiker, Par, "D.H. Can we do without aid?" *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, May 18, 1998.
- "Panchayat Elections" (Editorial), *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, June 25, 1998.
- Pandher, Sarabjit, "Changing Political Equations in Punjab," *The Hindu*, Delhi, July 6, 1998.
- Pani, Narendar. "Bombing the budget." *The Economic Times*, New Delhi, May 29, 1998.
- Pani, Narendar. "Nuclear reductionism : Exploring new global Alliance." *The Times of India*, New Delhi, July 29, 1998.
- Panicker, Lalita, "Trombled teens. The unseen generation in India." *The Times of India*, New Delhi, October 10, 1997.
- Parasuram, T.V. "Indian aiming to become world power : US report." *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, August 21, 1998.
- Parekh, Angana. "VHP issues 2-year notice on temple row." *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, April 8, 1998.
- "Parmanand Indo-Nepal ties," (Editorial), *The Statesman*, Delhi, October 8, 1998.
- Parthasarathy, Anand. "For a Weapons delivery System." (Fortnightly) Chennai, June 19, 1998.
- Parthasarathy., Malini. "Negotiation Slippery terrain." *The Hindu*, Delhi, September 1, 1997.
- Parthasarathy, R. "Militant's in refugee Camps." *The Hindu*, Delhi, October 13, 1997.
- Patel, Akar A. "Prithvi Production Stops," *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, August 7, 1997.

- Pathak, Avijit. "Not by opportunism Fight BJP Meaningfully" *Mainstream* (Weekly), New Delhi, March 14, 1998.
- Pathak, "Bindeshwar class war in Bihar," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, January 6, 1998.
- Pathak, "D.C. Security Concept." *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, December 11, 1998.
- Pattnaik, Soumyajit. "Experts differ on future of space programme." *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, October 7, 1997.
- Pattnaik, Soumyajit. "India willing to accept defence to NWS Status." *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, July 14, 1998.
- Pattnaik, Soumyajit. "Row over army chief's Israel trip." *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, March 22, 1998.
- Pattnaik, Soumyajit. "Security concerns prevent renewed treaty with Nepal." *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, December 1, 1998.
- Pattnaik, Soumyajit. "Two-person authority for N-Control Mooted." *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, September 18, 1998.
- "Pollution, need for a will" (Editorial), *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, December 9, 1997.
- Poulose, T.T "Gujral should guard against nuclear hawks," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, March 12, 1998.
- Prabhu, Nivedita. "Peace remain a dream in Manipur," *The Economic Times*, New Delhi, March 22, 1998.
- Prabhu, Nivedita. "290 in plan for hazardous waste management hange fire." *The Economic Times*, New Delhi, October 12, 1997.
- Pradhan, Sharat "Transfer of power." *Sunday* (Weekly), Calcutta, August 8, 1997.
- "Pragmatism, led Foreign Policy" (Editorial), *The Tribune*, Chandigerh, December 28, 1998.
- Prakash, Prem. "Security Council, Can India Make it?" *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, November 22, 1997.
- Prasannan, R. "Threat from Dhaka," *The Week*, Cochin, July 12, 1998.
- Prasannan, R. "Limited impact, The bomb fails to sway voter," *The Week*, Cochin, June 21, 1998.

Qazi, Ashraf, Jehangir, "Nuclear context calls for trust. End the Zero Sum game," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, July 13, 1998.

Raghavan, V.R. "Avoidable nuclear rhetoric," *The Hindu*, Delhi, September 8, 1998.

Raghavan, V.R. "Minimum Nuclear deterrence." *The Hindu*, Delhi, September 8, 1998.

Rai, Ranjit B. "Riding the waves," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, September 28, 1998.

Rajagopalan, S. "Vajpayee to stress on Positive atmosphere for signing CTBT," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, December 7, 1998.

Rajagopalan, T. "Case for compulsory primary education," *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, September 29, 1998.

Rajagopalan, T. "What ails the Education System," *The Hindu*, Delhi, September 25, 1998.

Rajan M.S. "India need not be marginalized anymore." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, August 31, 1997.

Rajeswar, T.V. "The nation in turmoil. Grim law and order situation," *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, July 23, 1998.

Rajni, Kanti. "After life of a doctrine," *The Telegraph*, Calcutta. December 8, 1997.

"Rajya Sabha Election. Cross-Vote Shocks" (Editorial), *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, January 20 1998.

Rakesh, K.M. "Bangarappa threatens to quit Cong." *The Statesman*, Delhi, October 9, 1997.

Ram, Atme. "Role of education, The emerging perspective." *The Statesman*, Delhi. January 26, 1998.

Ram Chandran, Rajesh. "A tank with no teeth." *The week*, *Cochin*. October 12, 1997.

Rama Krishnan, Venkitsh "An Unsettling Picture," *Frontline*, Chennai (Fortnightly). August 14, 1998.

- Rama Krishnan, Venkitsh "The waiting game." *Frontline* (Fortnightly), Chennai, July 31, 1998.
- Raman, P. "The BJP Coup Plan that failed," *The Tribune*, Chandigarh. November 11, 1997.
- Raman, P. "Common enemy syndrome is here." *The Tribune*, Chandigarh. October 7, 1997.
- Rama Seshan Radhika. "Thakre agenda signals BJP power shift." *The Telegraph*. Calcutta, August 1, 1997.
- Ranade, Sudhaushu. "India's place in world politics." *The Hindu*, Delhi. April 29, 1998.
- "Rape of the Law" (Editorial), *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, May 28, 1998.
- Ray, A.K. "Indo-us ties Fresh ideas in Washington." *The Statesman*. Delhi, October 25, 1997.
- Razdan, Deepak. "Initiative on third front only if BJP routed in assembly polls." *The Hindustan Times*. New Delhi, October 30, 1998.
- Reddy, Rammanohar C. "Bank-ruptcy of Economic agends." *The Hindu*, Delhi, December 7, 1997.
- Reddy, Rammanohar C. "China versus India," *The Hindu*, Delhi, October 18, 1997.
- Roy, Dipankar, "Advani leaves behind shattered Dreams in Assam." *The Statesman*. Delhi, September 11, 1998.
- Rustanji, K.F. "Communal Violence Records of the Times." *The Hindustan Times*. New Delhi, September 10, 1998.
- Sabherwal, .O.P. "Indo-Us nuclear deal & FMCT. Complexities of new style diplomacy," *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, October 1, 1998.
- Sabherwal, O.P. "Issue of N-deterrence : Fresh look at India's Capability." *The Tribune*, Chandigarh November 7, 1998.

- Sabherwal, O.P. "Nuclear Power. 'Our Scientists take on the world.'" *The Times of India*, New Delhi, September 9, 1997.
- Sahay, K.B. "Shame of illiteracy." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, October 24, 1997.
- Sahay, Mohan. "BJP faces big challenge in U.P." *The Statesman*, Delhi, December 26, 1997.
- Sahay, S. "Judicial indiscipline : What is happening at opex level?" *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, October 3, 1997.
- Sahay, S. "Judging the Judges, Arrangement for Corrective action," *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, February 10, 1998.
- Sahay, S. "A peep into the Voter's mind. Lesson of Assembly elections." *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, November 30, 1998.
- Sainath, P. "The Tragedy of India's Tribals Blitz" (Weekly), Mumbai, May 2, 1998.
- Saleem, Ahmad "Indo-Maldivian relations turn sour?" *The Island*, Colombo, December 1, 1997.
- Sambandan, V.S. "LTTR Craft. reach India." *The Hindu*. July 2, 1998.
- Sanghvi, Vir. "Forever in a crisis." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, August 21, 1998.
- Sanghvi, Vir. "Squabble in BJP." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, October 16, 1998.
- Sarcen, Sushant. "No First Use in a non-doctrine," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, August 29, 1998.
- Sarkar, Tanika. "Hindu Rashtra or Secular State?" *The Hindu*, Delhi, November 24, 1998.
- Sarkar, Jayanta. "Sugar Industry Sore over Pak imports." *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, June 29, 1998.
- Sawhney, Inder. "Assembly elections Crucial both for Congress and BJP." *The Time of India*, New Delhi, August 29, 1998.

- Sen, Gouri, "Child Labour in its most depraved form." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, February 13, 1998.
- Sen Mohit. "BJP's debacle lies in the identity," The struggle for India, *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, December 15, 1997.
- Sen, Mohit, "Congress challenge : looking back to go forward." *The Times of India*, New Delhi, April 27, 1998.
- Sen, "Sankar, Bonded Labour : Need for holistic approach." *The Statesman*, Delhi, December 12, 1997.
- Sen. Sankar, "In effective, Laws on child marriage." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, October 14, 1998.
- Sen, Sankar. "Major Setback for Congress." *The Statesman*, Delhi, October 23, 1997.
- Shah, Abid. "BJP not on so comfortable a pitch." *The Statesman*, Delhi, October 24, 1998.
- Shankar. Abha. "Jaswant's diplomacy losses, no gains." *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, October 24, 1998.
- Sharan. Prabat. Brigadier, "Captain shot dead," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, August 9, 1997.
- Sharma. Anju. "CSE Study on air pollution big cities turning into Killing fields." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, November 1, 1997.
- Sharma. Devinder. "No respite for those below poverty line," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, July 16, 1998.
- Sherma, Kalpana, "Dams Panel begins hearing in Colombo," *The Hindu*, Delhi, December 11, 1998.
- Sharma, Pranay. "Advani Assures Lanka, of non-interference," *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, December 29, 1998.

- Sharma, Pranay. "Bid raise Kashmir irks Govt. Delhi Keeps UK out of test ban talks." *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, July 8, 1998.
- Sharma, Pranay. "Delhi mulls no first strike pact with Pak : Drive to defuse nuclear build up." *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, May 22, 1998.
- Sharma, Pranay. "Govt. mulls House gesture on CTBT." *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, November 2, 1998.
- Sharma, Pranay, "Ultimatum to Bhutan on Uifa strikes," *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, February 27, 1998.
- Sharma, Pranay. "Us Cool to India's out burst over Ghauri." *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, April 11, 1998.
- Sharma, Rajnish. "City witnessed a spurt in crime rate in 1998." *The Times of India*, New Delhi, December 19, 1998.
- Sharma, S.P. "Mystery of missing foreigners," *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, November 8, 1998.
- Sharma, S.P. "Women on bench victims of gross discrimination," *The Statesman*, Delhi, February 8, 1998.
- Shekhar, G.C "DMK Foils Dalits unity move." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, August 9, 1997.
- Shukla, Rajive. "Fusion of interests," *Sunday (Weekly)*, Calcutta, August 2, 1998.
- Shukla, J.P. "Mulayam keeps them together," *The Hindu*, New Delhi, September 14, 1997.
- Siddiqi, Kamal, "India gone berserk : Pak Foreign Minister," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, May 14, 1998.
- Simha, Vijay, "Sonia Cost a huge shadow over CWC." *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, August 12, 1997.
- Singh, Ajay. "Govt. involves two track policy for Kashmir," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, June 8, 1998.
- Singh, Ajay. "Nuclear enphoria," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, May 20, 1998.
- Singh, Ajay. "Victory pulls BJP out of closet," A dounting task ahead. *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, March 29, 1998.

- Singh, Amrik. "Neglect of Schools." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, March 19, 1998.
- Singh, Amrik "UGCon the wrong track," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, February 24, 1998.
- Singh, Janak, "Indian conducts. Three under ground N-tests," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, May 12, 1998.
- Singh, Jasjit, "Budgeting for security need," *Frontline*, (Fortnightly), Chennai, July 31, 1998.
- Singh, Jasjit, "The Challenges of strategic defence." *Frontline*, (Fortnightly), Chennai, April 24, 1998.
- Singh, Joginder. "Inadequate policing cause of rising crime graph." *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, September 12, 1998.
- Singh, Joginder. "Human rights violations by the Police." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, April 27, 1998.
- Singh, Kalyan. "Muslim should test us we are their friends," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, January 26, 1998.
- Singh, L.P. "India's bottom line. A minimal deterrent." *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, July 24, 1998.
- Singh, Manvendra. "Cabinet Okays out in army manpower," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, January 15, 1998.
- Singh, Manvendra. "Delhi continued to maintain contact with LTTE during operation power," *The Indian Express*, December 15, 1998.
- Singh, Manvendra "Folly of no first use pledge." *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, June 30, 1998.
- Singh, N.K. "Helpless against corruption," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, April 4, 1997.
- Singh, R. "Bhagwan, Jaya reluctant to withdraw support BJP gets reprieve," *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, July 2, 1998.

- Singh, R. B. "Kalyan threa tens mid-term polls as rebels gun for him." *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, December 27, 1998.
- Singh, Sanjay. "Old image sticks to BJP," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, November 8, 1998.
- Singh, Shumbha. "Build a nation consensus," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, March 19, 1998.
- Singh, Shubha. "A dialogue not quite hopeless." *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, November 17, 1997.
- Singh, Shubha. "Need for a National Security Council," New Delhi, February 19, 1998.
- Singh, Sudhir, "Bihar is slipping into primal choos," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, January 25, 1998.
- Singh Swarn, "Sino Indian ties problems of dealing with an emerging superpower." *Mainstream*, (Weekly) New Delhi, January 24, 1998.
- Singh, Tavleen. "Tough Guys don't cry." *India Today*, (Weekly), New Delhi, November 24, 1998.
- Singh, V.P. "Janta Dal is no more." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, August 4, 1997.
- Sinha, Rajesh. "BJP hard-pressed to explain Rajasthan rout." *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, March 7, 1998.
- Sinha, Vijay. "On its knees and taking the Court." *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, July 18, 1998.
- Sinha, Vijay. "Pawar rival is put in charge of MPCC." *The Indian Express New*, Delhi, July 18, 1998.
- Sirohi, Seema. "Albright-ready to break nuclear jinx." *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, November 15, 1997.
- Sirohi, Seema. "US drops bid to block Russian deal." *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, December 25, 1997.

- Sirohi, Seema. "US set for amends : wisner," *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, August 5, 1997.
- Sondhi, M.L. "Arafat's search for new legitimacy." *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, November 22, 1997.
- Subrahmanyam K. "Crisis of confidence no winnes in an Indo-Pak war." *The Times of India*, May 4, 1998.
- Subrahmanyam, K. "Proliferation threat," *The Economic Times*, New Delhi, November 21, 1997.
- Subrahmanyam, K. "Restructuring Indian Politics," *The Economic Times*, New Delhi, December 11, 1997.
- Subrahmanyam Vidya. "Reality of Dalit Power : Condemned before, Condemned now." *The Times of India*, New Delhi, August 9, 1997.
- Sudarshan, V, "The Unmasking of the BJP nuclear agenda?" *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, March 21, 1998.
- Sudarshan V, "Will Gujral doctrine Survive Jain report?" *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, December 23, 1997.
- Suri, Ajay, "Government plans to give work permit to Bangladesh Migrants," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, August 25, 1998.
- Suryanarayana P.S. "Indian strengthens its credentials." *The Hindu*, Delhi, August 3, 1998.
- Suryanarayana P.S. "Gujral Doctrine may be reversed feels Colombo," *The Hindu*, Delhi, March 13, 1998.
- Suryanarayana P.S. "India's new Ideas may give thrust to talks Pak," *The Hindu*, Delhi, February 8, 1998.
- Suryanarayana P.S. "Indian strengthens its credential," *The Hindu*, August 3, 1998.
- Suryanarayana P.S. "Wickremesinghe favours new pact with India." *The Hindu*, New Delhi, October 13, 1997.

- Sushma, T.N. "Women's Status as the other backward class," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, August 15, 1997.
- Swami, Praveen. "Hopes of realignment." *Frontline*, (Fortnightly), Chennai, September 25, 1998.
- Swamy, Subramanian. "The budget revisited," *The Hindu*, New Delhi, August 6, 1997.
- Swaminathan S. "The bomb conquers Ahimsa." *The Economic Time*, New Delhi, January 24, 1998.
- Swamy, M.R. "Narayan. India's new thinking on Sri-Lanka," *Mainstream (Weekly)*, New Delhi, May 2, 1998.
- Syed, Fraz, "We don't need this education." *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, April 15, 1998.
- Talbott, Strobe. "Non-Proliferation bench mark, and India." *The Pioneer*. New Delhi, November 19, 1998.
- Tandon, Ashok, "India no alien to ASEAN," *The Sentinel*, Guwahati, September 11, 1997.
- Thomes, M.J, "The Genesis of cauvey dispute." *The Times of India*, New Delhi, July 22, 1998.
- Thukral. Gobind, "Akalis unhappy with Centre," *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, April 22, 1998.
- "Time for diplomacy" (Editorial), *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, May 21 1998.
- "Troubled water" (Pollution) (Editorial), *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, May 18, 1998.
- Umar Badruddin. "On Indo-Bangladesh relations," *Economic & Political Weekly*, Mumbai, August 2, 1997.
- Unijul, Mahesh. "Indo-Bangla ties flounder over deporation issue." *The Statesman*, Delhi, September 4, 1998.

- "Vajpayee doctrine" (Editorial), *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, August 6, 1998.
- Vanaik, Achin. "Crossing the Rubicon," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Mumbai, June 13, 1998.
- Vanaik, Achin. "Danger of an arms race," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, May 14, 1998.
- Varadarajan, Siddharth, "Pokhran as Pandora : Remaping the geography of power." *The Times of India*, New Delhi, May 16, 1998.
- Vasudera, P.K. "Revival of defence committee," *The Tribune*. New Delhi, September 18, 1998.
- Ved, Mahendra. "India Conducts tow more N-tests," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, March 11, 1998.
- Ved, Mahendra. "President's Plan to visit US denied," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, March 11, 1998.
- Venkatagiri, D.V. "Power Sector-tardy reform signal dark future." *The Sentinel*, Guwahati, May 28, 1998.
- Venketesan, V. "Pressures in Makhya Pradesh" *Frontline* (Fortnightly), Chennai, May 8, 1998.
- Venkitaramanan, S. "Budget, Problems." *The Economic Times*, New Delhi, February 18, 1998.
- Venugopal, Ayswaris. "Minorities' Children not interested in education." *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, December 13, 1998.
- Vij, Bhavan. Kalapani "Threatens to Sourties between India Nepal," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, June 16, 1998.
- Vijay. Sinha. "Dynasty Steps, into save the party." *The Indian Express*. New Delhi, December 30, 1997.
- Viney, "Crime against women." *The Hindustan Times*. New Delhi, December 25, 1998.

- Vyas, Neena, "BJP Finalises, Three-Ford for Strategy election." *The Hindu*, Delhi, December 21, 1997.
- Vyas, Neena, "Power Struggle in BJP hots up?" *The Hindu*, Delhi, October 14, 1997.
- Wadhva, Charan D. "Costs of Economic Sanctions : After-Math of Pokhran II," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Mumbai, June 22, 1998.
- Waria walla, Bharat. "India and the CTBT what National interest demand," *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, September 24, 1998.
- Wariawalla, Bharat. "Nuclear option is an illusion : Fence. Sitting would not help." *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, December 16, 1997.
- "Worse than death." (Editorial), *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, November 14, 1998.
- Yadav, J.P. "Laloo in trouble as scam accused turns approver," *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, August 30, 1998.
- Yechury, Sifaram. "The unfolding of the hidden agenda." *The Hindu*, Delhi, April 13, 1998.
- Zahir, Naveed "Blood Bath." (Caste violence) *Sunday (Weekly)* Calcutta, December 14, 1997.
- Zaidi, Askari H. "Congress reserves 33 P.C. Seats for women in panels." *The Times of India*, New Delhi, December 19, 1998.
- Zaidi, Askari H. "Sonia removes Maharashtra Chief, Suspends MLA." *The Times of India*, New Delhi, June 4, 1998.

KASHMIR

- Ahmad, Mukhtar, "Hurriyat to boycott, Polls." *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, January 7, 1998.
- Ahmad, Rashed, "Behind the Veil," *Sunday (Weekly)*, Calcutta, February 27, 1998.
- Ahmad, Rashid, "Casualties in Jammu and Kashmir antonomy panel," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, August 7, 1997.

- Ahmad, Rahid, "Shoot-at-Sight power to police in Jammu and Kashmir curtailed, disturbed Area Act extended by a year," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, October 8, 1997.
- Akhter, Hasan. "Kashmir Issue Delhi's Bid to Renege on Commitments Exposes," *DAWN*, Karachi, November 3, 1997.
- Akhtar, Hasan "Vajapayee poisoning ties" *DAWN*, Karachi, February 27, 1998.
- Arora, C.K "US must Change its Jammu and Kashmir Policy, Solarz," *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, November 26, 1997.
- Aulad Hossain Kazi, "Kashmir-An apple of discord," *The Bangladesh Observer*, Dhaka, August 8, 1997.
- Baruah, Amit, "US Senators focus on Jammu and Kashmir," *The Hindu*, Delhi, June 30, 1998.
- Baweji Harinder ed., "My blood pressure in sky-high," *India Today* (Weekly), New Delhi, October 27, 1997.
- Bukhari, Shujaat "Betrayal in Jammu and Kashmir," *The Hindu*, Delhi, April 5, 1998.
- Bukhari, Shujaat, "The guns boom again in Jammu and Kashmir," *The Hindu*, Delhi, December 20, 1998.
- Bukhari, Shujaat, "Jammu and Kashmir, Grouping in the dark," *The Hindu*, New Delhi, August 3, 1997.
- Bukhari, Shujaat. "Poll results give a jolt to NC in Kashmir," *The Hindu*, Delhi, March 13, 1998.
- Bukhari, Shujaat, "South Kashmir will be free from militancy by next year," *The Hindu*, Delhi, November 23, 1998.
- Chakrapani, R. "Kashmir Study group commends India, Pakistan," *The Hindu*, Delhi, October 10, 1997.
- Chatterjee Ashim, "Kashmir the key to India, Pak relations," *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, June 12, 1998.

Chellaney Brahma, "Kashmir why fear internationalization?" *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, July 29, 1998.

Chowdhury, Srinjoy. "Killings race in valley drives soldiers round the bend." *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, October 20, 1998.

Dar, A.N. "Kashmiris like to keep Delhi, at a distance," *The Hindustan Times*. New Delhi, April 4, 1998.

Dar, A.N. "Need for a Cautious approach in Kashmir." *The Hindustan Times*. New Delhi, August 5, 1998.

Dar, A.N. "Solving the Kashmir problem." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, March 27, 1998.

"Defending Azad Kashmir," *The Nation*, Islamabad, May 28, 1998.

Dixit, Aabha, "Will Sharif go for the third option?" *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, January 28, 1998.

Drona, Nabanita Sircar, "Kashmir no on UK's agenda," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, November 11, 1998.

Duda, P.N. "Imparative in Kashmir," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, March 5, 1998.

Dutt, JK, "A way out for Kashmir," *The Statesman*, Delhi, July 16, 1998.

Farooq, Umer, "Japan to continue pursuing initiative to resolve Kashmir." *The Nation*, Islamabad, October 16, 1997.

Gilani, Iftikhar, "Iran Denies backing India on Kashmir," *The Nation*. Islamabad, October 16, 1997.

Grant, N.B, "Flaws in India's Kashmir Policy," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, September 11, 1998.

Grant N.B. "Self damage India's worst enemy is herself." *The Statesman*. Delhi, July 16, 1998.

Guha, Seema, "India shocked, at Mandela's reference to Kashmir," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, September 3, 1998.

- Guha, Seema, "Nuclear evangelists may take up Kashmir issue at UN assembly," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, September 20, 1998.
- Gupta, Shekhar "Line of Controversy unfreeze this turbulence," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, July 1, 1998.
- Hameed, Syeda "Saiyidein, Kashmir Aatish-e-Chinar," *Mainstream (Weekly)*, New Delhi, December 16, 1997.
- Haniffa, Aziz, "Albright echoes Pak line on Jammu and Kashmir again," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, July 11, 1998.
- Inamdar, Madhavee, "Cyber-Kashmir as a security threat," *The Indian Express*, December 6, 1997.
- Inderjit, Sabina, "Special panel Cast Shadow n unified command in Jammu and Kashmir." *The Times of India*, New Delhi, May 20, 1998.
- "India's Unyielding Kashmir Policy" (Editorial), *The News*, Islamabad, August 30, 1998.
- "India's war-Mongering," *The News*, Islamabad, May 22, 1998.
- Irfani, Surrosh, "Indian NGO's on Kashmir," *The News*, Islamabad, January 2, 1998.
- Irfani Surrosh, "New trends in Indian thought," *The News*, Islamabad, August 20, 1998.
- Jain, Bharti, "Selective fencing Planned to curb militancy in Jammu and Kashmir," *Economic Times*, New Delhi, July 13, 1998.
- Jameel, Yousaf, "Army is using rape as a weapon of war, says" *Hurriyat*, New Delhi, July 24, 1998.
- Jameel, Yousaf, "Geelani takes charge as new head of Hurriyat conference." *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, April 25, 1998.
- Jameel, Yousaf, "Jammu Operations of Rashtriya Rifles may be called off." *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, May 17, 1998.
- Jameel, Yousaf, "My role is play mediator," *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, May 18, 1998.

Joshi, Arun, "Army to continue operations in valley," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, September 2, 1997.

Joshi, Arun, "Disturbed areas act extension on Cards in Jammu and Kashmir," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, September 8, 1998.

Joshi, Arun, Farooq, "Farooq names son as his successor," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, December 12, 1997.

Joshi, Arun "Jammu and Kashmir to denounce Indus water treaty." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, December 19, 1998.

Joshi, Arun, "Militants out to upset Govt. Plans," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, November 4, 1997.

Joshi, Arun, "No respite from militancy in Farooq's tow year rule." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, October 7, 1998.

Joshi, Bino, "Militants begin targeting reformed ultras in Kashmir." *The Economic Times*, New Delhi, December 17, 1998.

Joshi, Bino, "Operation flush-out in Jammu and Kashmir before polls," *The Economic Times*, New Delhi, December 17, 1998.

Joshi, Bino, "Police in Kashmir upset-as more locals Join in-surgents," *The Economic Times*, New Delhi, October 10, 1997.

Kak, M.L. "Kashmir Situation not ripe for army Pullout," *The Tribune*. Cahndigarh, October, 8, 1997.

Karkra, Hiranmay, "Talking about Kashmir," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, October 9, 1998.

"Kashmir issue II common civilizational heritage." *The Statesman*, Delhi, July 8, 1998.

Khan, Aisha, "Jammu and Kashmir solution crucial for better ties say Pak envoy," *The Asian Age*, August 10, 1997.

Khan Shahid Ahmad, "India backtracking on Kashmir, Pakistan," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, September 2, 1997.

- Khosa, Aasha, "Ex-JK CM raises Separatist bogey." *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, June 17, 1997.
- Khosa, Aasha, "What is Farooq's score in Kashmir?" *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, October 3, 1997.
- Kumar, Dinesh "Equipment crunch bane of army in Kashmir," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, June 30, 1998.
- Kumar, Dinesh. "Kashmir, Pro-active policy needed along line of control," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, march 25, 1998.
- Kumar, Palash, "Kashmir is Indo-Pak issue," *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, July 18, 1998.
- Kumar, Satish Kashmir's aspirations : Delink from Indo-Pakistan relations." *The Times of India*, New Delhi, December 23, 1998.
- "Let Kashmir, decide" (Editorial), *The Statesman*, Delhi, June 17, 1998.
- Lodi, Sardar F.S. "Kashmir in the Lime Light Again." *The Nation*, Karachi, November 7, 1997.
- Mahmood, Afzal "Kashmir at NAM Summit," *DAWN*, Karachi, September 15, 1997.
- Mahmud, Khalid, "Search for Kashmir solution," *The News*, Islamabad, December 25, 1997.
- Majid, Amir Ali, "Chance for Kashmir," *The News*, Islamabad, June 3, 1998.
- Majumdar, Auno-hita, "Global pressure to resolve Kashmir issue may increase." *The Statesman*, May 14, 1998.
- Majumdar, "Aunohita, India Attitude on Jammu and Kashmir deters progress on CBMS," *The Statesman*, Delhi, November 20, 1998.
- Malhotra, Jyoti, "India's rebuff to OK move on Kashmir," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, December 9, 1998.
- Matinuddin, Kamal "Kashmir, Fresh approach needed," *The News*, Islamabad, September, 29, 1998.

- Mehra, S.K. "Kashmir issue-I Atavistic religious divides," *The Statesman*, Delhi, July 7, 1998.
- Menon, N.C. "Clinton, Annan hold talks on Kashmir, West Asia peace," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, September 23, 1998.
- Mir, Ali Muhammad. "Kashmir study group report," *The Nation*, Islamabad, December 19, 1997.
- Mukarji, Apratim, "India rejects OIC resolution on Kashmir," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, November 20, 1998.
- Mumtaz, Ashraf, "OIC backs Kashmiris, condemns terrorism," *DAWN*, Karachi, December 12 1997.
- Mustafa Seema. "Hurriyat Starts chinees checkers." *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, May 8, 1998.
- Mustafa, Seema, "India will not agree to group on Jammu and Kashmir," *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, August 14, 1997.
- Mustafa, Seema, "Jammu and Kashmir always on agenda abroad," *The Asian Age*, New Delhi. October 30, 1997.
- Mustafa. Seema, "Kashmir on top of Albright's agends, valley visit put off." *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, November 18, 1997.
- Mustafa Seema. "US task force says Jammu and Kashmir a flash point," *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, September 19, 1998.
- Nandy, Chandan "Jammu and Kashmir in for shot-at-sight drive." *The Telegraph*, Calcutta. May 25, 1998.
- Naqvi, M.B. "It is time to decide and be firm." *DAWN*, Karachi. November 13, 1997.
- Nayar, Kuldip. "Talking Kashmir, with Pakistan, Fresh Election." *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, September 29, 1998.
- Nayar, Kuldip. "The war is for from won." *The Sentinel*, Gwahati, May 13, 1998.
- Nayar, Kuldip, "Illegal detentions in Jammu and Kashmir," *The Hindu*, Delhi, May 28, 1998.

- Sharma, Arun, "J-K panel puts Farooqs autonomy promise step back," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, June 1, 1998.
- Sharma, Dwarika Prasad, "Commando Operation launched in Jammu and Kashmir," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, September 30, 1998.
- Sharma, L.K. "British Mp's support UN resolution on Kashmir," *The Time of India*, New Delhi, October 30, 1998.
- Sharma, Praney, "Assurance on Kashmir clouds talks offer : Gujral Doctrine hews in Atal," *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, June 15, 1998.
- Sharma, Praney, "Indian Keeps hand off Yogosalv. Kashmir," *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, July 5, 1998.
- Siddiqi, A.R. "US exports report ton Kashmir : Yet another non paper," *The Nation*, Islamabad, December 4, 1997.
- Singh, Harwant. "Price of duality : Gethering Strom over Kashmir," *The Tribune*, Cahndigarh, August 22, 1998.
- Singh, Prakash. "An undistinguished report on Kashmir," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, November 14, 1997.
- Singh, Shubha, "Two hoots to the OIC resolution," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, December 18, 1997.
- Sinha, Aditya, "Gilani forced to cancel talks with Fernandes," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, May 2, 1998.
- Sirohi, Seema, "Annan does a Manddela on Kashmir," *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, September 8, 1998.
- Shourie, Dharma. "Sharif for permanent-UN envoy to Jammu and Kashmir." *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, September 24, 1998.
- Shujaat, Bukhari. "Kashmir : Valley of woes." *The Hindu*, Delhi, November 1, 1998.
- Sondhi, M.L. "Indian's Kashmir diplomacy." *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, November 12, 1998.

- Suri, Ajay, "Advani reins in impulsive Fernandes in Jammu and Kashmir," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, April 30, 1998.
- Suri, Sanjay, "More downs than ups for Jammu and Kashmir, lobby in UK," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, December 27, 1997.
- Swami, Parveen, "Changing mood," *Frontline*, (Fortnightly). Chennai. April 3, 1998.
- Swami, Perveen, "A fight for survival," *Frontline*, (Fortnightly). Chennai. June 5, 1998.
- Thakral Gobind, "Farooq is plea on Poll turned down," *The Tribune*. Chandigarh. December 23, 1997.
- Thekur, Shanker Shan, "Valley shivers as hidden enemy lurks," *The Telegraph*. Calcutta, September 22, 1998.
- "Vajpayee in occupied Kashmir" (Editorial), *The News* Islamabad, December 8, 1998.
- Waslekar, Sundeep, "Road that the valley must tread," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, December 28, 1998.
- Zehra, Nasim, "Albright's Kashmir task," *The News*, Islamabad, November 17, 1997.

MALDIVES

- Schadvean, P, "Challenges to political order in Maldives," *BISS Journal*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, January 1998, pp. 94 to 108.

NEPAL

- Adikari, Khagh Nath, "Privatization, Is it the only answer?" *The Rising Nepal*. Kathmandu, November 13, 1998.
- Bahadur K.C, Lakshaman, "Parliamentary Govt. Seven Years experience," *The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, June 6, 1998.
- Basu, Soma, "Ills overtake democracy in Nepal," *The Hindu*, Delhi, November 15, 1998.
- Basu, Soma, "Palace intervention worries, Nepal Parties," *The Hindu*, Delhi, November 18, 1998.

- Bhandary, Kanak Ram, "Nepal-India ties Myth or water, territory conflict?" *The Kathmandu Post*, Kathmandu, February 11, 1998.
- Chhetri, Rakesh, "King Jimge's Collusion with N.E insurgents." *The Kathmandu Post*, Kathmandu, March 20, 1998.
- Chhetri, Rakesh, "Internationalize Bhutanese refugee issue." *The Kathmandu Post*, Kathmandu, February 20, 1998.
- Dahal, Pradesh, "Congress injustice Dilemma in perceptions," *The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, October 12, 1998.
- Dahal, Prakash, "The National Scene, Tremor in the Congress," *The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, December 12, 1998.
- Dahal, Prakash, "The Political scenario, waiting game for NC," *The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, March 3, 1998.
- Dahal, Prakash, "Power Sharing, Political brink manship," *The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, December 21, 1998.
- "Financial indiscipline" (Editorial), *The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, March 27, 1998.
- Gurubacharya, Binaj, "Koirela gets Trust vote 144 in favour, 4 against." *The Kathmandu Post*, Kathmandu, 19, 1998.
- Habib, Haroon, "Nepal gets transit through India," Bangladesh, *The Hindu*, New Delhi, September 2, 1997.
- Josse, M.R. "Ghuri missile test and after, Implications for Nepal." *The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, April 22, 1998.
- Josse, M. R. "Thapa's Victory and after," *The Kathmandu Post*, Kathmandu, February 25, 1998.
- "Life expectancy of Nepalese women continues too be lowest in South Asia." (Editorial), *The Commoner*, Kathmandu, June 12, 1998.
- Limbu, Ramayata. "Birendra move creates fresh crisis in Nepal," *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, January 15, 1998.

- Lohani, Prakesh C. "SAARC, Summit Need for a dignified pause?" *The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, July 26, 1998.
- Mahat, Sujit, "New Govt. will be stable, koirala," *The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, March 22, 1998.
- Manchanda, Rita, "A spreading in-surgency in Nepal" *Frontline* (Fortnightly), Chennai, September 25, 1998.
- Mathur, Jagmohan. "Nepal needs a stable Government." *The Sentinel*, Guwahati, October 27, 1997.
- "NAM Summit, New Avenues" (Editorial). *The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, September 10, 1998.
- "Nepal Bangla Cooperation" (Editorial), *The Commoner*, Kathmandu, December 26, 1997.
- "A Nepalese Dilemma" (Editorial), *The Statesman*, Delhi, January 17, 1998.
- "No getting around VAT" (Editorial), *The Kathmandu Post*, Kathmandu, February 14, 1998.
- Pandey, Nishchal Nath. "Foreign Policy Challenges and Chances, Timely responses necessary," *The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, June 24, 1998.
- Parmanand, "Nepal Politics uncertainty and confusion writ large." *The Statesman*, Delhi, March 1998.
- Parmanand, "Nepal Today," *The Statesman*, New Delhi, September 12, 1998.
- "Privatization Process" (Editorial), *The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, March 4, 1998.
- Rana, Behadur, Dhoj, "Tapping tourism potential," *The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, March 22, 1998.
- Rathor, Harihar Singh, "Moaists destroy telephone station," *The Kathmandu Post*, Kathmandu, March 22, 1998.
- Rajal, Mukti, "New Key Orientations." *The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, August 5, 1997.

- Rajal, Mukti, "Poverty in Nepal, Context and Dimensions," *The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, December 22, 1998.
- Rajal, Mukti, "UML-ML Devide, Political implications," *The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, July 21, 1998.
- Rajal, Mukti, "Zone of peace revival, Rationale should be discussed well," *The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, December 4, 1997.
- Sharma, Rajat, "Poverty alleviation : A crucial task," *The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, October 17, 1997.
- Sharma, Shiba Nath, "Umbrella treaty with India," *The Kathmandu Post*, Kathmandu, May 1, 1998.
- Sharma, Pravin, "Population Situation in Nepal," *The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, September 7, 1998.
- Shrestha, Madan Das, "Nepal-Tibet trade opportunities," *The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, November 6, 1997.
- Singh, Kedar man, "Nepal, Bhutan Closer to deal on forgotten refugees," *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, August 2, 1997.
- Thapa, "1950 treaty's relevance should be reassessed," *The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, August 12, 1997.
- Thapa, Chitranga. "India beefs up Security at Dharchula border." *The Kathmandu Post*, Kathmandu, June 12, 1998.
- Thapa, Gouind Prasad, "Human rights and Victims of Trafficking," *The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, October 2, 1997.
- Thapa Sadmukh, "Nepal China. relations Prospects for new mensions," *The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, August 29, 1997.
- Tomar, K.S. "Royalist as democal," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, October 12, 1997.
- "Unchanging Poverty" (Editorial), *The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, November 18, 1998.
- "Unwavering Commitment" (Editorial). *The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, December 16, 1997.

PAKSITAN

- Abdul Aziz, Mir, "ADHC Policy on Self-determination," *The Nation*, Islamabad, December 4, 1998.
- Abdul Haye, "Indian Liberals vs Pakistani Liberals," *The Nation*, Islamabad, September 5, 1997.
- Ahmad Anwar, "Power Projects Issue," *The News*, Islamabad, April 13, 1998.
- Ahmad, Intiaz, "Trade with India Local Industry Needs Level Playing Field." *The Nation*, Islamabad, February 23, 1998.
- Ahmad, Sultan, "The Bomb and the Economy," *DAWN*, Karachi, May 14, 1998.
- Ahmad, Sultan "Critical Stage in Debt Crisis," *DAWN*, Karachi, September 10, 1998.
- Ahmad, Sultan. "Confusion about IMF deal," *DAWN*, Karachi, December 31, 1998.
- Ahmad, Sultan, "Dhaka Summit in Perspective," *DAWN*, Karachi, October 29, 1998.
- Ahmad, Sultan., "Economy Needs Radical Remedy." *DAWN*, Karachi, October 29, 1998.
- Ahmad, Sultan., "Focus on Good Governance," *DAWN*, Karachi, January 15, 1998.
- Ahmad, Sultan., "Low Growth Scenario," *DAWN*, Karachi, February 26, 1998.
- Ahmad, Sultan., "More Plans, Less Action.," *DAWN*, Karachi, November 13, 1998.
- Ahmad, Sultan., "A Painful Choice Ahead," *DAWN*, Karachi, July 30, 1998.
- Ahmad, Sultan., A Poor Perception of the Crisis, *DAWN*, Karachi, November 26, 1998.
- Ahmad, Sultan., "Privatization Without Ill Using," *DAWN*, Karachi, April 4, 1998.
- Ahmad, Sultan., "Raising the Revenue Target.," *DAWN*, Karachi, September 25, 1998.
- Ahmad, Sultan., "Trade Policy : Radical But Risky.," *DAWN*, Karachi, June 25, 1998.

- Ahmar, Moonis., "Ways to Build Trust.," *The News*, Islamabad, December 18, 1998.
- Akhtar, Hassan., "Current Series Completed; Talks offer to Indian renewed Pakistan Tests Sixth N-device," *DAWN*, Karachi, May 31, 1998.
- Akhtar, Hasan., "Islamabad receives Delhi," Plans for Talks., *DAWN*, Karachi, January 25, 1998.
- Akhtar, Hasan., "Kanju raps BJP Plans : Pakistan warns of Reviewing N-Option.," *DAWN*, Karachi, February 2, 1998.
- Akhtar, Hasan., "Matching Capability Imperative : Pakistan Warns of Russo-India Pact Threat.," *DAWN*, Karachi, December 25, 1998.
- Akhtar, Hasan., "Nawaz Proposes Initiative to Resolve Issue.," *DAWN*, Karachi, July 30, 1998.
- Akhtar, Hasan., "New Ideas Being Discussed with Indian, says F.O.," *DAWN*, Karachi, December 19, 1997.
- Akhtar, Hasan., "Paksitan Alarmed at Wargames' Proximity.," *DAWN*, Karachi, October 14, 1998.
- Akhtar, Hasan., "Pakistan Pledges to Continue Talks with India.," *DAWN*, Karachi, December 5, 1997.
- Akhtar, Hasan., "Pakistan Takes Stand on SC Expansion.," *DAWN*, Karachi, August 1, 1998.
- Akhtar, Hasan., "Target hit with out Error : FO Pakistan Test-fires Ghauri Missile.," *DAWN*, Karachi, April 7, 1998.
- Akhtar, Hasan., "Tension Threatens India-Pakistan Relations.," *DAWN*, Karachi, March 12, 1998.
- Ali, Rifaqat., "SC Suspends Operation of 14th Amendment.," *DAWN*, Karachi, October 30, 1997.
- Arif, Khalid Mahmud., "Changing Political Status Quo.," *DAWN*, Karachi, August 2,

- Arif, Khalid Mahmud. "Military Psychosis in India," *DAWN*, Karachi, May 16, 1998.
- "As Karachi Burns and Bleeds" (Editorial), *DAWN*, Karachi, January 28, 1998.
- Askari, M.H. "A Positive Track-2 Dialogue.," *DAWN*, Karachi, November 4, 1998.
- Askari, M.H. "Karachi's Web of Terror.," *DAWN*, Karachi, July 10, 1998.
- Askari, M.H. "MQM at the Cross Roads," *DAWN*, Karachi, September 2, 1998.
- Askari, M.H. "Need to Resume Dialogue.," *DAWN*, Karachi, June 17, 1998.
- Askari, M.H. "The PML-MQM Dialogue," *DAWN*, Karachi, December 17, 1998.
- Askari, M.H. "Senseless Violence," *DAWN*, Karachi, March 18, 1998.
- Azim M. Mian., "No-War Pact : Why are we Dragging our feet from Diplomatic Triumph?," *The News*, Islamabad, October 6, 1997.
- Babar, Mariana., "MQM, PPP Boycott President Tarar Calls for Islamic Welfare State." *The News*, Islamabad, February 24, 1998.
- Babar, Mariana., "U.S. Court to be Moved on F-16s Issue : Gohar." *The News*, Islamabad, February 27, 1998.
- Balasubramanyam, Ranjitha. "Pakistan to Move UN on Indian C-Weapons." *DAWN*, Karachi, February 6, 1998.
- Bhandara, M.P., "On the Edge of the Precipice.," *DAWN*, Karachi, July 18, 1998.
- Bhatt, Arun Kumar., "Pokhran Blasts Tested New Ideas, BARC Chief.," *The Hindu*, Delhi, May 20, 1998.
- Bhatty, Maqbool Ahmad., "Between Perception and Reality.," *DAWN*, Karachi, December 26, 1998.
- Bidwai, Praful. "Nuclear India Loses Advantage on Kashmir, CTBT.," *DAWN*, Karachi, June 7, 1998.
- "The Bishop's Suicide" (Editorial), *DAWN*, Karachi, May 9, 1998.

Bokhari, EAS "Pakistan Defence Potential : The China Factor.," *The Nation*, Islamabad, December 11, 1997.

"Budget 1998-99" (Editorial), *DAWN*, Karachi, June 14, 1998.

Butt, Tariq, "Buying of Mirage 2000, 2000-5 Now Here is Sight.," *The Nation*, Islamabad, December 11, 1997.

Butt, Tariq, "Karamat Resigns, Pervez New COAS.," *The Nation*, Islamabad, October 8, 1998.

Butt, Tariq., "Military Courts Set up in Karachi," *The Nation*, Islamabad, November 21, 1998.

Butt, Tariq., "Tarar Elected President with Record Votes.," *The Nation*, Islamabad, January 1, 1998.

Cloughley, Brian., "India's Bid for UNSC Seat.," *DAWN*, Karachi, February 7, 1998.

Cowasjee, Ardeshir., "The Bare Bones : Autumn 1997.," *DAWN*, Karachi, October 19, 1998.

"Crisis in Pakistan" (Editorial), *The Bangladesh Observer*, Dhaka, November 25, 1997.

David, Guinevere., "U.K. to Enhance Trade Relations with Pakistan," *The Nation*, Islamabad, October 10, 1997.

Dixit, Aabha., "Albright's Visit to Pakistan," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, November 15, 1997.

Eirabie, Ghani, "No More Demigods for UNSC.," *The Nation*, Islamabad, August 15, 1997 .

Farooq, Umer., "JCSC Discusses Security Matters.," *The Nation*, Islamabad, December 19, 1997.

"Freedom of the Press" (Editorial), *The Nation*, Islamabad, December 22, 1998.

Gilani, Iftikhar., "India Denies Gujral to Meet Nawaz in U.S." *The Nation*, Islamabad. September 1, 1997.

- Gilani, Ifkhar, "Indian Stance on Siachin Sun Observers.," *The Nation*, Islamabad, November 9, 1997.
- "Gujral's Rigid Stance" (Editorial), *The Nation*, Islamabad, August 13, 1997.
- Haider, Masood. "Pakistan Opposes Move for NPT Ratification," *DAWN*, Karachi, November 24, 1997.
- Haq, Farhan., "U.N. Security Council Expansion : Much ado about Nothing.," *DAWN*, Karachi, December 11, 1997.
- Haqqani, Husain., "Military's Role in Civilian Problem.," *The Nation*, Islamabad, December 18, 1999.
- Haroon, Uzma T., "Population Growth Rate Drops to 2.6 pc.," *The Nation*. Islamabad, June 17, 1998.
- Hashmi, Faraz, "Qadeer Reviews N-Programme : Mass-Scale Production of Ghauri begins," *DAWN*, Karachi, June 2, 1998.
- Hoodbhoy, Pervez., "Is Accidental N-War Impossible?" *DAWN*, Karachi, December 7, 1998.
- Hussain, Akmal. "Was Devaluation Really Necessary?," *The Nation*, Islamabad, November 4, 1997.
- Hussain, Asim, "SC Restores Basic Rights up Holds Emergency.," *DAWN*, Karachi, July 29, 1998.
- Hussain, Fahd., "The American Connection.," *The Nation*, Islamabad, September 7, 1997.
- Hussain, Fahd., "Troubled Talks Face Uncertain Fate.," *The Nation*, Islamabad, march 3, 1998.
- Hussain, Ishrat., "Commendable Trade Policy 1998-99," *The News*, Islamabad, July 6, 1998.
- Hussain, Rifaat, "FMCT : Implications for Pakistan," *The News*, Islamabad, December 13, 1998.

- Hussain, Rifaat, "Indo-Pak Ties in BJP Era." *The News*. Islamabad, March 14, 1998.
- Ihtashamul-ul-Haq., "Farooq Leghari, Steps Down : PM Blamed for Crisis," *DAWN*, Karachi, December 3, 1997.
- Ihtashamul-ul-Haq., "Singing of CTBT, DCC Vows not to accept any Pressure.." *DAWN*, Karachi, July 17, 1998.
- Inayatullah., "The Americans are Coming.." *The Nation*. Islamabad. November 12, 1997.
- "Industrial Pollution" (Editorial). *D.AWN*, Karachi. September 24, 1998.
- Iqbal, Anwar., "Downer Urges Pakistan, India to Sign NPT, CTBT,," *The News*, Islamabad. February 8, 1998.
- Iqbal, Anwar., "Nuclear Power Can Help Progest with India,," *The News*, Islamabad, March 12, 1998.
- Iqbal, Anwar., "Pakistan Test Five Nuclear Devices,," *The News*. Islamabad. May 29, 1998.
- Iqbal, Wajid., "The Dilemma of Economic Sanctions." *The Nations*. Islamabad, July 12, 1998.
- Jan, Sadaqat., "Kumaratunga for Stable S. Asian States,," *The Nation*. Islamabad, December 22, 1997.
- Jan, Sadaqat., "National Education Policy Announced,," *The Nation*. Islamabad, May 28, 1998.
- Junaid, Shahwar, "New Venues for Pakistan, in the Region,," *The Nation*. Islamabad, March 26, 1998.
- Junaid, Shahwar., "The Other Side of Globalization." *The Nation*. Islamabad, September 11, 1997.
- Kadri, Ashfaq., ESAF Accord : "Great Success,," *The News* Islamabad, August 4, 1997.
- Karlekar, Hiranmay., "Countering Pakistan's War,," *The Pioneer*, N.D., April 24, 1998.

- Khalil, Anwar.. "New Irritant in Pak-U.S. Ties." *The News*, Islamabad, February 15, 1998.
- Khalid Mahmud., "Playing the Big Brother," *The News*, Islamabad, October 16, 1997.
- Khan, Ayaz Ahmad. "Indian Nuclear Challenges.," *The Nation*, Islamabad, February 16, 1998.
- Khan, Ayaz Ahmad.. "India's Strategic Command." *The Nation*, Islamabad, December 28, 1998.
- Khan, Behroz. "PPP ANP Agree to form Grand Opposition Alliance," *The News*, Islamabad, December 2, 1998.
- Khan, Ismail.. "ANP, PPP Form Alliance in NWFP.," *The News*, Islamabad, June 1, 1998.
- Khan, Ismail.. "Leghari Forms Millat Party.," *The News*, Islamabad, June 1, 1998.
- Khan, Kamran.. "Nawaz Sees 1993-Type Conspiracy Against him.," *The News*, Islamabad, November 15, 1997.
- Khan, Kamran., "Pakistan Examines Security Lost of Signing CTBT," *The News*, Islamabad, July 28, 1998.
- Khan, Khalid, Jawed. "Fifteenth Amendment : Controversial all the same.," *DAWN*, Karachi, October 19, 1998.
- Khan, Muhammad Ejaz.. "No-Trust Move Against Mengal Withdrawn.," *The News*, Islamabad, June 20, 1998.
- Khan, Shujaat Ali., "LHC Verdict : Punchayat System Declared Void," *DAWN*, Karachi, May 1, 1998.
- Khan, Tanvir Ahmad., "Avorting an Arms Race.," *The News*, Islamabad, October 21, 1998.
- Khan, Tanvir Ahmad. "Our Strategic Dilemma," *DAWN*, Karachi, November 9, 1998.
- Khayal, Ghulam Nabi., "India Does not Cooperate with UN Observer," *The Nation*, Islamabad, July 10, 1998.

- Kiani, Khaleeq., "Government Decided to Allow Power Export to India," *The News*, Islamabad, May 7, 1998.
- Lodhi, Maleeha., "America's Most Sanctioned 'Friend'," *The News*, Islamabad, April 29, 1998.
- Lodhi, Maleeha., "Cricicle of Disarray.." *The News*. Islamabad, January 29, 1998.
- Lodhi, Maleeha., "Confronting the Missile Challenge : Testing Times in the Subcontinent." *The News*. Islamabad. April 12, 1998.
- Lodhi, Maleeha., "Fault Lines of Pakistan's Democracy.." *The News*, Islamabad, December 6, 1997.
- Lodhi, Maleeha., "Foreign Policy with out Direction." *The News*, Islamabad, January 20, 1998.
- Lodhi, Maleeha., "The Illusion of Power." *The News*, Islamabad, October 11, 1998.
- Lodhi, Maleeha., "Managing Nuclear Risk : The acme of Skill.." *The News*. Islamabad, June 5, 1998.
- Lodhi, Maleeha.. "Nawaz II : More of he Same?" *The News*. Islamabad, February 17, 1998.
- Lodhi, Maleeha.. "1997 : Year of Living anxiously.." *The News*, Islamabad, December 29, 1997.
- Lodhi, Maleeha.. "On a Slippery Slope?" *The News*, Islamabad, September 21, 1998.
- Lodhi, Maleeha.. "Pakistan at Fifty." *The News*, Islamabad, August 15, 1997.
- Lodhi, Maleeha., "Power and Authority." *The News*, Islamabad. April 15, 1998.
- Lodhi, Maleeha., "Rethinking Security." *The News*. Islamabad, October 22, 1997.
- Lodhi, Maleeha., "Review of 1998 : Year of Wasted Opportunity," *The News*, Islamabad. December 30, 1998.
- Lodhi, Maleeha., "Smoke and Mirrors.." *The News*, Islamabad, September 7, 1998

- "MQM is Distress" (Editorial), *DAWN*, Karachi, July 26, 1998.
- Mumtaz Ashraf, "Population Census Postponed Again" : New Date March 4, *DAWN*, Karachi, October 5, 1997.
- Mustafa, Zubeida, "Profile of New Health Policy," *DAWN*, Karachi, January 6, 1998.
- Naqash, Tariq., "Indian Firing Across LoC Claims 13 lives.," *DAWN*, Karachi, July 31, 1998.
- Naqi, Hussain., "Crack Down-The Rapidly Sectarian Outfits.," *The Nation*, Islamabad, January 13, 1998.
- Naqvi, M.B. "Autonomy is the Real Issue," *DAWN*, Karachi, March 7, 1998.
- Naqvi, M.B. "Containing Sectarianism," *DAWN*, Karachi, January 23, 1998.
- Naqvi, M.B. "Getting Out of the Security Trap.," *DAWN*, Karachi, August 7, 1998.
- Naqvi, M.B. "N-Threat : Who is Fooling Whom?" *DAWN*, August 5, 1997.
- Naqvi, M.B.. "Understanding the Present Crisis.," *DAWN*, Karachi, December 28, 1997.
- Naseem, S.M. "Education Policy : Chasing a Mirage?" *DAWN*, Karachi, January 19, 1998.
- Nayar, Kuldip., "Conversation with Nawaz Sharif.," *DAWN*, Karachi, February 28, 1998.
- Nayar, Kuldip., "Nuclear Tension in the Subcontinent.," *The Nation*, Islamabad, July 24, 1998.
- Nizami, Arif., "Huge Gas Reserves Found in Sindh.," *The Nation*, Islamabad, February 6, 1998.
- "No Short Cuts in Education" (Editorial), *DAWN*, Karachi, April 27, 1998.
- "Nuclear tit-for-tat." (Editorial), *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, May 29, 1998.

- "Pakistan CTBT Options" (Editorial), *The Nation*, Islamabad, July 9, 1998.
- "Pakistan's Illiteracy Burden" (Editorial), *DAWN*, Karachi, September 8, 1998.
- "Poor Funding of Varsities" (Editorial), *DAWN*, Karachi, December 7, 1998.
- "Power Deal with India" (Editorial), *DAWN*, Karachi, November 28, 1998.
- Qayum, Fazal, "Shaheen-I Missile Await, Go-Ahead for Flight-Test.," *The Nation*. Islamabad, August 4, 1997.
- Rahaman, Rashed., "One Year of the Nawaz Government.," *The Nation*. Islamabad. February 10, 1998.
- Rizvi, Hasan., Askari., "Foreign Policy and the Proximity Factor.," *The Nation*. Islamabad, September 7, 1997.
- Saeed, Hasan., "Bangladesh, Nepal to Review Transit Facility Via India." *DAWN*. Karachi, March, 3, 1998.
- Saleem, Hamidullah., "Tapping Central Asia's Potential.," *The News*. Karachi. January 19, 1998.
- Sehbai, Shaheen., "CIA Think Risk of India-Pakistan War 'Not High'," *DAWN*. Karachi, December 6, 1997.
- Sehbai, Shaheen., "India-Pakistan Accord on N-Restraint Sought. New US Terms for lifting Sanctions.," *DAWN*, Karachi, October 2, 1998.
- Sehbai, Shaheen., "Missile Development, Tests : U.S. ask India and Pakistan for Restraint.," *DAWN*, Karachi, December 18, 1998.
- Sehbai, Shaheen., "Pakistan India Hold Talk Next Month.," *DAWN*, Karachi. November 29, 1997.
- Sehbai, Shaheen., "U.S. Congressman Threatens Pakistan.," *DAWN*, Karachi. November 29, 1997.
- Sehbai, Shaheen., "U.S. Warns of Nuclear Conflict in Region.," *DAWN*, Karachi. November 26, 1997.

- , Shaheen., "U.S. Working on Regional N-Restraint Arrangement.," *DAWN*, Karachi, September 29, 1998.
- Sehgal, Ikram., "Re-Thinking Naval Strategy.," *The Nation*, Islamabad, March 8, 1998.
- Sehra, Nasim., "Legal Course for the F-16s." *The News*, Karachi, October 10, 1997.
- Shahi, Agha., "Talbot Visit : NPT and CTBT.," *DAWN*, Karachi, July 21, 1998.
- Sheikh, Shakeel., "DCC Rejects External Pressure on Nuclear Issue.," *The News*, Islamabad, July 21, 1998.
- Shaikh, Shakeel., "JCSC Discusses Security Affairs.," *The News*, Islamabad, March 27, 1998.
- Shaikh, Shakeel., "Pakistan China Set to Enable on Super 7 Aircraft Joint Venture.," *The News*, Islamabad, December 23, 1997.
- Shaikh Shakil., "PML (N), PML (J) Merge after five years.," *The News*, Islamabad, April 11, 1998.
- Shaikh, Shakil., "Pakistan Ready to Move U.S. Court on F-16s Issue.," *The News*, Islamabad, August 15, 1998.
- Shaikh, Shakil., "Pakistan Urges India to Destroy Chemical Arms.," *The News*, Islamabad, September 2, 1998.
- Shaikh. Shakil., "Pak.-U.S. Defence Talks Start October 15, 1997.," *The News*, Islamabad, September 2, 1997.
- Shaikh, Shakil., "Rangers Get Search, Arrest Powers in Singh.," *The News*, Islamabad, June 27, 1998.
- Shaikh, Shakil., "Rs.11 Billion Raise for Defence.," *The News*, Islamabad, June 13, 1998.
- Siddiqui, Aziz., "The Mix of guns and Politics.," *DAWN*, Karachi, January 21, 1998.
- Siddiqui, Aziz., "Wrong Use of Emergency.," *DAWN*, Karachi, November 8, 1998.

- Siddiqui, A.R. "India-Pak Ties : A Post Election Scenario," *The Nation*, Islamabad, March 18, 1998.
- Siddiqui, Kamal., "PPP-Crisis of Leadership," *The News*, Islamabad, December 2, 1997.
- Takkar, Nafees., "Economy Shows 5.4 pc GDP Growth Rate.," *The Nation*, Islamabad. July 2, 1998.
- "Talking to New Delhi" (Editorial), *The News*, Islamabad, June 15, 1998.
- "Who comes for the Women?" (Editorial), *DAWN*, Karachi, September 21, 1998.
- "World Bank's New Theme" (Editorial), *The News*, Islamabad, October 24, 1997.
- Yasin, Asim., "Pakistan to Launch Badar-II by Year End.," *The News*, Islamabad. April 30, 1998.
- Yusufzai, Rahimullah., "ANP, PML Part Ways.," *The News*, Islamabad, February 26, 1998.
- "Zakat for Education" (Editorial), *The Nation*, Islamabad, November 28, 1998.
- Zamir, Roshan., "Troops to learn how to deal with Nuclear Explosion.," *The News*, Islamabad, May 15, 1998.
- Zehra, Nasim., "The Case for a Pakistani Nuclear Explosion.," *The News*, Islamabad, May 15, 1998.
- Zehra, Nasim., "Dealing with the MQM," *The News*, Islamabad, April 7, 1998.
- Zehra, Nasim., "P.M.'s Pekhtoonkhwa Dilemma.," *The News*, Islamabad, February 13, 1998.
- Zehra, Nasim., "Sharif's 'Change' Methodology.," *The News*, Islamabad, January 23, 1998.
- Zia, Amir. "In Pakistan, the man in the street demands the bomb.," *The Asian Age*., New Delhi, May 13, 1998.
- Ziauddin, M.A. "Realistic Petroleum Policy.," *DAWN*, Karachi, October 27, 1997.

Ziauddin, M. "Permanent UN Council Seat for Delhi, Opposed : India Wants Hegemony in Region, says Nawaz.," *DAWN*, Karachi, February 14, 1998.

Ziauddin, M., "U.S. Begins Testing S. Asian water for Clinton Visit.," *DAWN*, Karachi, January 19, 1998.

SAARC

Abedin, Joynai, "SAARC meet adopts action plan on media," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, April 28, 1998.

Ahmad, Imtiaz, "Nuclear tests jeopardise : SAARC free trade prospects." *The Nations*, Islamabad, May 18, 1998.

Ahmad Sultan, "SAARC Sentiments and reality," *DAWN*, Karachi, March 11, 1998.

Akhtar, Khalid. "Cleaning the SAARC Cobwebs." *The News*, Islamabad, January 1, 1998.

"The Bomb and SAARC" (Editorial), *The Island*, Colombo, May 16, 1998.

Chakrapani, R, "SAARC, EV to work together," *The Hindu*, Delhi, October 4, 1998.

"Gayoom visit" (Editorial), *The News*, Islamabad, July 4, 1998.

Godage, K, "The Forth coming SAARC Summit a Comment," *The Island*, Colombo, July 11, 1998.

Khan, Ali, "Ashraf. Hydel power in SAARC region," *DAWN*, Karachi, May 10, 1998.

Kiani, Kheleeq, "SAARC, Plans to have and airline," *The News*, Islamabad, April 30, 1998.

Nayar, K.P. "SAARC looks through India's eyes." *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, June 18, 1998.

Nayar, K.P. "Side lining the Summit," *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, July 29, 1998.

"SAARC and Beyond" (Editorial). *The Times of India*, New Delhi, August 1, 1998.

"SAARC : Dhaka Media Communique" (Editorial), *The Bangladesh Observer*, Dhaka, April 30, 1998.

- "SAARC Spacious enough or bilateral issues" (Editorial), *The Bangladesh Observer*, Dhaka, July 3, 1998.
- "SAARC : Time for honest reappraisal" (Editorial), *The Island*, Colombo, July 20, 1998.
- "Shared objectives" (Editorial), *The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, October 28, 1998.

SOUTH ASIA

- Baru. Sanjays. "South Asian dialogue : Business of Peace and Security." *The Times of India*. December 28. 1998.
- "Bomb and Kashmir" (Editorial). *The Statesman*, Delhi. June 22, 1998.
- "Clinton and South Asian" (Editorial), *The Nation*, Islamabad, February 2, 1998.
- Dhar. A.K. "No piece meal approach : U.K.," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, June 21 1998.
- Gupta. Bhabani Sen. "Arms race in South Asia." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, April 20. 1998.
- Gupta. Bhabani Sen "China factor in South Asia," *The News*, Islamabad, November 5, 1997.
- Haider. Masood. "UN Council deplores N-tests." *DAWN*, Karachi, May 30, 1998.
- Harun-ur-Rashid. "Indian nuclear gamble," *Holiday* (Weekly), Dhaka, May 15. 1998
- Hussain. Rifaat. "On diplomatic challenge." *The News*, Islamabad. June 21. 1998.
- Ikram-Ullah. "South Asian Camp David in the offing." *The Nation*. Islamabad. March 3. 1998.
- Khan. Munir Ahmad. "The Consequences of India going nuclear," *The News*, Islamabad. March 22, 1998.
- Kumar, Palash. "US adopts a new two way strategy for South Asia." *The Asian Age*. New Delhi. October 27, 1997.
- Limbu, Romyata. "SAARC nations agree on SAFTA guidelines." *The Asian Age*. New Delhi. August 2. 1997.

- Lodhi, Maleeha. "South Asian's New Security crisis," *The News*, Islamabad, May 15, 1998.
- Mahmood, Afzal. "Security concerns in South Asia," *DAWN*, Karachi, October 11, 1998.
- Malhotra, Inder. "Out of Control," *Sunday (Weekly)*, Calcutta, June 14, 1998.
- Singh, Ajay. "Towards deterrence in South Asia," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, August 11, 1997.
- Singh, Manvendra. "South Asian Still in Danger Zone : UN report," *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, December 24, 1998.
- "South Asian night-mare" (Editorial), *The Kathmandu Post*, Kathmandu, May 30, 1998.
- "South Asian Nuclear Confrontation, From the editor's desk" (Editorial), *Holiday (Weekly)*, Dhaka, July 3, 1998.
- Subrahmaniam, Vidya. "Bomb then, Bomb now more pain but no gain," *The Times of India*, New Delhi, June 29, 1998.
- Suryanarayana, P.S. "US and South Asia," *The Hindu*, Delhi, May 2, 1998.
- Talat Hussain, Syed. "US return to South Asia," *The News*, Islamabad, October 19, 1997.
- Thape, Kamal. "Lessons from Pokhran," *The Kathmandu Post*, Kathmandu, May 30, 1998.
- "US shows renewed interest in South Asia," *The News*, Islamabad, January 16, 1998.
- Zameer Roshan. "Clinton wants ratification of CTBT prior to visit." *The Nation*, Islamabad, April 4, 1998.
- Zameer, Roshan. "Conflict in South Asia threat to peace says Russian, China," *The Nation*, Islamabad, November 27, 1998.

SRI LANKA

- Balachandran P.K, "20,000 LTTE men killed so far : Lanka Army Chief." *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, November 8, 1997.
- Bulathsinhala, Srian, "200. LTTE, 40 Troops killed in Omanthai," *The Island*, Colombo, August 3, 1997.
- Casualties, Jayesikara, "208, soldier, killed 63 mission Deputy Defence Minister reveals detail," *The Island*, Colombo, June 15, 1998.
- "Crime on the March" (Editorial), *The Island*, Colombo, January 19, 1998.
- "An eco-political time bomb" (Editorial), *The Island*, Colombo, November 18, 1998.
- Ferdinando, Shamindra, "Alleged chemmani graves : HRC initiates probe," *The Island*, Colombo, July 16, 1998.
- Ferdinando, Shamindra, "Karuna admits 1165 deaths : Jaffna road drenched with tigerblood says LTTE," *The Island*, Colombo, March 25, 1998.
- Ferdinando, Shamindra, "LTTE Still in Control of army defences captured on February Army denies fall of Knochchi," *The Island*, Colombo, February 10, 1998.
- Ferdinando, Shamindra, "Major tiger operating in Jaffna foiled," *The Island*, Colombo, July 21, 1998.
- Ferdinando, Shamindra, "SLAF's Kfirs destroy Tiger arm vessel," *The Island*, Colombo, November 10, 1997.
- Ferdinando, Shamindra, "Troops capture Man Kulam," *The Island*, Colombo, October 1, 1998.
- Ferdinando, Shamindra, "Visiting S.A. delegation asks about alleged chemmani graves," *The Island*, Colombo, December 15, 1998.
- Godage, K. "The external dimation of our foreign and security policy," *The Island*, Colombo, March 15, 1998.
- Godage, K. "Look Asia Policy fo the Government" *The Island*, Colombo, September 7, 1997.

- Godage, K. "Our Foreign Policy in the last fifty years," *The Island*, Colombo, March 27, 1997.
- Gooneratne, John, "Adalit challenge to the nuclear Brahmins," *The Island*, Colombo, September 21, 1998.
- Gopalan, T.N. "Human rights activists live dangerously in Lanka," *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, October 8, 1998.
- Gunewardene, Parasad, "Fallout of the Maligowa bombing," *The Island*, Colombo, January 28, 1998.
- "Human rights in prisons" (Editorial), *The Island*, Colombo, December 18, 1997.
- "Importance of Lanka-Pakistan relations" (Editorial), *The Island*, Colombo, December 22, 1997.
- "Investigate mass grace allegations" (Editorial), *The Island*, Colombo, July 15, 1998.
- Jabbar, Zacki, "Govt. has no intention to set up separate Muslim Unit in east," *The Island*, Colombo, October 3, 1997.
- "Jail Break Point" (Editorial), *The Island*, December 11, 1997.
- Jayaram, P. "Return of the Killer tigers," *Indian Today* (Weekly), New Delhi, October 27, 1997.
- Mendis, D.L. "UNP and Constitutional proposals," *The Island*, Colombo, December 8, 1997.
- Mukraji, Apratim "Govt. Allies Lanka's Fear on AIADMK," *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, March 24, 1998.
- Nareykkara, walter, defence expenditure over Rs.44 billion Budget deficit to exceed Rs.98 billion. *The Island*, Colombo, October 27, 1997.
- Palihawansana, Norman, "13, including Jaffna Mayor, Commander killed," *The Island*, Colombo, September 12, 1998.
- Palihawansana, Norman, "LTTE Stronghold, Now in army control," *The Island*, Colombo, October 31, 1998.

- Palihawansana, Norman. "See Battle off Mallaitvu Kills 30 tigers, destroys 7 boats," *The Island*, Colombo, October 31, 1998.
- Perera, Shakuntala. "Devolution Package will not end conflict," *The Island*, Colombo October 4, 1998.
- "Plantation Politics and the economy" (Editorial), *The Island*, Colombo, February 18, 1998.
- Prasad, Ravi, R. "Chandrika reject opp. Demand for snap presidential polls." *The Statesman*, Delhi, June 28, 1998.
- Ratjigamage. Domasema. "Prabhakaran orders arrest of LTTE leader." *The Island*, Colombo, October 22, 1998.
- Sanadhira Sugeeswara. "Kmaratungas, devolution package in trouble," *The Statesman*, Delhi, January 11, 1998.
- Satyapalan, Franklin R. "Presidnet postpones provincial council polls." *The Island*, Colombo, August 8, 1998.
- Satyapalan, Franklin R. "President postpones provincial council polls," *The Island*, Colombo, May 17, 1998.
- Shamindra, "43 army, navy personnel; 40 sea Tigers killed sea Tigers blast 2 navy vessels." *The Island*, Colombo, February 24, 1998.
- Sirohi, Seema, "Lanka to stay neutral on UN Seat-bid," *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, October 9, 1997.
- Suryanarayana, P.S. "The Army digs itself in." *The Hindu*, Delhi, December 14, 1997.
- Suryanarayana, P.S. "Chandrika Ready to go beyond, Thimpu pact." *The Hindu*, Deli, December 28, 1997.
- Suryanarayana, P.S. "Colombo rules out merger of Tamil provinces," *The Hindu*, Delhi, May 8, 1997.
- Suryanarayana, P.S. "Govt. Undrow stalls devolution moves," *The Hindu*, New Dehli, August 8, 1997.

- Suryanarayana, P.S. "Sri Lanka must address India's Concerns," *The Hindu*, New Delhi, August 11, 1997.
- Suryanarayana, P.S. "Sri Lanka's new statute draft unveiled." *The Hindu*, Delhi, October 25, 1997.
- Suryanarayana, P.S. "UNP in a combative mood on new statute." *The Hindu*, Delhi, November 3, 1997.
- Suryanarayana, P.S. "U.S pulls out military trainer from Sri-Lanka," *The Hindu*, Delhi, October 30, 1997.
- Tilakaratna, Bernard. "The Indian election and its fallout on Sri Lanka," *The Island*, Colombo, March 21, 1998.
- Verma, K.J.M. "35 killed in Colombo blast." *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, March 6, 1998.
- Wijedasa, Namini. "Jaffna Mayor Shot dead," *The Island*, Colombo, May 18, 1998.
- Wimalasurendre Cyrit. "UNP for postponing PC elections if presidential polls held in November," *The Island*, Colombo, June 22, 1998.

Chronology of Important Events

SOUTH ASIAN REGION

July 1997 to December 1999

BANGLADESH

1997

- July* 7: Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina Wajid said that she was able to "break the ice" with Japan and hoped her recent visit would lead to new foreign investments.
- 26: Thousand of Burmese Muslims refused to leave Bangladesh and encouraged by international backing began to fortify their camps to thwart any attempt to repatriate them forcibly.
- 27: The UN relief agency UNHRC said that it had won a commitment from Bangladesh to halt the forcible repatriation of Burmese Muslim refugees. "The government (of Bangladesh) told us there will be no more forcible repatriation", Canh Nguyen-Tang, UNHRC coordinator for the Bangladesh/Burma repatriation, told reporters after meeting with officials in Dhaka.
- August* 28: Bangladesh lodged an official protest with Pakistan for allowing three alleged leaders of the 1975 *coup* to enter Pakistan and then issuing them Pakistani Passports. Pakistan categorically denied Bangladesh's protest that it was harbouring the killers of Bangladesh's founding leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.
- September 1*: Pakistan High Commissioner to Bangladesh, Karam Elahi, talking to the press in Dhaka refuted the claims of issuance of Pakistani passport to anyone linked with the killing of Sheikh Mujib. The Pakistan envoy was contacted for his views in the backdrop of reports that the self-confessed killers had a secret meeting with the Bangladesh National Party (BNP) Chief Khaleda Zia when she visited Islamabad and that she was accorded a state reception beyond normal protocol.
-

The above Chronology has been prepared by Abdul Majid, Research Scholar, Centre for South Asian Studies, Quaid-i-Azam Campus, University of the Punjab, Lahore

September Bangladesh High Commissioner to Pakistan Q.M.A. Rahim had been asked by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh to furnish a report about the recent visit of opposition leader Begum Khalda Zia in Pakistan. It was alleged that one or more of the self-confessed killers of Mujib had secretly met Begum Zia during her recent visit to Pakistan and also about allegations that the two persons involved in the killing, Colonel Rashed and Major Nur had obtained Pakistani passports.

- 2: Bangladesh and Nepal opened their borders for a transit route, heralding a new era of economic cooperation to reap maximum benefit from regional interaction in an all-win situation.

At the northern tip of Bangladesh, Commerce Minister Tofael Ahmed and his Nepalese Counter part Sarbendra Nath Shuklla, hand in hand, cut a ribbon to inaugurate the long awaited transit facility.

October 17: Bangladesh's government and tribal rebels were poised to sign a deal next month that would end a quarter century of insurgency in the south eastern Chittangong Hill tracts region.

- 21: It is repeated by officials at the National Atomic energy commission said, Bangladesh is to go ahead with a much delayed plan for a nuclear power plant which had been on the drawing board for more 35 years.

- 26: During a meeting in Edinburgh, Prime Minsiter Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina Wajid exchanging views on the regional situation with special focus on Pakistan-India dialogue, both the leaders also agreed to enhance cooperation within the framework of Non-Aligned Movement.

November 10: Bangladesh Foreign Minister Abdus Samad Azad said in Dhaka that it was the moral and legal responsibility of the Government of Pakistan to make arrangements for early repatriation of the stranded Pakistanis.

December 21: In a major political development, Bangladesh opposition leader Begum Khalda Zia met President Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed and sought his intervention in resolving the political dispute triggered by the peace accord on CHT.

December 22 : Bangladesh's cabinet gave formal approval to a treaty to end a long running tribal insurgency in the southeastern Chittagong Hills Tracts as the latest in a series gripped the region.

Approval was given at a cabinet meeting chaired by Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, who had spearheaded the deal. The official BSS news agency said.

1998

January 1 : Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina Wajed reshuffled her cabinet in a surprise move bringing six of her party leaders into the council of Ministers.

27 : The last of nearly 60,000 tribal refugees returned to Bangladesh after sheltering in exile in India for decade to escape a brutal guerilla war in their homeland.

April 7 : More than 27,000 Bangladeshis women and children had been forced into a life of prostitution in Indian brothels, according to a new survey published on the flesh trade.

May 31 : Reports said Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina Wajed had declared ahead of an opposition protest plan that a landmark peace treaty with tribal rebels would be scrapped.

June 24 : Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina Wajid welcomed Pakistan's proposal to resume talks with India and discuss all matters, including the Kashmir issue and for offering a non aggression pact with India."

July 4 : The High commissioner of Bangladesh Q.A.M.A Rahim, had a farewell well with meeting with President Pakistan's Mr. Muhammad Rifiq Tarar at the Aiwani-i-Sadar.

13 : The official BBS news agency reported, Bangladesh was unlikely to sign the status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) with the United States as this would be "detrimental" to national interests.

15 : The United States said that it would continue talking to the Bangladesh government about an agreement known as the Status of Force Agreement (SOFA).

- July* 28: The Foreign Minister of Bangladesh said that Bangladesh had rejected an accord with the United States which would have allowed unrestricted entry of US troops and equipment in to the country.
- August* 10: Bangladesh former President Hussain Muhammad Ershad staged his first anti government demonstration in Dhaka in a "mass procession" to push several demands.
- 30: A senior diplomat was summoned to the Bangladesh Foreign Ministry and told new Delhi should compensate Dhaka for casualties in border clashes this month.
- October* 31: A provision was likely to be incorporated for train-tickets to Ajmer and Delhi for passengers from Dhaka in the agreement for bus service between Dhaka and Calcutta.
- 15: Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina Wajed announced general elections would be held a year ahead of schedule in 2000, as the opposition stepped up its anti-government campaign.
- December* 21: The bus service between Dhaka to Calcutta was being delayed as India had not responded to Bangladesh's revised proposal on signing of a "passenger traffic movement agreement" providing for only plying of buses.
- 1999**
- February* 5: Bangladesh Ministry of Foreign Affairs said that Talks between Bangladesh and India for introducing direct Bus Service between two countries were expected to be held in the third week of this month.
- March* 4: Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif held a brief meeting with Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina Wajid in Dhaka and discussed the issue of Pakistanis stranded in Bangladesh. Premier Hasina Wajid urged Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to take back thousands of Pakistanis on "humanitarian grounds" adding Bangladesh could not "go on supporting them for an indefinite period." Mr. Nawaz Sharif proposed that the two countries launch a joint appeal to Muslim nations for funds to meet the cost of repatriation and settlement.
- April* 12: Chinese Parliamentary Chairman Li Peng arrived Bangladesh from Pakistan as he continued a six nation tour.

- June* 17 : Bangladesh and India struck a deal to run direct buses between Dhaka and Calcutta, hoping to kick start Commercial operation on June 29.
- 29 : Bangladesh would buy eight MIG-29 fighter aircraft from Russia under an accord signed between the two countries.
- July* 6 : Bangladesh asked Pakistan and India to stop fighting over Kashmir and go for a negotiated settlement of the problem.

1999

- October* 14 : A senior Foreign Office official of Bangladesh expressed concern over military takeover in Pakistan and called for the early restoration of democracy and stability in Pakistan.

INDIA

1997

- July* 15 : Pakistan released 193 imprisoned Indian fishermen in exchange for 194 Pakistani fishermen released by India. The swap of Pakistan and Indian imprisoned fishermen was agreed upon during the meeting of Pakistani and foreign secretaries held in Islamabad.
- 17 : According to Federal Minister for Commerce Muhammad Ishaq Dar, the Government of Pakistan had permitted the import of 14 items from India and declared that it did not mean that Pakistan had compromised on the Kashmir issue by allowing India to export new items to Pakistan.
- 26 : Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub Khan said in London that Pakistan could consider extending gas pipeline coming from Turkmenistan to northern parts of India provided India agreed to resolve the Kashmir issue.
- 31 : Chief of the Army Staff General Jehangir Karamat said in Islamabad that India's defence expenditure for exceeded its genuine requirements.
- August* 1 : While talking to newsmen in Multan, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Siddique Khan Kanju said that trade relations with India would be based on equality and it would not harm the Kashmir casue.

- August 7: While speaking in the Indian upper house *Rajya Sabha*, Indian Junior Foreign Minister Kamala Sinha said that India would not lease Jinnah House, a disused Mumbai mansion that once was the home of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, to Pakistan for the purpose of reopening its consulate.
- 8: While addressing a press conference in New Delhi Indian Prime Minister Inder Kumar Gujral asked Pakistan to agree on mutual defence cuts.
- 9: While giving an interview to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in New Delhi, Indian Prime Minister Inder Kumar Gujral claimed that Pakistan had offered to sell 3000 megawatts of electricity to India.
- 18: Speaking at a press conference at the Indian Consulate in Dubai, Indian Minister of State for External Affairs Saleem Iqbal Shervani said that India was cautiously optimistic about the outcome of the ongoing peace moves with Pakistan, but reiterated that India's stance on Kashmir would remain unchanged.
- 23: According to a spokesman for Ministry of Defence, India sabotaged the second round of talks between Pakistan and India set for September by firing across the Line of Control (LoC).
- 26: Talking to newsman in Rawalpindi, Federal Minister for Commerce Muhammad Ishaq Dar said that Pakistan would not extend free trade with India till the problem of Kashmir was resolved in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the UN.
- September 1: Indian Prime Minister Inder Kumar Gujral, while speaking in the lower house of parliament *Lok Sabha*, said that he would be happy to meet Prime Minister of Pakistan Muhammad Nawaz Sharif during a forthcoming UN General Assembly session in New York.
- 4: According to official sources, the Government of Pakistan had sought clarification from New Delhi in connection with some of the statements emanating from India with regard to foreign secretary level talks between Pakistan and India which created doubts about the future of these talks.

- September 5* : The visiting US Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs Rick Inderfurth said about the talks with Pakistan leadership in Islamabad that “we talked about our strong support for the dialogue that has resumed between Pakistan and India”. He further said, “The United States will be helpful if both sides asked for assistance on the Kashmir dispute”.
- 6 : Five more people were killed in Neelum Valley due to intense Indian firing from across the Line of Control (LoC), bringing the number of dead in Leepa and Neelum Valleys to eight in two days.
- 8 : Talking to newsman in Multan, President Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari said that India was violating ceasefire by resorting to provoked firing across the Line of Control (LoC) which had resulted in the death of a number of innocent people.
- 9 : India’s Minister of External Affairs Saleem Iqbal Shervani during an informal chat with newsmen in Dubai said that the cross-border firing between Indian and Pakistani troops would not affect the foreign secretary level talks scheduled to be held this month.

Foreign Secretary Shamshad Ahmed hoped that “Pakistan will not be forced out of the process of dialogue with India, for resolving outstanding issues including the core issue of Kashmir”. Talking to Associated Press of Pakistan (APP) in Islamabad, Mr. Shamshad Ahmed referred to the recent violations of Line of Control (LoC) from across the border and the conflicting statements made by the Indian leadership. He said, “It is causing impediments in the process of dialogue initiated by Pakistan for peace in the region”.

- 11 : UN Secretary-General Kofi Anan said in the United Nations that he would encourage leaders of Pakistan and India to hold talks on the Kashmir issue when they come to New York on 22nd September. The Secretary-General at a press conference said, “It is regrettable that fresh hostilities continue on India-Pakistan border. I was encouraged that the two leaders had initiated talks recently. I hope that what had happened will not affect their discussions”.
- 12 : According to Pakistan’s Foreign Office the third round of foreign secretary level talks between Pakistan and India would be held in New Delhi from 15 to 18 September.

September 14 : Pakistan expelled two staff members of the Indian High Commission in Islamabad declaring them *persona non grata* after two Pakistan High Commission employees were expelled from New Delhi in August. Official in Islamabad said the two staff members who were not diplomats were accused of spying.

- 15 : Foreign Secretary Shamshad Ahmed talking to newsmen in Islamabad before leaving for New Delhi reaffirmed that the forthcoming talks with India would focus on the Kashmir dispute; He said, "We take Kashmiri brethren into confidence whenever we hold talks with India. This entire process has been initiated for them".

The foreign secretaries of Pakistan and India began talks in New Delhi to improve strained relations, with both sides saying they were determined to carry on the dialogue. Foreign Secretary Shamshad Ahmed told a joint press conference in New Delhi that "both the sides expressed the determination to carry on the dialogue".

- 17 : Indian Prime Minister Inder Kumar Gujral reaffirmed in New Delhi his commitment to peace talks with Pakistan and said he was keeping his agenda open for a meeting with Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, expected to take place during the 52nd Session of the UN General Assembly in New York.

Foreign Secretary Shamshad Ahmed told reporters at the end of a 25 minute courtesy call on the Indian Prime Minister in New Delhi, "We have got indications from the (Indian) Prime Minister they would like the talks to move forward".

- 18 : Pakistan's Foreign Secretary Shamshad Ahmed said in Lahore that the third round of talks between Pakistan and India had ended "inconclusively" because "the other side has resiled from the agreement as set out in the Islamabad joint statement". However, he said that he would not consider it "retardation" as every meeting was not supposed to lead to an agreement.

- 19 : India rejected Pakistani assertion that it had undermined official talks held in New Delhi this week designed to improve relations between the two neighbours. A government statement issued in New Delhi said that India's commitment to dialogue with its neighbour remained "firm and unequivocal". It "categorically" rejected any accusation that it had wrecked the talks by a hardening of its stance.

September 23 : Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and his Indian counterpart Inder Kumar Gujral decided in New York to take mutually agreed steps to end violations on the Line of Control (LoC), though the two Premiers failed to break the impasse over the stalled talks on Kashmir. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif told Newsmen that India's had not refused to talk on Kashmir but they had a different interpretation. "We will discuss it jointly", he added.

A senior State Department official told newsmen in New York after the Gujral—Clinton meeting that the Kashmir issue in the context of ongoing India-Pakistan dialogue figured at the meeting between President Bill Clinton and Prime Minister Inder Kumar Gujral. To quote him, "They obviously discussed the attempt to put India-Pakistan disputes behind but made it clear that the United States does not want to interfere in any way with the issue India had with Pakistan".

24 : Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif said in New York that his Indian counterpart Inder Kumar Gujral had not responded to his offer of "non-aggression" pact made at the United Nations. However, he held out a hope saying that "a positive response from India would come in the near future. It cannot be achieved in one day. We will like to pursue this offer. We will continue our bilateral dialogue".

25 : Pakistan questioned India's candidature for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council, saying New Delhi had failed to implement the UN resolutions on Kashmir. A spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs told reporters in Islamabad, "We all know that India has not implemented the United Nations resolutions...., which both India and Pakistan had accepted. As is very well known, their (Indian's) record of human rights in Jammu and Kashmir is not very honourable.... In the light of those facts, for India to seek the permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council is not the request of a candidate which eminently qualifies for it".

27 : Officials claimed in New Delhi that Pakistan and Indian troops exchanged fire on the Line of Control (LoC) during the visit of Indian Defence Minister Mualyam Sing Yadav to Siachen hills.

29 : A Foreign Office spokesman expressed serious concern over reports that India had commenced regular production of Prithvi missiles. "India's decision is bound to escalate tension and add to the deterioration of the security climate in the area", he added.

September 30 : A spokesman for Ministry of Defence said in Islamabad that seven civilians were killed and another 15 seriously injured when the Indian troops resorted to unprovoked firing in the Shingo and Shakman sub-sector of Northern Areas.

1998

January 15 : A three-nation business summit was held in Dhaka, attended by the Prime Ministers of Pakistan, Bangladesh and India, to create a climate of understanding among the three countries and mistrust and antagonism. The leaders of the three countries in their speeches visualized a meaningful role for the region through sincere efforts and concrete measures. The summit also adopted a declaration calling for ensuring peace and security within South Asian region for rapid economic development.

During a meeting between Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Indian Prime Minister Inder Kumar Gujral held in Dhaka, the two leaders discussed ways and means of reviving the dialogue which remained deadlocked for the last several months. However the talks on major contentious issues remained inconclusive and they failed to fix a date for any formal meeting between the representatives of the two countries.

24 : During a weekly news briefing a Foreign Office spokesman said that Pakistan's Foreign Secretary had received some proposals from his Indian counterpart which might break the deadlock in opening a substantive dialogue on an eight-point agenda to which the two sides had agreed in Islamabad last summer.

February 2 : While talking to the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives Newt Gingrich and the permanent US Representative to the UN, Bill Richardson, in Davos, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif said that irrespective of the results of elections in India, Pakistan was committed to work with a new Indian government to resolve outstanding issues.

4 : Speaking at a news conference in Islamabad, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Siddique Khan Kanju said that Pakistan might review its nuclear policy in case India exercised nuclear option as pledged by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) which was poised to form government after winning the elections.

- February* 5: While talking to *DAWN*, Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub Khan said in Colombo that Pakistan would urge the UN to destroy the chemical weapons possessed by India and to dismantle its capacity to manufacture them.
- 6: Responding to a statement made by Foreign Minister Ghohar Ayub Khan on India's chemical weapons capability, Indian Minister of State for External Affairs Kamala Sinha said in Colombo that it was unfortunate that Pakistan decided to urge the UN to initiate action for the destruction of India's chemical weapons, Defending India's stand on chemical weapons". She said, "we have the capacity to make chemical weapons, but we are not being used to manufacture weapons."
- 7: A foreign office spokesman termed the reported statement of the BJP leader Lal Krishna Advani that India Pakistan and Bangladesh should reunite as wishful thinking.
- 17: Speaking at a press conference in Islamabad, Commerce Minister Ishaq Dar disclosed that the Government of Pakistan was considering trade with India by road to facilitate export of sugar to that country.
- 20: In an exclusive interview with NNI, India Prime Minister Inder Kumar Gujral said he was hopeful that the next round of Pakistan-India secretary level talks would start soon and it would cover all the eight points agreed to at the Islamabad meeting in June 1997. He further said that Pakistan deviated from the agreed formula and suddenly a new formulation came from Pakistan that the first point that related to Kashmir be discussed first. He said that he wanted to make it clear that Kashmir would not be discussed first.
- 21: A foreign office spokesman refuted India Prime Minister Inder Kumar Gujral's allegation in an interview that Pakistan deviated from the Islamabad agreement on the mechanism of dialogue with India. He further said Pakistan had always sought specific and substantive negotiation on Kashmir along with all other subjects.
- March* 5: A Foreign Office spokesman said in Islamabad that Pakistan would give a matching reply to an aggressive move by India. The spokesman delivered the warning while commenting on a statement by the BJP secretary general Govind Acharya who had threatened that India would take control of Azad Kashmir.

March 8: Talking to newsmen in Islamabad before his departure for Tokyo on a four-day official visit, Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub Khan said in Islamabad that Pakistan was closely watching political developments in India. He further said, "We would brief Japanese officials on Pakistan's efforts to resolve outstanding issues with India peacefully".

10: A Foreign Office spokesman in Islamabad accused India of masterminding the frequent bomb blasts in Pakistan to divert world attention from its own troubles. He said, "Conclusive evidence in the possession of the Government of Pakistan clearly points to the fact that these acts of terrorism were masterminded and executed by the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) of the Indian intelligence. Pakistan continues to be victim of state terrorism".

11: Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub Khan, while addressing a press conference in Tokyo, warned of the growing risk of a new arms race in South Asia if the BJP, after taking power, armed India with nuclear weapons. He said, leader of the BJP Atal Behari Vajpayee had called for the nuclear option during electioneering. He further said, "It will destabilize the whole area," as it would make Pakistan to enter into an arms race, for concerns that are obvious and I think this would naturally draw sanctions against India".

The Foreign Office summoned a senior Indian embassy official in Islamabad and lodged a protest over recent bomb blasts in the country. Pakistani leaders had accused had the Indian intelligence agency RAW of masterminding bomb explosions and other terrorist acts in Pakistan.

A spokesman for the Indian Ministry of External Affairs rejected as "entirely false and malicious" a recent Islamabad charge that Delhi was responsible for a series of bomb blasts in Pakistan.

14: Federal Minister for Information Musahid Hussain said at a news conference in Karachi that the Indian intelligence agency RAW was trying to replicate in Pakistan the type of terrorism unleashed by Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka. The Minister further said that in view of serious threat to national security due to the terrorist attacks, the government had decided to raise the issue at the forthcoming session of the United Nations Human Rights Commission (UNHRC) at Geneva on 16 March.

March

According to an official announcement in Islamabad Pakistan expelled an Indian diplomat for acts of espionage and subversion. The action was followed by the expulsion of a Pakistan diplomat by New Delhi. The Indian Deputy Commissioner was summoned to the Foreign Office and told that the Government of Pakistan had “incontrovertible evidence” of P.N. Nair’s involvement in “acts of espionage and subversion.”

- 16: Addressing a press conference in Doha, Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub Khan said that Pakistan would have to reconsider its nuclear policy if the new government in India pursued aggressive designs and its leaders continued to behave in the way they did during the election campaign. He, however hoped that BJP after coming to power would not force Pakistan into arms race.
- 17: In an interview to an Urdu daily published from Jeddah, Dammam and Riyadh, Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan said that Pakistan was capable of responding to any Indian threat in the nuclear field. He further said, “there will be an appropriate response if India conducts a nuclear test.”

Talking to Associated Press of Pakistan (APP), Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub Khan said that Pakistan would give swift and telling reply to any act of aggression committed by India. He said “We are fully alert to threats of the BJP given during the election campaign and hope that the BJP government will desist from taking any step which may endanger the peace and security in the region”.

- 18: While talking to newsmen at the inauguration of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) Economic Cooperation Conference in Islamabad, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif said that the government was committed to resolving all outstanding issues with India through negotiations.
- 19: A Foreign Office spokesman said in Islamabad that Pakistan could review its policy of nuclear restraint in response to New Delhi’s plan to keep its option open to develop nuclear weapons. The spokesman further said that the plan announced by BJP had created a “fearsome situation” posing threat to Pakistan’s security. He said it was a dangerous development for South Asia and the whole world.

March

A Foreign Office spokesman told the journalists in Islamabad that it would depend on the new Indian government, set up by BJP and its allies, whether the suspended Pakistan-India talks at the foreign secretary level would be revived.

In a speech to Conference on Disarmament (CD) held in Geneva, Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub Khan warned that India's statements that it will keep its options open over nuclear weapons could push South Asia into a "dangerous arms race".

In a detailed report on the "agenda" released by the BJP, the *New York Times* said that the declaration by the Hindu Nationalist BJP government that it would "induct nuclear weapons into its military arsenal" would set off an arms race between India and Pakistan, and this would provoke strong reaction from the international community.

- 20: In a message of felicitation to new Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif stressed the need for stepping out of old mindset to resolve all out-standing issues between the two countries, including the Kashmir dispute, to ushering in an era of peace and stability in South Asia.
- 21: Speaking at a luncheon hosted in his honour by Azad Kashmir President Sardar Ibrahim Khan in Muzaffarabad, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif said that Pakistan sincerely wanted to resolve the issue of Kashmir through political means but it should not be taken as weakness.
- 22: In a television address to the nation the Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee said that his government would go the "extra mile" to improve ties with Pakistan.
- 26: Talking to reporters in Islamabad, Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub Khan urged the world community to impose sanctions against India for its plans to go nuclear. Referring to the statements of BJP leaders on the nuclear issue, the Foreign Minister said that there would have been a hue and cry all over the world had a Muslim country made such pronouncements.
- 28: A Foreign Office spokesman welcomed the Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee's stance that dialogue with Pakistan would

March continue. The spokesman said, "We are obviously interested in a clear pledge (by the Indian side) of its sincerity towards a peaceful resolution of disputes, particularly the core issue of Jammu and Kashmir". Vajpayee's statements "certainly betrays their (BJP's) avarice for territory and betrays their desire to have what is not their's".

April 7: While speaking at a news conference in Lahore, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif said that Ghauri missile was developed in view of Pakistan's legitimate security concerns and country's policy of talks with India would remain unchanged.

Responding to Pakistan's Ghauri missile, a spokesman of Indian Defence Ministry accused China of supplying Pakistan with missile technology and added that India was ready to meet any threat to its security.

15: A Foreign Office spokesman, Pakistan expressed satisfaction at the reported remarks of Indian Defence Minister George Fernandes that Kashmir was not an internal issue for India, and called for resumption of official talks between the two countries.

25: A Foreign Office spokesman referring to the reported statement of Indian foreign policy adviser Nagendra Nath Jha that India might induct nuclear weapons into its arsenal without conducting a test, said that India was taking escalatory steps towards overt nuclearization and warned that Islamabad would respond by taking appropriate measures to ensure its security.

May 2: According to a Foreign Office spokesman, Pakistan formally charged the Indians of carrying out the gruesome massacre of 21 innocent people in Bandala village, 600 meter from the ceasefire line in Azad Kashmir on 26th April. A strong protest was handed over to an Indian High Commission official who was summoned to Foreign Office demanding halt to such senseless killings.

While talking to reporters in Mumbai, Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee said that bilateral talks between Pakistan and India should cover all the issues. He said, "Pakistan's attitude now was to sideline other issues and concentrate on just on which was not proper".

- May 6: While giving an interview to Reuters Television in Islamabad, Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub Khan said that Pakistan gained an edge over India in missile technology with the development of the Ghauri missile. He said that by developing the new 1500 kilometers range Ghauri missile, Pakistan shattered the myth of India's strategic depth and it could reach any Indian city. He added that Pritivi missile had a smaller range of around 200 kilometers.
- 11: Talking to newsmen in Islamabad, Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub Khan said that Pakistan reserved the right to take all appropriate measures for its security in view of the Indian nuclear tests.
- 12: Giving statement in Senate on India's nuclear tests, Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub Khan said that Pakistan had a technical capability to respond to any threat to its security and reiterated that Pakistan would take all appropriate steps which were within its sovereign right of self-defence. The Foreign Minister further said, "We have made it absolutely clear in the past that any step of nuclear escalation by India will find will find a matching response from Pakistan. We stand by that commitment".
- 13: While giving a statement on India's nuclear tests, Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub Khan said in the Senate that Indian actions posed immediate and grave threat to Pakistan's security and those would not go unanswered. The statement further said that the government would take all the steps it deemed necessary for national security, which were within its sovereign right for self-defence".

Later, talking to reporters, he said, "Pakistan will review its earlier stance of signing CTBT if India does it in the changed security environment of the region".

According to US State Department spokesman James Rubin, the US government decided to dispatch a top level diplomatic-cum-military delegation to Pakistan to persuade it from responding to the Indian nuclear blasts.

- 14: Talking in New Delhi, Political Secretary to Indian Prime Minister, Pramod Mahajan, said that India was not bothered by the possibility of a Pakistani nuclear test following India's five nuclear blasts.

May

Commenting on the advice for restraint by the foreign powers, a Foreign Office spokesman said that West had ignored and dismissed Islamabad's warning and encouraged India to go ahead and cross the Rubicon leading to the irreversible situation.

He said that the Indian nuclear tests demonstrated "operationalization of India's grandiose ambitions" to be counted as an additional member to the exclusive Nuclear Club of Five and its hegemonic designs. It also showed Indian wish "to ride on its nuclear status" to claim a seat in the UN Security Council as its new permanent member. The spokesman further said that there was no intention to recall Pakistan High Commissioner from New Delhi.

While speaking in the Senate, Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub Khan said that Pakistan was not surprised over the resumption of nuclear tests by India. He said, "Since last more than two decades we have been warning the international community about India's nuclear ambitions, which became more ominous with the induction of the BJP government in New Delhi". He regretted that the international community acted indifferently and paid no heed to the warning given by Pakistan. He further said, "By conducting the nuclear tests India has struck a fatal blow to international efforts at nuclear non-proliferation. The international community's which to create nuclear weapons free world is totally shattered. The responsibility rests squarely with India.

- 16: Speaking at a press briefing in Islamabad, Foreign Secretary Shamsah Ahmed reiterated that Pakistan would not respond in haste to the series of nuclear tests by India. He said, "Our respond will be well-considered, mature, sober and comprehensive". He described India as a "Violator of international Law, morality, UN Charter and Security Council resolutions which has now gifted the region with nuclear weapons".

While talking in New Delhi, Principal Secretary Brajes Mishra to the Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, said that India was ready to discuss the issue of nuclear weapons with Pakistan any time and also reiterated that Pakistan had no reason for fear following India's five nuclear tests. He further said that India would consider offering a "no first sue" pledge to Pakistan.

May 20 : In a statement Indian Home Minister Lal Krishan Advani said in New Delhi that it was quite possible that Pakistan "would revert to extending terrorist activities" in the Indian-held Kashmir and elsewhere following India's resumption of nuclear tests.

At a meeting of foreign ministers of Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in Cartagena (Colombia), Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Muhammad Siddique Kahn Kanju said that India had destroyed nuclear weapons non-proliferation efforts and warned that Pakistan would take the necessary steps to ensure world security. Indian Minister for External Affairs Vasundhara Raje said that his government had a right to resume nuclear testing since the nuclear powers Britain, China, Russia, France and the United States did not really intend to eliminate their nuclear weapons any time soon.

21 : While talking to mediemen in Srinagar, Indian army spokesman Brigadier Arun Kumar Chopra accused Pakistan of launching unprovoked attacks on Indian forces in Kashmir for the first time since India's nuclear tests and asked Pakistan to choose between "friendship and war".

22 : In a telephonic conversation with Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, Iranian President Muhammad Khatami expressed concern over India's nuclear tests and supported Pakistan's efforts to deal with the emerging security scenario. According to a Foreign Office spokesman, the reported Indian offer of moratorium and the proposal of "no first use" of nuclear weapons agreement with Pakistan were meant to placate international opinion and was a ploy to conceal India's hegemonic and aggressive designs.

23 : While addressing the mediaman in Islamabad, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif stated that the any misadventure by India would be met with a resolute response. He said that there was a national consensus on the response to the challenges and the threat posed by the Indian nuclear tests.

Speaking at après conference in Calcutta, Indian Defence Minister George Fernandes said that his country's nuclear tests should not hamper confidence-building measures will continue and I think the nuclear tests should not come in the way of any kind of talks between India and China and between India and Pakistan".

May

Mr. Fernandes said that India would not sign CTBT unless existing discriminatory provisions were eliminated. He defended India's nuclear test saying, "We are concerned about our defence and we have done the right thing".

- 27 : While speaking in Parliament, Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee said in New Delhi that India was ready to discuss a "no first use" agreement on nuclear weapons with Pakistan and other countries, bilaterally or collectively.
- 28 : While speaking in the Parliament, Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee said that Pakistan's nuclear tests proved that his defiant nuclear stance was justified and that his government was ready to confront any challenge.

The Foreign Office summoned Indian High Commissioner to Pakistan Satish Chandra and told him that any attack on Pakistan would warrant a swift and massive retaliation with unforeseen consequence.

- 29 : While Addressing the Parliament, Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee said that his government was ready for talks with Pakistan, but warned Islamabad to give up its claim over the Indian-held Kashmir. About Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's offer for a non-war accord, Mr. Vajpayee said, "This was not a new offer. Whenever talks were held (with Pakistan), we reached the conclusion they want a no-war pact, but only after the solution of the Kashmir problem according to their wishes. But if a new offer has been made, we are ready to go ahead.
- 30 : While talking to reporters in Islamabad, Foreign Secretary Shamshad Ahmed recalled Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif's offer to resume Pakistan-India dialogue on all out-standing issues including the Jammu and Kashmir dispute and said, "We are prepared to enter into discussions with India for taking all steps that are necessary to ensure mutual restraint and equitable measures for nuclear stabilization in our region".
- 31 : India lodged a strong protest with Pakistan over the attack on one of its diplomats in Islamabad and demanded higher security for its staff there. Pakistani High Commissioner to India Ashraf Jehangir Qazi was summoned by the Indian Foreign Secretary in New Delhi and was told that India took a very grave note of the incident which had very disturbing connotations and was entirely un-acceptable.

June 1: In an interview with the Japanese television Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub Khan said that Pakistan would not unilaterally sign the CTBT or NPT. He further said that Pakistan would accept these international regimes simultaneously with India which had initiated nuclear arms race in the region.

Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif in an interview with a Japanese newspaper published in Tokyo said that Pakistan was ready to talk to India about mutual restraint on the use of nuclear weapons.

A Foreign Office spokesman expressed surprise that the Pakistan High Commissioner had been summoned over a minor incident that involved an attaché of the Indian High Commission in Islamabad on 31st May. When asked to comment on the incident, the spokesman said basically it was a minor scuffle between the Indian attaché and a local security guard in the neighbourhood.

6: Addressing the joint session of the Parliament, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif proposed talks between Islamabad and New Delhi to halt the arms race in the subcontinent and urged the international community to help resolve the Kashmir dispute. He said that Pakistan had always wanted meaningful talks with India and was still ready for it.

According to a report of the Press Trust of India (PTI) India's Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee said in New Delhi that the Kashmir dispute should be kept separate from the nuclear issue and rejected any outside mediation in disputes with Pakistan. He reiterated India's willingness for direct negotiations with Pakistan following Islamabad's offer of talks to end the arms race between their countries.

7: The Indian Ministry of External Affairs in a strongly-worded statement in New Delhi slammed a UN Security Council statement condemning its nuclear tests and urging Pakistan to hold "comprehensive talks" with its estranged South Asian neighbour. The statement further said, "We regret that the Security Council has acted in the way it has and produced a resolution that is coercive and unhelpful".

June

A Foreign Office spokesman in a press statement in Islamabad condemned India for setting off a bomb in train on its way to Peshawar from Karachi that killed 24 persons and injured many others. He further said that "the bomb blast in the Khyber Mail today is an abominable RAW sponsored terrorist act".

- 8: Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee in New Delhi dismissed the UN Security Council condemnation of India's nuclear tests last month and called for bilateral talks with Pakistan.

Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif said in Jeddah that Pakistan defence had become impregnable and the nation was now capable of defending itself without any outside help. He was addressing the Pakistani community in Jeddah.

Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Akram Zaki, while speaking in Ottawa urged the West to treat Pakistan more kindly than India in applying sanctions, since it was India that shattered the nuclear status quo with its explosions last month.

- 9: An Indian national Bilbeer Sing, who was awarded capital punishment in 1991 by a military court on spying charges, was hanged in the Sahiwal Central Jail. Bilbeer Sing was arrested in 1989 from the Okara Cantonment some eight years ago. He belonged to Karnataka (India) and had been spying for India under the name of Muhammad Iqbal.

US State Department spokesman James Rubin told the regular briefing in Washington that Pakistan and India would not attend the G-8 meetings in United Kingdom but some other countries would be invited. Asked to respond to the reactions in India and Pakistan over the P-5 communique in Geneva Rubin said India had described the communique as "grotesque" but reaction in Pakistan had been different.

- 10: India's deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission and the leader of the Indian delegation to the UN drug summit told a press conference in UN that the state of "Jammu and Kashmir is and would remain part of the Indian Union".

June

A Foreign Office spokesman said in Islamabad that Pakistan was always prepared to hold a serious, constructive and result-oriented dialogue with India, the spokesman said. Islamabad described a peaceful settlement of Jammu and Kashmir dispute, which was universally recognized as the core issue.

- 11: Pakistan declared a unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests and called upon India to do the same. It invited New Delhi to join in it in an agreement outlawing future tests. A Foreign Office statement released in Islamabad said that Pakistan was ready to engage constructively with India and other members of the international community to formalize this agreement.

India shrugged off Pakistan's announcement of a moratorium on nuclear test, saying New Delhi was already observing such a moratorium. A spokesman for the Indian Ministry of External Affairs told Reuters in New Delhi, "We already have a voluntary moratorium. Where is the question of testing?"

India rebuffed any UN mediatory role in New Delhi's ties with Islamabad following the nuclear testing. A spokesman for the Indian Ministry of External Affairs said in New Delhi that India had not been contacted following reports from Islamabad that the UN Secretary-General Kofi Anan was proposing to send a special envoy to mediate between the rivals.

- 12: India dismissed Pakistan's offer of a formal test ban treaty to defuse nuclear tension in South Asia after last month's detonations by both the countries. A spokesman for the Indian Ministry of External Affairs said the offer was meaningless since India had already declared a unilateral moratorium after its 11 and 13 May nuclear tests.

A Foreign Office spokesman in Islamabad rejected India's offer of talks. He said that India's proposals for talks were "not acceptable" and "totally unrealistic," since the offer was typical of "a traditional gimmickry of Indian diplomacy".

- 13: A senior Indian official Jaswant Singh, in an interview to Cable News Network (CNN), said the talks with Pakistan would go ahead despite the failure to agree on time and place.

June

Talking to newsmen in Islamabad, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif reiterated Pakistan's offer of "serious and meaningful" talks with India on all outstanding issues. He further said that Pakistan was ready to hold talks on Kashmir.

14: In an exclusive interview with *India Today*, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif said Pakistan did not intend to transfer nuclear technology to any country.

15: A spokesman for the Indian Ministry of External Affairs said in New Delhi, that India would reject any attempt by Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina Wajid to mediate over the tension between the two countries caused by their nuclear tests.

A spokesman for the Indian Ministry of External Affairs said in New Delhi that India would pursue efforts for a "broad-based and sustained" dialogue with Pakistan, but suggested no new date for a resumption of talks after offers from both sides last week. He further said that New Delhi was committed to building friendly relations with Islamabad.

16: A spokesman for the Indian Ministry of External Affairs said in New Delhi after a meeting between Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee and Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina Wajid that Bangladesh had not offered to stage talks between New Delhi and Islamabad.

19: Addressing a meeting in Dalbandin, some 210 miles from Quetta, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif said that both Pakistan and India should give top priority to the Kashmir issue to ensure peace in the region.

20: A Foreign Office spokesman briefing newsmen in Islamabad confirmed that Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and his Indian counterpart Atal Behari Vajpayee would meet on the sidelines of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) Conference in Colombo next month and expressed the hope that the meeting would lead to the resumption of stalled talks between the two countries.

- June* 22: Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee renewed his offer of talks with Pakistan on all bilateral issues, including the restive region of Kashmir.

A Foreign Office spokesman in Islamabad rejected Indian Home Minister Lal Khrishan Advani's accusation that Pakistan was involved in killing of 25 Hindus in the occupied Kashmir and described the charge as totally baseless.

- 24: Official source said in Muzaffarabad that Indian troops fired mortar and artillery shells from across the Line of Control (LoC) in different villages of Neelum Valley in Muzaffarabad killing tow persons.
- 25: India refused to receive an envoy from the UN Secretary General Kofi Anan on a mission to help lower tensions after nuclear tests by India and Pakistan. A spokesman for the Indian Ministry of External Affairs said that New Delhi would not meet a team headed by the Un deputy Secretary-General for Political Affairs Alvaro de Soto.
- 26: According to official sources in Muzaffarabad, five civilians were killed and at least 13 others were wounded, most of region to artillery and mortar shelling.

A spokesman for the Indian Ministry of External Affairs said in New Delhi that the UN had no role to play in its relations with Pakistan but Secretary-General Kofi Anan was welcome to visit India.

- July* 4: Briefing newsmen, a Foreign Office spokesman renewed Pakistan's offer to India for a regional test ban treaty but regretted that because of New Delhi's intransigence, Islamabad had no alternative but to keep its options open on the issue of signing CTBT and was conducting a strategic review of the situation.

Speaking at a weekly briefing, a Foreign Office spokesman expressed the hope that a proposed meeting between Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and his Indian counterpart Atal Behari, on the sidelires of the SAARC summit to be held from 29th to 31st July in Colombo, would help revive stalled talks between the two countries. He said that Pakistan saw insincerity on part of India in its opposition to a third party mediation for the resolution of disputes between the two countries.

- July 8 : Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee in New Delhi said that Pakistan should sign a no-first use nuclear weapon pact and a non-aggression accord with India.

A Foreign Office spokesman said that Pakistan was willing to sign with India a non-aggression pact including non-use of nuclear weapons as part of a comprehensive disarmament pact based on a just and fair settlement of the Kashmir dispute.

- 10 : Speaking in Parliament, Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee offer to Pakistan an economic cooperation, a pact in no-first use of nuclear weapons and joint efforts to achieve universal disarmament.
- 14 : Pakistan's High Commissioner to India said in New Delhi that Pakistan had offered to discuss a nuclear test ban treaty with India to formalize the moratorium declared by the New Delhi on further nuclear explosions. He said Pakistan would keep all options open on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) including joining it with out India being a party to it.

Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub Khan said in Lahore that Pakistan would not necessarily sign the CTBT even if India went ahead and signed it. He added that Pakistan had changed its conditions in the current situation in view of its peculiar concerns and interests. Pakistan would have to be very careful in arriving at any decision on whether or not to sign the treaty.

- 15 : Minister of State for External Affairs, Vasundhara Raje said in New Delhi that India had rejected a proposal by Pakistan for a bilateral nuclear test ban treaty. Vasundhara Raje said that threats to Indian national security were not confined to Pakistan.
- 28 : Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif said in Colombo that he would discuss with Indian prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee all contentious issues including Kashmir which was the root cause of tension between the two countries.
- 29 : Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee held bilateral talks in Colombo. They agreed to resume stalled talks between the two countries and directed their foreign secretaries to work out modalities in this regard.

August 1: While speaking at a luncheon hosted by Maldivian President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom in Male, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif said that there was an urgent need to address and remove the causes of tension in the region after the nuclearization of South Asia. The Prime Minister said that Pakistan was keen to promote a serious and meaningful dialogue with India which would address in a specific and substantive manner the outstanding issues between the two countries, including the core issue of Jammu and Kashmir. He observed that in the absence of a secure and peaceful South Asia, it would be unrealistic to envisage a meaningful economic cooperation.

US Congressman belonging to the Democratic party Frank Pallone asked the Clinton Administration to put Pakistan on the terrorism watch list in view of the killings of Hindus in the Indian-held Kashmir by militants.

2: While talking to reporters in Pune, Indian Home Minister Lal Krishan Advani said that Indian ties with Pakistan had worsened after the prime ministers of Pakistan and India met this week for the first time since their nuclear tests on the sidelines of SAARC summit in Colombo. Mr. L.K. Advani said that the main stumbling block was Kashmir and Pakistan was fomenting insurgency through a proxy war in the Indian-held Kashmir. He said, "This is because of Pakistan's failure to reconcile with the secular character of Indian democracy ... they consider it an anathema that a state like Kashmir with a maximum Muslim population remains with India".

While addressing a news conference in Lahore, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif said that Pakistan would not come under any political or military pressure as a result of the situation created by India on the LoC. He said that the past bore testimony that whenever Pakistan and India were about to hold talks, India started violating the LoC. The Prime Minister urged the world powers to take serious notice of the situation. He said the United Nations would now play a more assertive role to have its resolutions on Kashmir implemented.

3: While speaking in the upper house of the Parliament (*Rajya Sabha*) in New Delhi, Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee warned Pakistan that India would use a "firm hand" to respond to any attack on its border. He said, "We are committed to keeping our borders secure. We deal with a firm hand any attack by Pakistan".

- August 6: While talking to reporters in New Delhi, Pakistan's Ambassador to India, Ashraf Jehangir Qazi said that prospects for reviving peace talks between Pakistan and India were dim unless New Delhi dropped its inflexibility on the Kashmir dispute.
- 8: Indian Defence Minister George Fernandes said in New Delhi that India wanted peace with Pakistan and China despite tensions in the region. He said, "There is a deeply-felt longing feeling in the minds of most people to have not just friendship with Pakistan but a special political and economic relationship".
- 9: In an interview to Qatar's English daily *The Peninsula*, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif said in Islamabad that despite the futile meeting with Indian Prime Minister in Colombo on the sidelines of SAARC summit and heavy Indian shelling along LoC, he was willing to meet the Indian Premier Atal Behari Vajpayee at the sidelines of a Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit to be held in Durban this month.
- 14: According to a statement issued by the Indian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, India had asked Pakistan to immediately investigate an alleged kidnapping of an Indian High Commission official in Islamabad.
- 15: In an independence day address to the nation, Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee said in New Delhi that he was ready for talks to improve strained relations with Pakistan and China. He said, "I have not given up hope. I am ready to talk to Pakistan at any place, any level, and on any subject. There are no problems that cannot be solved by talks. Whether it is China or Pakistan we will try to find solutions through talks".

According to a Foreign Office spokesman it was incorrect to say that Pakistan was opposed to resuming talks with India unless New Delhi agreed to Pakistan's suggestion of third Party mediation. He said that Pakistan had all along been willing and ready to resume talks at the level of foreign secretaries on the basis of the eight-item agenda which covered almost the entire range of relationship between the two countries. He pointed out that the comprehensive agenda was drawn up in Islamabad meeting of the foreign secretaries on 23rd June 1997.

August 23 : A Foreign Office spokesman rejected that Indian allegation of "cross border support to terrorism" in the Indian-held Kashmir and East Punjab from Pakistan. The spokesman said that this was a malicious charge laid merely as a smokescreen to hide India's massive violations of human rights against the Kashmiri's who were waging a heroic struggle against Indian occupation and for their right to self-determination. India itself was engaged in state terrorism against the Kashmiri's as well as RAW-sponsored subversion inside Pakistan.

28 : In a statement released from New Delhi, Indian Defence Minister George Fernandes said that the stand-off with Pakistan in the Siachen Glacier would not trigger a full scale war between India and Pakistan.

While giving an interview to the Doordarshan Television in New Delhi, Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee said that relations with Pakistan and China were improving despite slow progress in talks with Islamabad. He said that it was not true that India was not keen to discuss Kashmir with Pakistan, but added that it was keen to focus on other issues as well, mainly referring to trade relations.

29 : Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee said in New Delhi that Pakistan's decision to introduce Shariah Law was a retrograde step and would have an impact on the neighbouring nations. He said, "It is an internal affair of Pakistan ... but the decision nevertheless will have an impact on Afghanistan and Central Asian republics". He further said, "India has stated categorically that growth of religious extremism in any country was of concern to its neighbours".

30 : Information Minister Mushahid Hussain took exception to the recent statements issued by the Indian leadership, including Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, on Pakistan's efforts to bring the law of the land in the line with the Islamic Shariah, and said these statements were tantamount to interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan and advised the Indian leadership not to try to further damage the already not too happy Indo-Pakistan relations by giving out such statements.

Nuclear experts from 15 countries gathered in Hiroshima to participate in a two-day meeting and proposed to Pakistan and India to open a hot line to ease tensions heightened by their nuclear tests.

31 : While talking to Reuters in Durban, Foreign Minister Sartaj Aziz said that Pakistani and Indian officials made progress in discussions on the nuclear stand off between the two countries.

- September 1 :* A spokesman for the Indian delegation at the NAM summit said in Durban that Pakistan and India held 'constructive' talks on the eve of the summit. He further said that the two countries agreed to "find the modalities for the resumption of foreign secretary level talks".
- 2 : Pak stand expressed serious concern over the test fire by India of a surface-to-air Akash missile saying it would affect the security of a nuclearized South Asia.
- 3 : Foreign Secretary Shamshad Ahmed held a series of meetings with his Indian counterpart, K. Ragunath on the sidelines of the NAM summit in Durban. They held in-depth discussions on the resumption of Pakistan-Indian dialogue in accordance with the Islamabad Declaration of 23rd June 1997.
- 5 : Foreign Minister Sartaj Aziz said in Islamabad that discussions between the foreign secretaries of Pakistan and India on the sidelines of the NAM summit had removed the "procedural snag" in the way of talks between the two countries in line with the Islamabad agreement of 23rd June last year. But added that the resumption of talks now depended on India's "sincerity in resuming talks on Kashmir and security".
- 19 : According to reports reaching Rawalpindi nine civilians were killed and another 11 sustained injuries due to unprovoked shelling by the Indian artillery on villages close to the Line of Control (LoC) in kel and Kargil sectors.
- 20 : At a news conference in Bombay, Indian Home Minister Lal Krishan Advani accused Pakistan of sneaking militants into occupied Kashmir to fight a proxy war and proposed boosting border security.
- 23 : Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee after a two-hour meeting with Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif in the United Nations told a news conference that a new era in Indo-Pakistan cooperation had been opened after the two South Asian countries agreed to resume wide-ranging talks on all disputes including Kashmir.

Foreign Secretary Shamshad Ahmed while commenting on India's offer of talks to Pakistan said in New York that Pakistan had accepted the "integrated approach" advocated by India to discuss their

September

mutual problems but made it clear that the integrated approach meant that the core issue of peace, security and Kashmir would be discussed simultaneously with other six issues including Siachen, trade and commerce etc.

According to a joint statement issued in New York by Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee Pakistan and India agreed to resume their stalled dialogue on Kashmir and other security issues to reduce tension in South Asia.

Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif told the UN General Assembly in New York that Pakistan would adhere to the CTBT only in conditions free from coercion and pressure and would insist on being accorded equal treatment with India, in terms of status of incentives.

- 24 : Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee said in the UN that India was prepared to sign the CTBT by September, 1999.
- 26 : Foreign Office spokesman Tariq Altaf told a news briefing in Islamabad that Pakistan was looking forward to a sustained dialogue with India over contentious issues. He further said that the talks would resume on 15th October, including confidence building measures and Jammu and Kashmir.
- 27 : Speaking at a news conference in Lahore, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif said that the breakthrough in talks with his Indian counterpart Atal Behari Vajpayee in New York, recently augured well for the two countries and more purposeful talks were expected soon.
- 28 : Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee while speaking at an Asia Society luncheon in New York, rejected any third party mediation in the Kashmir dispute and instead stressed that the bilateral talks between Pakistan and India on the basis of 1972 Simla Agreement would resolve the issue.

October

- 3 : In a weekly news briefing, a Foreign Office spokesman said that Pakistan would want India to discuss the issues of nuclear and conventional arms constraint and stabilization in the context of security and peace, in the scheduled foreign secretary level talks in Islamabad from 15th to 18th October. The talks would also include Kashmir issue as part of an eight-point agenda.

- October Pakistan and India expelled each other's diplomats declaring them *persona-non-grata*, trading charges of espionage.
- 12 : A spokesman for Indian Ministry of Defence said that India would hold routine military manoeuvres in October and November near the border with Pakistan and in this regard, Islamabad had been warned in advance.
- 13 : Pakistan conveyed its extreme distress over the military exercises which India announced to carry out in the border regions of Pakistan. The exercises had been scheduled just two days ahead of the resumption of the stalled bilateral talks between the two countries in Islamabad. Indian High Commissioner to Pakistan was called to the Foreign Office and conveyed the feelings of the Government of Pakistan at the magnitude and timing of the exercises.
- October 16 : During a meeting with Indian Foreign Secretary K. Raghunath, who called on him in Islamabad, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif announced unilateral release of all Indian fishermen and boats in Pakistan's custody.
- 17 : During the Foreign Secretary level talks between Pakistan and India held in Islamabad, both the countries exchanged some ideas on how to approach a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir dispute. They conceded that it would be unrealistic to expect concrete progress on Kashmir issue at the opening discussion.
- Addressing a press conference in Islamabad, Indian Foreign Secretary K. Raghunath said that Pakistani fishermen in India's custody would be released soon.
- The Press Trust of India (PTI) reported Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee as saying that he was satisfied with the Foreign Secretary level talks and added that progress on the Kashmir dispute would depend on scheduled talks in February.
- 21 : India rejected a proposal by Pakistan for a non-aggression pact because it was conditional on the resolution of the Kashmir issue.
- 24 : Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif said in Islamabad that relations between Pakistan and India were expected to improve greatly after India's expression of willingness to discuss the Kashmir issue.

- October* 28 : Indian Defence Minister George Fernandes said in New Delhi that defence secretaries of Pakistan and India would meet next week in New Delhi to discuss mutual problems with regard to security.
- November* 3 : India announced that it would release 148 Pakistani fishermen in its custody ahead of this week's talks on improving relations between the two countries.
- 4 : A Foreign Office spokesman expressed grave concern over Indian decision to deploy an additional division of troops in Kashmir. The induction of these troops would lead to a further escalation of tension and repression in the disputed territory, he added.
- 5 : Senior Pakistani and Indian officials met in New Delhi and discussed Wuller Barrage issue and agreed to resolve the matter in line with 1960s Indus Waters Basin Treaty.
- 6 : Pakistan and India failed to reach any agreement aimed at resolving the stalemate over the Siachen Glacier.
- 9 : Pakistan and India made no headway in talks on the Sir Creek Channel. The two countries said that they had left the issue to a subsequent round to talks.
- 12 : The talks held between Pakistan and India made no headway on cross-border terrorism. A statement issued after the meeting said that both sides stated their respective positions and agreed to meet again at a date to be decided.
- 13 : A Foreign Office spokesman condemned a statement by the Indian Home Minister Lal Krishan Advani alleging that Pakistan was a terrorist state. He regretted that extremist elements within India were again out to wreck the process of peace and rapprochement in South Asia.
- 17 : The Pakistan Rangers (Punjab) and the Indian Border Security Force (BSF) started a three-day biannual meeting in Islamabad with discussion on progress in matters pertaining to India-Pakistan border, maintenance of boundary pillars, smuggling of narcotics and other contraband items and repatriation of those who cross the border inadvertently.

- November 19:* The three-day meeting of the delegations of Pakistan Rangers (Punjab) and BSF concluded in Lahore. The exchange of firing along the working boundary in Sialkot sector, joint patrolling, illegal border crossings and maintenance of boundary pillars were discussed in detail in the meeting.
- 20: A Foreign Office spokesman said in Islamabad that Pakistan was closely monitoring Indian military exercises near its border. He termed the Indian war games the largest since the Brasstack exercises in 1987 as the Indian army, airforce, navy Marine corps and coast guards were involved in them.
- 21: A senior official said in Srinagar that Pakistan and Indian border guards reached a verbal agreement not to target each other's civilian areas along the Line of Control (LoC).
- 26: Minister of State for Water and Power Halim Siddiqui stated in Islamabad that Pakistan and India had reached an understanding by which Pakistan was to sell upto a maximum of 2000 megawatt electricity to India.
- 28: Foreign Secretary Shamshad Ahmed accused India of employing the dialogue with Pakistan as a smokescreen in order to distract world attention from the Kashmir issue.

Foreign Secretary Shamshad Ahmed at a press conference in Islamabad expressed Pakistan's concern over the latest defence deal between Russia and India and ruled out signing of nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty (FMCT) or make any compromise on its nuclear programme.

- 29: Indian Chief of the Army Staff, V. P. Malik said in New Delhi that India needed a nuclear deterrent to keep Pakistan from "fuelling more insurgency in its territory".

Foreign Minister Sartaj Aziz in an interview to Associated Press of Pakistan (APP) said that there was no chance of an accidental nuclear war between Pakistan and India.

- December* 2 : Indian Home Minister Lal Krishan Advani told parliament in New Delhi that Pakistan's Intelligence Agency (ISI) was rapidly speeding its network across the country.
- 3 : According to a joint statement released in Islamabad after two days of talks between senior officials of Pakistan and India, the two countries signed an agreement for a bus service between Lahore and New Delhi.
- 12 : Foreign Secretary Shamshad Ahmed told a weekly press briefing in Islamabad that Pakistan would not accept a nuclear restraint regime unless India did so.
- 19 : India expelled a Pakistani official from New Delhi for alleged espionage, sparking an "unjustified" tit-for-tat retaliation by Pakistan.
- 24 : A Foreign Office spokesman expressed grave concern and dismay on the Indo-Russian military cooperation agreement and declared it a direct threat to Pakistan's security.

1999

- January* 1 : Pakistan and India exchanged the lists of nuclear installations and facilities through diplomatic channels.
- 7 : The Indian government promised smooth passage for Pakistan's cricket team on Indian soil in 12 years despite damage to one of the venues by supporters of *Shiv Sena* party.
- 8 : The first Indian bus carrying a 29-member technical mission rolled into Pakistan from Wagah check post covering a distance of about 450 kilometers between New Delhi and Lahore in less than 12 hours.
- 15 : Delhi unit chief of *Siv Sena*, Jai Bhagwan Goyal said that the *Sena* would not allow Pakistan's Lahore-Delhi bus to go back safely.
- 29 : Talking to a group of journalists in Siachen, Chief of the Army Staff General Pervez Musharraf ruled out war between Pakistan and India, saying, "There is zero chance" of it.

February 5: While speaking at first ASEAN-Pakistan Joint Sectorial Cooperation Committee meeting in Bali, Pakistan Foreign Secretary Shamshad Ahmed hoped, Pakistan-India dialogue would help reduce tension and will eventually lead to the settlement of out standing issue in the region.

According to official sources, Pakistan and India agreed to meet again in March 1999 to finalize a deal between the two countries on the sale of electricity to Delhi by Islamabad.

7: The *Vishwa Hindu Parishad* (VHP) urged Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee to wage war against Pakistan instead of taking a bus ride.

10: In a statement in New Delhi India's Chief of the Army Staff V.P. Malik said that he did not rule out a war with Pakistan and nuclear weapons were not a deterrent.

12: Foreign Minister Sartaj Aziz said a statement in Islamabad that Pakistan-India relations would remain stunted unless India demonstrates willingness to work for the resolution of "fundamental differences" between the two countries. He added that "confidence building measures are not an end in itself". India must go beyond its present emphasis on the peripheral areas of bilateral relations.

The Parliamentarians from Pakistan and India started in Islamabad their first-ever deliberations on three draft treaties to reduce the risk of nuclear war between the two countries.

17: Bus services agreement between Pakistan and India, finalized in December 1998, was signed at a ceremony in Islamabad at the Ministry of Communications. Federal Secretary Communications. Muhammad Akram Sheikh and the Indian High Commissioner to Pakistan G. Parthasarthy signed the agreement on behalf of their respective governments.

18: Talking to newsmen in Islamabad, Mr. G. Parthasarthy expressed the hope that talks between the prime ministers of India and Pakistan would create an atmosphere which might be helpful in the resolution of differences and in furtherance of dialogue between the two countries.

- February* 20 : Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee arrived in Lahore for a summit meeting with Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. Mr Vajpayee entered the Wagah check post aboard a Delhi Transport Corporation bus. The two prime ministers held informal talks at the Governor House.
- 21 : A declaration named Lahore Declaration was signed between Pakistan and India at the conclusion of Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee's visit to Pakistan. The Declaration expressed the two countries' resolve to intensify efforts for an early resolution of all issues including Kashmir through bilateral talks in accordance with the Simla Agreement.
- 22 : The Pakistan Foreign Office categorically asserted that Pakistan made on "hidden commitment or understanding" in the summit meeting between Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and Atal Behari Vajpayee. The Foreign Office spokesman made it clear that no concessions were made in the summit. Whatever commitment had been made or whatever was done or agreed upon, was done in the supreme national interest.
- 28 : Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee stated in New Delhi that his visit to Lahore and a bilateral agreement on confidence-building measures were signs of self-confidence, not weakness. "Friends can be changed but not neighbours. Both the countries will have to make efforts to ensure that the agreements signed recently last", he added.
- March* 2 : At a press conference in Islamabad, Finance Minister Ishaq Dar denied reports that he was scheduled to visit India to discuss trade liberalization between the two countries.
- 6 : Pakistan and India agreed that the civilian prisoners whose national status had been confirmed and who had already completed their prison terms, should be released within three weeks.
- 7 : India held its largest air force exercises near the Pakistan border and not far from the nuclear tests site.
- 8 : Foreign Minister Sartaj Aziz said in Islamabad that Indian Home Minister Lal Krishan Advani's talk of "Akhand Bharat" and Indian wargames close to Pakistan border could undermine the efforts being made to bring peace through resolution of disputes between Pakistan and India.

March

- Mr. G. Parthasarthy stated in Karachi that his country was always prepared to open Khokharpar border but it was upon the Pakistan government to decide about it.
- 9 : Mr. Lal Krishan Advani rejected Pakistan's demand for a referendum in Kashmir to decide the future of Kashmiris. He told the lower house of the Indian Parliament that "there is no question of a plebiscite".
- 10 : Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee said in the *Rajya Sabha* that the declaration last month with Pakistan would help end a "proxy war" in the India-held Kashmir.
- 11 : In a meeting with a delegation of the Federation of Indian Export Organization, Foreign Minister Sartaj Aziz said that nuclear tests conducted by Pakistan and India in May last had raised stakes for a just settlement of the Kashmir issue to ensure peace and stability in South Asian.
- 13 : Speaking at a weekly press briefing, a Foreign Office spokesman ruled out the reopening of the overland Khokharpar route between Pakistan and India at present.
- 19 : Pakistan and India announced a timetable to speed up talks aimed at defusing nuclear tensions in the region and to push up the "bus diplomacy". Foreign Minister Sartaj Aziz and his Indian counterpart Jaswant Sing in a joint statement issued in Nuwara. Eliya (Sri Lanka) said that they would meet again after June.
- 21 : Mr. Lal Krishan Advani in New Delhi suggested the formation of a confederation with India's five immediate neighbours on the lines of the EU to achieve better economic conditions in the region. He said the confederation could comprise India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Bhutan and Nepal.
- 22 : Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee in a Message to Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif on the occasion of Pakistan Day said that his country wanted to develop a relationship of peace and friendship with Pakistan and resolve all the outstanding issues between the two countries.

March 23 : Talking to reporters in Islamabad, General Pervez Musharraf said that Pakistan had not changed its stand on Kashmir after the recent talks between Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee in Lahore.

April 12 : Pakistan expressed deep concern over the test firing of ballistic Agni II missile by India and termed it a great threat to its security.

13 : Chief of the Army Staff, General Pervez Musharraf said in Karachi that Pakistan should respond to India's test firing of ballistic Agni II missile but the decision was to be made by the government.

Talking to reporters in Lahore, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif declared that Pakistan would respond to India's ballistic Agni II missile experiment. He said that Pakistan did not want an arms race in the region but at the same time it could not compromise its defence capability.

According to reliable sources, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed the acting Indian High Commissioner about the Ghauri-II test fire.

14 : Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee said in New Delhi that by launching ballistic Agni II missile, India had achieved a minimum nuclear deterrent adding that Pakistan had no reason to feel threatened by this test.

May 6 : Foreign Office spokesman Tariq Altaf told a news briefing in Islamabad that although Pakistan had delinked itself from India on the issue of signing of Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), however, "maintenance of credible deterrence and the options linked to it had to be fundamentally viewed in the security context" of Pakistan.

Speaking to newsmen at a briefing in Islamabad Foreign Office spokesman, Tariq Altaf reiterated Pakistan's commitment to continue dialogue with India and uphold the Lahore Declaration, which had been interrupted due to the ouster of the Vajpayee coalition government in April this year.

- May 15 : Foreign Minister Sartaj Aziz said in Islamabad that persist firing by India on the LoC was violative of the spirit of the Lahore Declaration and Pakistan would lodge a formal protest against it.
- 17 : The Indian High Commissioner, G. Parthasarthy, while speaking on Pakistan-India relations at the Pakistan institute of International Affairs in Karachi ruled out the possibility of the conflict in Kargil escalating into a full-scale war between the two countries.

While spelling out the salient features of Pakistan's foreign policy in an address to the heads of Arab diplomatic missions in Islamabad, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Siddique Kanju Said that Pakistan was determined to carry forward the dialogue with India in the spirit of Lahore Declaration irrespective of the result of the forthcoming elections in India.

- 19 : According to an Inter Services Press Release (ISPR) in Islamabad, the Chief of the Army Staff, General Pervez Musharraf said that the Pakistan army was alert to the present military build up by India across the border and warned that any effort to target Pakistan or violate the LoC could produce serious consequences.
- 21 : A spokesman for the Indian Ministry of External Affairs in a statement issued in New Delhi asked Pakistan to stop violating a military control line in the disputed State of Kashmir and said such foolhardy measures would not succeed.
- 22 : According to Director General, ISPR Brigadier Rashid Qureshi, Pakistan was very carefully monitoring the Indian up-gradation on LoC and "no violation of Pakistani airspace will go unnoticed".
- 23 : Pakistan and Indian officials held technical discussions in Islamabad on the issues of peace and security.
- 25 : According to a report of Press Trust of India (PTI), Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee had told Pakistan that India would not allow any more attacks in Kashmir.
- 26 : According to ISPR sources, Pakistan declared that it reserved the right to retaliate if the Indians continued to escalate tension in Kargil as Pakistan was ready to defend every inch of its territory by employing all means including the air force.

May

Indian unleashed two waves of airstrikes in occupied Kashmir to drive out the Kashmiri *Mujahideen* from the area. The use of air power was India's first in peacetime in the Indian-held Kashmir.

Talking to the reporters in Islamabad, Foreign Minister Sartaj Aziz made it clear that Pakistan had asked India not to escalate the situation along the LoC, terming the escalation against the spirit of the Lahore Declaration.

- 27: According to senior officials in Islamabad, the Pakistan Army shot down the two MiG Fighters of the Indian Air Force (IAF) in the Indus Sub-Sector of Kargil, near the LoC. One Indian pilot was killed while the other had been captured by Pakistan.
- 28: Addressing a gathering in Karachi, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif stated that he had talked to his Indian counterpart Atal Behari Vajpayee and warned him against the dangers of sabre-rattling and urged him to resolve the Kashmir issue through talks.

The Indian Army demanded the return of its pilot who was captured by the Pakistan Army when it shot down the two MiG Fighters of the Indian Air Force that were found violating Pakistan's airspace.

- 29: Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee in a telephonic conversation with Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif said he was ready to talk to Pakistan to reduce growing tension over Kashmir but refused to call off air attacks against Kashmiri *Mujahideen* in Kargil.

According to an UN official India rejected UN offer to mediate in the latest flaring up of hostilities in Kashmir, following Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif's appeal to the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan to defuse the situation.

- 30: According to DAWN sources, Foreign Minister Sartaj Aziz said that Pakistan had asked India to de-escalate the situation in Kargil and create an atmosphere which could reduce tension between the two countries.

- June 1 : According to military sources in Islamabad, Pakistan Army repulsed three attacks by Indian troops along the Kashmir border inflicting heavy casualties.

Foreign Minister Sartaj Aziz said in Islamabad that Pakistan and India were close to finalizing dates for opening peace talks on defusing tension over LoC in Kashmir.

- 2 : Officials said in Srinagar that heavy artillery fighting raged between Indian and Pakistani troops in Kashmir as India kept up airstrikes against territory still held by freedom fighters along the disputed border.

A Foreign Office spokesman in Islamabad accused India of dragging feet in setting an early date for the proposed talks between the foreign ministers of the two countries to defuse tension in the areas along the LoC.

Talking to reporters in Islamabad, Mr. Sartaj Aziz ruled out the possibility of a regular war between Pakistan and India and said that dates for his proposed visit to New Delhi were yet to be confirmed by the latter.

- 3 : Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif announced in Islamabad that Pakistan had decided to release Indian pilot K. Nachiketa and said Mr. Sartaj Aziz was ready to proceed to New Delhi for talks with the Indian side immediately.

Pakistan handed over Indian pilot K. Nachiketa to the International committee of Red Cross after Indian High Commissioner G. Parthasarthy refused to receive him in front of media.

Minister for information Mushahid Hussain condemned in Islamabad an Indian move to ban Pakistan Television broadcasts in India, calling it a violation of international norms on free flow of information.

- 4 : Military officials said in Srinagar that Pakistan and India traded intense artillery fire in Kashmir as Indian troops recovered what they claimed were the bodies of three Pakistani soldiers fighting alongside freedom fighters.

June

The captured Indian pilot K. Nachiketa who was released by Pakistani authorities arrived in New Delhi.

- 5 : US State Department spokesman, Jamie Rubin at a briefing in Washington indicated that talks between Indian and Pakistani foreign ministers on the current fighting in Kashmir could be held soon, reports to the contrary from India notwithstanding.

According to a Foreign Office spokesman US Ambassador to Pakistan, William Milan Handed over to Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif a letter from President Bill Clinton which spoke of the latter's concern over the current tension along the LoC and his appeal to both India and Pakistan to exercise restraint.

At a meeting presided over by Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif the federal cabinet expressed serious concern over what it called, "the unwarranted Indian military operations in the area across the LoC".

- 6 : Mr. Sartaj Aziz told *Reuters* in Islamabad that Pakistan was ready to hold talks with India anytime to ease the tension along LoC.
- 7 : Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee said in a special broadcast to the nation on *Door Darshan* that peace talks would depend on how Pakistan ended the military stand-off over Kashmir and urged the latter to "undo the armed incursion".
- 11 : A spokesman for the Indian Navy said in New Delhi that it had been put on alert because of the Kashmir crisis and added that the navy was separately conducting a "major exercise" in the Arabian Sea.

On the eve of crucial talks with Pakistan, Indian Minister for Defence George Fernandes warned of a major offensive to drive out *Mujahideen* from the Kargil sector.

- 12 : Mr. Sartaj Aziz on his return from New Delhi told journalists in Islamabad that he had asked his Indian counterpart Jaswant Sing to stop air action and artillery exchanges in the Kargil sector along the LoC as an initial step for holding dialogue to de-escalate the growing tension between the two countries.

June

Peace talks between Pakistan and India over Kashmir ended in deadlock in New Delhi. Foreign Minister Sartaj Aziz and his Indian counterpart Jaswant Singh met for just an hour and both announced that the talks aimed at ending more than a month of fighting were inconclusive.

According to a Pakistan Television report, Indian troops used chemical weapons in their attacks on Pakistani positions on the LoC.

A police official said in Jammu that the anti-aircraft guns opened fire at a Pakistani surveillance plane which had violated Indian airspace in Kashmir.

- 14: Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif said in Karachi that Pakistan wanted a negotiated settlement of Kashmir dispute with India but would never compromise its national interests.

A Foreign Office spokesman told a news briefing in Islamabad that Pakistan had declared that it would keep its doors open to a serious dialogue with India on the Kargil situation and the core problem of the Jammu and Kashmir in the interest of both the countries and the peace and stability of the region.

- 15: A spokesman for ISPR denied reports about the evacuation of army village along the LoC. He said a vigilant watch was being kept over the movements of Indian troops and "we are ready to avert any misadventure on the part of the enemy".

- 16: Ministry of Foreign Affairs rejected the Indian protest asserting that the Pakistan armed forces had violated the Geneva Convention pertaining to the prisoners of war. The Indian Ministry of External Affairs had earlier alleged that seven of its military personnel were subjected to inhuman torture before being killed with marks of torture evident on their bodies which were formally handed over to the Indian army on LoC.

Mr. Sartaj Aziz in Islamabad denied that Pakistan's forces had entered the Indian side of disputed Kashmir region after the United States called on Islamabad to withdraw its troops. "We have no forces in held-Kashmir," he said.

June

A senior defence official told Pakistan Press International (PPI) in Islamabad that India had intensified artillery fire the in Drass-Kargil sector along the LoC but failed to make any advances towards Pakistani positions as the Pakistan army effectively retaliated the Indian fire.

Talking to *DAWN*, a Foreign Office spokesman said in Islamabad that Pakistan had reiterated that it would continue its efforts to deescalate the tension along the LoC through talks with India.

- 17: Director-General, ISPR Brigadier Rashid Qureshi denied India's allegations of naval build-up by Islamabad in the Arabian Sea.

Indian Home Minister, Lal Krishan Advani said in New Delhi that he did not foresee the conflict along the LoC triggering a full-scale war with Pakistan.

In an interview with British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) Brigadier Rashi Qureshi denied that the Pakistani troops were present in the Indian-held Kashmir.

- 18: In a letter to the leaders of G-8 countries, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif urged the G-8 leaders meeting in Cologne this weekend to play an effective role, collectively and individually, for the resolution of the Kashmir issue and for averting a conflict between Pakistan and India.

- 19: India ruled out any mediation in its conflict with Pakistan over Kashmir as intense fighting raged between Kashmiri *Mujahideen* and Indian troops in the disputed territory. Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee said India had the world community's understanding for its military offensive, but that the country would not accept mediation to end New Delhi's attacks against freedom fighters.

- 20: In a statement in Cologne, the leaders of the Group of Eight industrial nations (G-8) called on Pakistan and India to end hostilities immediately and resume talks.

Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee told a news conference in Dhaka that Indian would continue its diplomatic offensive against Pakistan over Kashmir, and reiterated his opposition to third party mediation.

June

- 21 : A foreign Office spokesman claimed that "India has suffered a serious diplomatic setback as its efforts for endorsement of its stand (on the Kargil conflict) by the G-8 have been rebuffed", and asked the Indian government to heed "the G-8 call" to end hostilities and open dialogue.
- 22 : A spokesman for the Indian Ministry of External Affairs said in New Delhi that any future military action in Kashmir would be governed by ultimate "security interests".
- 23 : Indian army chief, General V. P. Malik said in New Delhi that India had documented proof of "Pakistani soldiers fighting alongside Kashmiri Mujahdeen". The British Minister of state for foreign office Baroness Simons said in London that India should accept Pakistan's invitation for further talks at foreign minister's level to resolve the Kashmir issue through bilateral talks. She further said that any solution must reflect the wishes of the people of Kashmir.

India's army chief, General V. P. Malik said in New Delhi that crossing the LoC could become an option but would need cabinet approval.

A spokesman for the Pakistan Army said in Islamabad that war with India was not imminent despite the fact the Indian army, the air force and the navy had been put on alert and the enemy's defensive formations had moved near the international borders.

Brigadier Rashid Qureshi said in Islamabad that Pakistan would invite representatives of the International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC) in case of return of bodies of Indian soldiers in future.

Mr. Lal Krishan Advani said in New Delhi that a full-scale war with Pakistan could not be ruled out and India must be prepared for any eventuality.

- 24 : Indian Minister for Defence George Fernandes claimed in Kargil that about 80 per cent of the infiltrators were regular "Pakistani soldiers" and expressed the hope that the conflict would be over by September.

A spokesman for the Indian Ministry of External Affairs said in New Delhi that India had agreed to receive a senior US official to discuss the Kashmir conflict, but stressed that the country was against any third party mediation.

- June 25 : According to a handout issued by the government in Islamabad the commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Central command (CENTCOM), general Anthony Zinni called on Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and discussed with him the Jammu and Kashmir issue in its entirety. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif told the visiting US General that the current crisis required a balanced and constructive approach if peace was to prevail in the region.

Indian Minister for Defence George Fernandes visited border zones in Kashmir and warned Pakistan that India would give a "suitable reply" if forced into full-scale war.

- 28 : A spokesman for the Foreign Office denied Indian press reports that the government had sent the former Foreign Secretary, Niaz A. Naik as special envoy to New Delhi on a "secret visit" to defuse tension along the LoC.

Brigadier Rashid Qureshi said in Islamabad that warplanes had again violated airspace in Azad Kashmir as artillery duels continued between the two armies in the disputed region.

India ordered the expulsion of a Pakistani High Commission official, Dil Fayyaz earlier reported missing by Islamabad whom New Delhi accused of spying.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs summoned the Indian Deputy High Commissioner and reminded him of the responsibility of the government of India for ensuring safety and security of the Pakistan High Commission officials in India. It also expressed concern over the mysterious disappearance of Pakistan High Commission official Dil Fayyaz.

- 29 : Foreign Office in its response to the abduction, illegal custody and manhandling of a Pakistan High Commission official Dil Fayyaz said in New Delhi that "It was a clear violation of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961 and the Code of Conduct for Treatment of Diplomatic Personnel in Pakistan and India signed in August 1992".

June

Brigadier Rashid Qureshi told a press briefing in Islamabad that Pakistan would continue to hold and defend its positions along the LoC at all costs.

- 30 : Minister for Information Mushahid Hussain told a briefing in Islamabad that Pakistan was ready to talk to India at any forum for a peaceful solution to all outstanding disputes but Indian military build-up could jeopardize the lives of the people of the sub-continent.

Addressing the 26th Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (ICFM) in Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso) Mr. Sartaj Aziz said Pakistan and India were two nuclear powers and they must avoid the risk of conflict.

An official sources said at a news briefing in Islamabad that Pakistan was closely watching the furious Indian military build-up inside the Indian-held Kashmir in the recent days and was prepared to effectively meet an eventuality including any large scale violation of the LoC or even an unlikely open war by India.

July

- 1 : Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif said in Islamabad that China had fully supported Pakistan's point of view over Kashmir. He added that Pakistan wanted to deescalate the situation by holding talks with Indian authorities but his Indian counterpart was not encouraging dialogue between the two countries.
- 2 : According to an Indian Foreign Office spokesman, India had rejected any possibility of a dialogue with Pakistan until Islamabad abandoned an armed intrusion in the Kargil sector.

National Security Adviser, Brajesh Mishra, told Cable News Network (CNN) that Indian troops might cross the Line Control (LoC) if the Kargil fighting continued unabated.

Indian Customs detained a North Korean ship in the western port of Kandla on suspicion of carrying arms for Pakistan.

- 4 : India rejected Pakistan's renewed offer for talks to end the conflict in Kashmir. A foreign ministry spokesman said that any talks with Pakistan would be conditional on a complete withdrawal of *Mujahideen* on the Indian side of the LoC.

- July 5: India said that it would press on with its military offensive until intruders were flushed out or withdraw under a US Pakistan agreement.

Pakistan said that it was investigating the accusations of the Indian High Commission that one of its staff members was allegedly maltreated and beaten by some persons in Islamabad.

- 6: Two officials of the Pakistan High Commission were kidnapped by the Indian intelligence agencies and kept under illegal detention for three hours and subjected to severe interrogation and torture. The Indian deputy High Commissioner in Islamabad was summoned to the Foreign Office and handed over a protest note in this regard.

Talking to reporters in London, Foreign Minister Sartaj Aziz said that Kashmiri *Mujahideen* would be requested to vacate Kargil area in the Indian-held Kashmir only if India agreed to revert back to 1972 position of the LoC when Simla Agreement was signed. He said that India repeatedly violated it first in 1972 in Chorbatla area, then in Siachen area in 1984, Qamar in 1988 and Neelum in 1994.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs rejected the contention made by Indian Foreign Minister Jwawant Sing in an interview with CNN that Siachen was not a part of the LoC. He stated that the LoC was the result of the Simla Agreement of 1972 which clearly stated that neither side would unilaterally alter the situation. At that time no Indian troops were present in the Siachen Glacier area and India occupied that region in 1984.

- 7: Pakistan declared Mr. Yog Faj Vij, an official of Indian High Commission as *persona non-grata*. He was found indulging in activities incompatible with his official status. He was asked to leave within a week.

Separatist groups in Assam said that they supported the Kashmiri *Mujahideen* and called for boycott of a visit by Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee to the region as a protest against the army offensive in the Indian-held Kashmir.

July

A spokesman for the Indian Ministry of External Affairs said that the withdrawal of "infiltrators" should not be made conditional to progress in resolving the Kashmir dispute.

Chief of Army Staff General Pervez Musharraf said in Lahore that Pakistan army had successfully repulsed the attempts made by India to violate the LoC and inflicted heavy losses on it.

- 8: Indian fighter aircraft violated Pakistan airspace twice in the last 24 hours but fled when the Pakistan Airforce fighter tried to engage them.

Activists of *Shiv Sena*, an electoral ally of Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, attacked the offices of Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) in New Delhi.

- 11: Indian National Security Adviser Brajesh Mishra said that India had evidence of a withdrawal of Kashmiri *Mujahideen* from Kargil. His statement coincided with a statement by the Indian army that it had beaten back the *Mujahideen* in Dras and Batalik.

- 12: Addressing the nation in televised speech, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif offered talks to Indian to ease tension over Kashmir and save the people of both the countries from another war. He further said: "After having appealed to *Mujahideen* to withdraw from Kargil, we have given another opportunity for diplomacy to succeed".

- 13: A Foreign Office spokesman said that India not give any ultimatum for the completion of the disengagement process in the Kargil and Dras sectors. He was reacting to the Indian claim that Pakistan had asked *Mujahideen* to withdraw from the captured hills by 16 July.

- 14: Talking to reporters in Kullu, Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee said that Indo-Pakistan Lahore Declaration was still valid despite the conflict in Kargil. He added that it was firm commitment between Pakistan and India to resolve all issues bilaterally.

- 16: In its reports, the New York-based Human Rights Watch (Asia) called upon the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council as well as other trading partners of India to suspend all military aid and sales to that country unless it provided greater accountability of human rights abuses in Kashmir.

July 20 : Foreign Secretary Shamshad Ahmed said in Makkah that Pakistan was no more interested in having useless and fruitless talks with India rather it would enter into talks, once Delhi had shown its willingness to resolve the Kashmir issue.

Indian Minister for External Affairs Jaswant Sing said in New Delhi that resumption of peace talks with Pakistan could occur only after it had stopped cross-border terrorism in Kashmir.

21 : Addressing the National Assembly, Foreign Minister Sartaj Aziz demanded of India to vacate Chorbatala, Siachen and Qamar sectors in order to restore the sanctity of LoC which India violated since the signing of Simla Agreement India had occupied chorbatala in 1972, Siachen Glacier in 1984 and Qamar sector in 1988.

25 : During a meeting with US Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright in Singapore, Indian, Minister for External Affairs Jaswant Sing said that the dispute with Pakistan over Kashmir had to be resolved without any mediatory role of the United States. He expressed appreciation and gratitude for the US role in helping bring the Kargil problem to a satisfactory resolution.

26 : Talking to reporters in New Delhi, Indian naval officials said that India's navy, with the balance of power at sea in favour of India, threatened a sea blockade of Pakistan during the recent fighting of Kargil which influenced vital decisions.

August 6 : Indian declared an official of Pakistan Embassy, Muhammad Safdar, as *persona non-grata* and asked him to leave the country within seven days. He was charged with indulging in activities incompatible with his official status. Pakistan denied these allegations.

8 : Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee said in New Delhi that India would not hold talks with Pakistan until it stopped backing separatism in the Indian-held Kashmir.

10 : Sixteen officers on board were killed when a Pakistan Navy training aircraft was shot down by two Indian fighter planes. The wreckage of the plane was found near marshy areas in Badin district, around 100 nautical miles off Karachi.

August

The Government of Pakistan called for international condemnation of India for shooting down an unarmed Pakistan navy plane killing all the 16 people on board inside the Pakistan territory. Islamabad declared that it reserved the right to retaliate.

- 11 : Pakistan troops guarding the wreckage of the plane, which was shot down by Indian fighter planes, fired missiles at an Indian jet when it attempted to approach the site of wreckage.

Pakistan military accused the Indian air force of stealing some pieces of the wreckage of its aircraft shot down by its fighter planes.

- 14 : The diplomats who were taken to the site of the wreckage of the plane shot down by India on 10 August said that the wreckage of the aircraft fell inside Pakistan territory, a fact confirmed by the use of Global Positioning System equipment they took to the scene.

- 16 : Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee spoke of the need to find common ground with Pakistan so as to resume peace talks. Releasing the election manifesto of his Hindu nationalist-led coalition, the Indian Premier told reporters in New Delhi that "efforts will be directed towards that end".

- 17 : India said that it would pursue a doctrine of credible minimum nuclear deterrence based on aircraft, ships and mobile land-based missiles. National Security Advisor to Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, Brajesh Mishra said in New Delhi, that the draft doctrine was being made public to trigger a debate before the government gave its final approval.

Official sources confirmed in Islamabad that six Pakistan Army soldiers were killed and eight others wounded in a serious mortar attack from across the LoC in Chamb sector of Azad Kashmir.

- 18 : Responding to a query about India's draft nuclear doctrine Foreign Minister Sartaj Aziz said in Islamabad that Pakistan was finalizing its draft nuclear doctrine keeping in view its own regional threat perceptions and the global trends in the realm of security of nation-states.

- August 19: Pakistan's Ambassador to the UN told the UN Conference on Disarmament in Geneva that India's dangerous escalation in nuclear and conventional arms build-up would lead Pakistan to boost its own "reliance on nuclear capabilities".

Addressing a news conference in Islamabad on the nuclear doctrine announced by India, Foreign Secretary Shamshad Ahmed sounded a note of caution to New Delhi and major world powers that the Indian nuclear doctrine, would compel Islamabad to intensify its reliance on its nuclear capability in self-defence.

- 20: The Press Trust of India (PTI) quoted Indian Minister for External Affairs Jaswant Singh as saying that Pakistan would remain its most-favoured trading partner despite the recent hostilities.
- 24: A Foreign Office press release said in Islamabad that Indian Minister of External Affairs had again refused to hand over Pakistani detainees to the International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC). The soldiers had gone missing after an Indian ambush on a Pakistani patrol on the LoC.
- 25: The Defence Committee of the Cabinet expressed its serious concern over India's aggressive militarization programme, particularly in the nuclear field, as acknowledged in its document on doctrine.

Addressing the annual convention of the overseas Pakistanis in Islamabad, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif accused Indian of endangering regional security by initiating an arms race in South Asia, and reiterated his government's resolve to fight back any misadventure by the enemy.

- 27: A Foreign Office source confirmed in Islamabad that eight Pakistan soldiers detained by India for over three months were freed and had reached Lahore.
- 30: The Indian Charge d' Affaires was summoned to the Foreign Office and handed over a note by the Government of Pakistan demanding 60.2 million dollars as compensation from India for shooting down its naval aircraft, *Atlantique* on 10 August, as a result of which 16 navy personnel were killed.

August 31: Indian Minister of External Affairs Jaswant Sing told reporters in New Delhi that India had rejected a call by Pakistan that it provide compensation for the shooting down of a patrol aircraft. He further said. "This attempt by Pakistan is futile, to cover up its airspace violation and misadventure in Kargil."

September 5: Pakistan expressed its surprise and disbelief over a statement of Indian army accusing Islamabad of not returning personnel of a six member missing Indian patrol. An Inter Services Public Relations (ISPR) spokesman in press release issued in Islamabad termed these allegations by the Indian military command as totally baseless.

- 7: Foreign Secretary Shamshad Ahmed urged the international community to "fully comprehend" the near-and long-term strategic implications of India's proposed nuclear doctrine, as stating that New Delhi sought to establish in the next two decades its "total military hegemony in South Asia and beyond", controlling sea lanes from the Gulf to the Straits of Malacca in the east, and eventually competing on global stage with major powers.

A spokesman for the Indian Ministry of External Affairs described in New Delhi Pakistan's comments on recent parliamentary elections in the Indian-held Kashmir as "unacceptable interference" in its internal affairs.

- 14: According to a Foreign Office spokesman the Indians had been declining for more than 10 days to receive their soldiers, asserting that they should be handed over directly to them without the involvement of ICRC.
- 15: Foreign Minister Sartaj Aziz refuted a recent statement of special emissary of Prime Minister in the back channel diplomacy during the Kargil crisis, MR Niaz A. Naik, alleging that the process for resolving Kashmir issue had been sabotaged by the kargil operation.
- 16: In a signed press statement issued in Islamabad, the special emissary of Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, Naiz A. Naik who visited New Delhi at the peak of Kargil crisis denied making such remarks as reported by an *Urdu* daily of Karachi that "the programme and the informal diplomacy which could have led to the resolution of Kashmir dispute by September/October this year was derailed by Kargil" and that "there was no coordination between the armed forces and the civilian leader ship."

September

Pakistan handed over two Indian soldiers, taken prisoner last month in an attack on the Pakistani positions across the LoC in Kashmir, to the ICRS.

A spokesman for the Indian Ministry of External Affairs said in New Delhi that the first meeting between foreign ministers of Pakistan and India after the Kargil conflict would not take place in New York due to clash of dates.

- 21 : According to a Foreign Office statement Pakistan had filed a case in the International Court of Justice (ICJ) to seek compensation from India for shooting down its navy plane last month, killing 16 persons on board.
- 23 : India asked Pakistan to stop a march scheduled for 4 October by the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) across the LoC.
- 24 : The PTI quoted Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee as saying that Indian was ready to hold talks with Pakistan if Islamabad stopped cross-border "terrorism" and created a conducive atmosphere.
- 25 : Foreign Minister Sartaj Aziz told a press conference in the United Nations that the Lahore Agreement reached between Islamabad and New Delhi was important as it reaffirmed the commitment of both sides to resolve the Kashmir issue as a necessary step to improve the bilateral relations.

The PTI said in New Delhi that Indian army warned that it would prevent a planned march by freedom fighters across the disputed Kashmir region. Indian military sources, however, said they still hoped Pakistan would the JKLF from sending its marchers across the border on 4 October.

- 28 : India's National Security Adviser Brajesh Mishra in New Delhi expressed the hope that Pakistan would not allow freedom fighters to cross the LoC into disputed Kashmir region.

October

- 15 : An Indian Foreign Office spokesman said that would be no resumption of bilateral talks unless the situation in Pakistan became clear.

October 17: Chief Executive General Pervez Musharraf announced a unilateral de-escalation on Pakistan's international borders with India by initiating the return of all the forces moved to the borders in the recent past.

The Press Trust of India (PTI) quoted Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee as saying in New Delhi that India was not averse to holding bilateral talks with the new military rulers of Pakistan.

18: According to a joint statement issued at the end of Foreign Secretary level talks between Pakistan and India, the two sides vowed to reduce the risk of nuclear conflict and keep up efforts to find a solution to Kashmir issue. It was agreed that the next round of talks would be held in the first half of February 1999.

November 8: Foreign Minister Abdus Sattar reiterated Pakistan's desire to improve relations with India but observed that India did not give that prospect a chance.

16: Talking to reporters in New Delhi, Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee said in New Delhi that India wanted to see an early election as well as the release of all political prisoners in Pakistan, including the deposed Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif.

A Foreign Office spokesman said that Indian Prime Minister's statement as reported by Indian media that Commonwealth still recognized Nawaz Sharif as Prime Minister portrayed New Delhi's known animus towards Pakistan.

19: Principal Secretary to Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, Brajesh Mishra said in New Delhi that India would not sever diplomatic ties with the new military rule in Pakistan and wanted Islamabad to stop cross-border terrorism before stalled bilateral talks began.

22: Pakistan lodged a strong protest with India over the harassment and intimidation of its diplomat in New Delhi, and issued a warning that such events could only further vitiate the atmosphere.

25: Inaugurating a seminar in Islamabad, Foreign Minister Abdus Sattar reiterated that the minimum nuclear deterrence, matching the Indian nuclear capability, shall remain the guiding principal of Pakistan's nuclear strategy but assured, "We shall not engage in any nuclear competition or arms race".

November

Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee said in New Delhi that Pakistan's military regime must honour in "letter and spirit" previous pacts Pakistan entered into which India if two arch-rivals were to resume talks.

- 27: Foreign Minister Abdus Sattar said in Islamabad that "Pakistan will honour and implement its obligations under international agreements, treaties and resolutions of the UN Security Council. He slammed Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee for setting conditions for dialogue, based on "arbitrarily selected provisions of some agreements".

December

- 1: Pakistan lashed out at a India and accused it of trying "to sabotage South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) in its myopic campaign against the new government in Pakistan". The strong condemnation of India was officially issued by the Pakistan Embassy in Washington after the India commerce minister refused to attend a SAARC ministers meeting in Seattle because it did not want to give legitimacy to the new Government of Pakistan.

- 9: Indian Minister for External Affairs Jaswant Singh said in New Delhi that military takeover in Pakistan had not resulted in a softening of Islamabad's aggressive stance and hostility towards New Delhi.

Chief Executive General Pervez Musharraf at the end of his two-days visit to Iran told reporters in Tehran, "We have agreed that the crisis in Afghanistan can only be settled through establishment of a ceasefire, negotiations between warring sides and formation of broad-based government consisting of all Afghan factions".

- 12: PTI quoted Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee as saying in New Delhi that there was no possibility of peace talks with the military rulers of Pakistan.

- 16: A Foreign Office spokesman said that India should stop state terrorism in the Indian-held Kashmir to create the necessary conducive atmosphere before the bilateral talks could be resumed.

- 17: The Press Secretary to Chief Executive General Pervez Musharraf, Brigadier Rashid Quershi told a press conference in Rawalpindi that Pakistan would not withdraw its troops from the Line of Control (LoC) because their presence was as a must to repulse any aggression of the enemy.

December 20 : Pakistan's High Commissioner to India, Ashraf Jehangir Qazi in New Delhi, accused India of thwarting a resumption of peace talks and said dialogue to resolve the Kashmir "flash-point of was more important than ever before because both countries were now nuclear weapon states.

22 : Foreign Minister Abdus Sattar told a joint National Security Council-federal cabinet meeting in Islamabad that Pakistan would retain its right to carry out nuclear tests if India did not sign the Comprehensive Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT).

26 : A Foreign Office spokesman in a statement deeply regretted that the Indian media, in a typical "display of malevolence and compulsive hostility" towards Pakistan, was engaged in a "trade of baseless and malicious allegations" with regard to the hijacking of the Indian of the Indian aircraft.

Foreign Office spokesman Traiq Altaf said that Pakistan allowed the Indian plane to land at Lahore for the safety of the passengers.

Pakistan charged India of harbouring a "preconceived design" behind what Foreign Minister Abdus Satar described as the "hijacking drama" to malign Islamabad and isolate it in the international community.

Managing Director of the Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) Arif Ali Abbasi described as "ridiculous", the Indian propaganda that the hijackers, who boarded the Indian plane from Kathmandu, had flown on PIA flight PK-806 from Karachi to Kathmandu.

27 : Chief Executive General Pervez Musharraf said in Muzaffarabad that Indian allegations that Pakistan had some link with the hijacking of the Indian airline were baseless and without grounds.

The Foreign Office claimed that there was an Indian Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) agent on board the hijacked Indian airliner, suggesting that it went to substantiate Pakistan's own conclusion that a "hijacking drama" was staged by India itself to vilify Pakistan and Islam to seek its isolation at the global stage.

December

A Foreign Office spokesman questioned the veracity of the latest Indian claim that there were four Pakistani nationals among the hijackers of the Indian aircraft stranded at Kandhar airport. The spokesman wondered why this was not mentioned earlier by the Indian media which had been regularly announcing the number of people of various nationalities on board the aircraft for the last four days.

- 28 : Chief Executive General Pervez Musharraf said in Islamabad that he was suspicious of India's handling of the hijacking incident and suggested India might be using the episode to malign Pakistan.

Nepalese Ambassador to Pakistan Kumar Prasad Gyawali in Islamabad rejected the Indian claim that hijackers of the Indian aircraft got off from a PIA flight and boarded the Indian aircraft at the Kathmandu airport.

Pakistan granted over flight permission to the aircraft carrying Indian Minister for External Affairs Jaswant Singh that headed to Kandhar to hold crucial negotiations with the hijackers.

- 30 : A Foreign Office spokesman expressed Pakistan's satisfaction over the end of the hijacking episode of an Indian airliner at Kandhar.

NEPAL

1997*July*

- 4 : Senator Akram Zaki arrived in Kathmandu as a special envoy of Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. There he held a meeting with the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives of Nepal Hiranya Lal Shrestha and briefed him on Pakistan's perception of the situation in South Asia arising out of recent nuclear tests.

September 12 :

Nepali Foreign Minister Kamal Thapa said that in a press conference in New Delhi, Nepal would seek treaty with India in line with new regional realities. We wanted to make the treaty more compatible with new realities. Threat perceptions had changed from the time when the treaty was originally signed".

December 16 : The visiting Nepalese Chief of Army Staff, General Dharmapal Sing Thapa said in Islamabad that exchange of visits helped Nepal and Pakistan to renew existing contacts and also provided opportunities to the two countries to share professional experiences in the field of defence. He made the observation at a meeting with the Defence Secretary Lt. General (Retd.) Iftikhar Ali Khan.

1998

February 5 : Nepal's major opposition party said that it would table a motion of no confidence in the government following the King's decision to call a special session of Parliament.

19 : Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and the visiting Crown Prince of Nepal Dipendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev discussed bilateral and regional issues in a meeting in Islamabad. Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif expressed the confidence that the visit of Nepalese Crown Prince would further strengthen the bonds of friendship existing between Pakistan and Nepal.

May 27 : Nepal's nine communist groups said that they would boycott all public functions during Indian President K.R. Narayanan's visit to Nepal in protest against India's recent nuclear tests.

July 4 : Senator Akram Zaki arrived in Kathmandu as a special envoy of Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. He was received by D.B. Bhattarai, Secretary, Prime Minister's office. Ambassador of Pakistan Kamran Niaz and officers of the Pakistan Embassy received him in Kathmandu.

18 : A three day meeting of the joint Nepal India technical group of survey officials had concluded without being able to determine the status of Kalapani. Kalapani is a territory in west of Kathmandu and both India and Nepal establish their claim on it. Kalapani has been under occupation by India security forces ever since the Sino-India conflict of 1962.

August 3 : Nepali Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala said that Nepal and Bhutan were likely to resume talks on refugee problem which had marred ties between the two Himalayan Kingdoms.

August 12 : Analysts said the speaker of Nepal's parliament had averted the possibility early election by rejecting an opposition party motion calling for Indian troops to quit disputed border region.

1999

January 23 : Nepali King Birendra and Queen Aishwarya were to leave to join in India's celebrations for republic day for the first time as guests of India's President K.R. Narayanan.

March 4 : Newspapers reported that Maoist insurgents in Nepal shot dead seven policemen and stole weapons and ammunition from their police station early.

May 19 : The Nepali congress appeared to win a sounding victory in the general elections.

SAARC

1997

July 11 : The United States Senate had been told by the Clinton Administration that the resolution of nuclear proliferation concerns was government's top priority in South Asia.

28 : Senior Officials of the seven SAARC Countries would meet in Dhaka next month to discuss the establishment of air links between the capitals of the member countries.

October 3 : The Chief Justice of Pakistan, Justice Sajjad Ali Shah said that the judicial system of a country was very important because it ensured the success of the system of governance as was envisaged in the constitution of that country. Addressing the 6th law conference he said : "The judiciary as an institution plays a very important role to provide good governance by establishing rule of law under which all the three pillars of the state, namely the executive, the legislature and the judiciary function together harmoniously while operating in their own spheres with in the limits laid down by the constitution and the laws".

7 : President Leghari said that "unfortunately peace has eluded our region South Asia, a home to one fifth of mankind is rive by tension. The unresolved the Kashmir dispute and the continuing conflict in Afghanistan have taken a dreadful toll".

October 19: The second three-day Conference of SAARC speakers and parliamentarians would be held Islamabad from 26th to 28th to discuss a two point agenda. President Farooq Leghari was likely to inaugurate the conference.

26: President Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari called upon the parliamentarians of SAARC countries to play an effective role in addressing the issues of poverty and illiteracy from the region which is home of one fifth of humanity. He was speaking at the inaugural ceremony of the second conference of SAARC speakers and parliamentarians. Speaker of the parliaments of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka also addressed the inaugural ceremony attended by diplomats and parliamentarians.

30: Federal Minister for population and welfare Syeda Abida Hussan had said that Pakistan was ready to collaborate with the neighbouring countries on the issue of population and would welcome expertise and assistance from the countries with successful policies and programmes.

November 13: World Bank economist said that poverty in South Asia was unlikely to be wiped out in the next century even if the regional countries achieved the world record economic growth.

December 27: Dhaka would host a meeting of the information ministers of SAARC for devising a programme for co-operation.

1998

April 29: Inaugurating a two-day meeting of the commerce ministers of SAARC in Islamabad, Prime Minister Muhamamd Nawaz Sharif called upon the SAARC countries to evolve a unified strategy to combat exéesses and restrictions being imposed on them by the World Trade Organization (WTO).

May 27: The next SAARC summit, scheduled for July 20 to 22 had come under a cloud of uncertainty. The uncertainty had surfaced following the Sri Lanka foreign ministers request to the Bangladesh foreign minister during their meeting at the recently concluded non-aligned movement foreign minister's conference in Colombo to hold summit 10 day ahead of schedule.

- September 14* : Sri Lanka's biggest anti-separatist offensive aimed at opening a highway through Tamil rebel territory entered its fifth month having left thousands of dead on both side.
- October 9* : Official sources said that Tamil Tiger rebels launched a fresh offensive against government troops in northern Sri Lanka compounding the loss of more than 532 lives on both sides in five days of fighting.
- 18* : The Sri Lanka President, Ms. Chandrika Kumaratunga said that her government was even now prepared to talk to the liberation Tigers to Tamil Eelam (LTTE) on the proposed devolution package. She also arrested that the Tamils in Sri Lanka have no alternative but to stand behind the government's policies to resolve the ethnic crisis.
- November 13* : Sri Lanka's Muslim Minister's and ruling party parliamentarian have protested against the governments decision to allow the British Broadcasting corporation (BBC) to make film (a five parts) serial based on controversial writer salmn Rushdies's Novel Mid Nights Children.
- December 16* : Sri Lanka's election commissioner began accepting nominations papers for elections to 17 municipal, urban and village councils in the country's embattled northern peninsula of Jaffna.
- 20* : Sri Lankan President Chandrika Kumaratunga said that her country supported peace dialogue between Pakistan and India and promised help in promoting the process.
- 21* : In her lecture on "South Asia into the Next Century", in Islamabad, Sri Lankan President Chandrika Kumaratunga called upon South Asian countries to coordinate their effects to face a possible World Trade Organization (WTO) tilt against the economic interests of developing countries.

1998

- April 20* : The British Commonwealth had initiated talks in a bid to end Sri Lanka's drawn out ethnic conflict which had killed more than 55,000 people.
- 27* : A statement made by the foreign policy advisers to India's ruling party in support of the Sri Lanka Tamils demand for the merger of

April the northern and eastern provinces of the island nation had vehemently been criticized by hard line politicians representing the majority sinhala community.

November 12 : Tamil political parties in Sri Lanka have vehemently condemned a statement purportedly made by President Chandrika Kumaratunga claiming that the minority community was not native of the island nation.

1999

January 4 : A Roman Catholic bishop in Sri Lanka's north has urged Tamil Tiger rebels to renounce their "extremist action" to end the separatist war that has killed more than 55,000 people, reports said.

April 19 : A Sri Lankan Newspaper accused Indian defence minister George Fernandes of supporting Sri Lanka's Tamil Tiger rebels.

May 14 : A Sri Lanka Tamil Party said that its top leader who ended a self imposed exile in India had talks with President Chandrika Kumaratunga to revive political activities in embattled regions.

MALDIVES

1997

December 16 : At a meeting with the Defence Secretary Lt. General (Retd.) Iftikhar Ali Khan in Islamabad, the Maldivian Minister of State for Defence and National Security Abdul Sattar Anbaree said that Pakistan and the Maldives had been cooperating with each other in various international fora and their cordial and fraternal relations were a matter of great satisfaction for his country as they felt that they would not be left alone in the hour of need.

1998

July 2 : Maldivian President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom held a meeting with Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif in Islamabad. They reviewed the regional situation following nuclear tests by Pakistan and India and agreed that the peace and security situation in the region had deteriorated following its nuclearization.

August 1 : While speaking at a luncheon hosted by Maldivian President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom in Male' Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif said that increased bilateral exchanges between Pakistan and the Maldives and the cooperative endeavours within SAARC had strengthened bilateral relations to the mutual benefit of the two countries.

Notes to Contributors

Manuscripts, articles, book reviews and notes or letters on themes of contemporary or historical interest, with particular reference to South Asia, will be welcomed.

Manuscript should be clearly typed on one side of the paper only, and should be double-spaced. Two copies should be submitted.

Bibliographies and footnotes should be placed at the end of the article. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively, and bibliographies should be arranged alphabetically. Foreign words should be underlined.

Bibliographical references should be completed in respect of the title of the book, the name of the author, the year and the place of publication.

Utmost care should be taken to prepare statistical data for publication. All headings, columns, rows, symbols, units of measurement, periods, political and geographical areas, and sources should be clearly stated in each statistical table, instead of giving such explanations in the text.

Tables, maps, and diagrams should be numbered and given at the end of the article, each on a separate sheet of paper. They should be clearly drawn so that they are suitable for photocopying as submitted.

Abstracts

Authors should submit abstract of their articles, not exceeding 100 words. The first page of the paper should include the title of the paper as well as the name and institutional affiliation of the author.

The Editor reserves the right to make editorial revisions.