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## SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES

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*Editor*

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# India's Literate Rural Youth as a Human Resource : Imperatives for Planning

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TARLOK SINGH

*This article is based on a talk given at the Institute of Applied Manpower Research, New Delhi, on December 21, 1984.*

In making its proposals for reconstructing India's educational structure, the Education Commission (1966) saw national development as resulting from two main lines of advance-development of physical resources and development of human resources. For physical resources it looked primarily to modernization of agriculture and industrialization with their related infrastructures and institutions. For human resources it looked to education in its broadest sense. The Commission went on to say :

"While the development of physical resources is a means to an end, that of human resources is an end in itself, and without it, even the adequate development of physical resources is not possible."

## I

### HUMAN RESOURCES STRATEGIES

After more than three decades of planning and development, one is compelled to admit that insufficient attention to the development of human resources and the lopsided character of such human resources development as has taken place have been among the larger weakness of India's planning. The resources allocated to

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TABLE 8

## Main Workers—Young Literate Women in Rural Areas, 1981

*(In thousands)*

Age Group	15—19	20—24	25—29	30—34	Total	Col. 6 as proportion of main workers of all ages
Educational Level						
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(Percentage)
Literate (Without educational level)	302,651	242,428	201,692	157,605	904,376	29.8
Primary	453,491	393,016	301,578	203,097	1,351,182	44.6
Middle	150,630	156,582	108,562	65,448	478,422	15.8
Matriculation/ Secondary	35,646	79,164	76,608	58,078	249,496	8.2
Higher Secondary Intermediate/ Pre-University	3,727	15,111	16,775	10,480	46,093	1.5
Total	946,345	883,301	705,215	494,708	3,029,569	7.7

The lags in the education of girls and the small progress made thus far in adult education programmes for rural women impose a long-term handicap in accelerating the development of the human resource potential of one-half of the population of India. This must now be a matter of the utmost concern in national planning.

## III

## EMPLOYMENT SITUATION

India possesses an elaborate and well-developed employment market information which is capable of yielding valuable information on the employment conditions and prospects for youth, including rural youth. Here, attention may be drawn to a few features which are specially significant for policy formulation.

The number of job-seekers registered with employment exchanges has increased at a disturbingly high rate. This has been a feature of the entire period of planning. The process has been accelerated over the past decade.

During the past two centuries of colonial rule these centres of learning have been suppressed or strangled. But in all the villages in the country there exist mosques with a solid structure which in most cases is better than the houses in the village. The size and the number of mosques usually correspond to the size of the village population, and as such mosques tend to have sufficient space to run a village primary school. Generally these mosques are well kept and well provided with facilities like covered space, floor mats, drinking water, etc. Mosques are usually not used for prayer from the early hours of the day to about 1 or 2 p.m., and are again available between 2 to 3 or 5 p.m. and from 5 p.m. onwards.

According to the Education Policy, the Mosque schools will be organised on the basis of a unit of 20-30 students. The teaching programme will be so arranged that it would not clash with the prayer hours. In these Mosque schools the same Curriculum will be taught as in other formal schools but with the addition of teaching of the Holy Quran. The teaching programme will comparatively be of shorter duration so that the children may get time to help their parents in the daily work. The Mosque schools will not be closed for the summer vacation and in this way the work load will be reduced and the loss of instructional time avoided. In addition to the Imam of the Mosque who will be teaching the Holy Quran and Islamiat, one Primary Trained Teacher (PTC) will be provided in each Mosque school who will be teaching other subjects. At present most of the Primary schools in rural areas are two-teacher schools and the same facility will be available in the Mosque schools.

In urban as well as rural areas of the Province most of the mosques are teaching the Holy Quran and Islamiat. This is being done free of charge, although parents of the students may if they like give some money to the Imam or the Mosque for conducting such classes. Since the Arabic alphabet is more or less the same as that of the national language (with the exception of few additional letters) of Pakistan, the child who learns to read the Holy Quran can also read the Urdu language. Urdu is widely spoken and understood throughout the country. In some of the mosques, particularly in

cities, some enthusiastic Imams go a little further and teach the children the art of writing in Urdu script and some basic calculations. Whether in these mosques some prescribed course is followed and whether they have more than one level of study is a matter of great interest. The Bureau of Education in the Punjab, therefore, which is responsible for the collection and publication of educational statistics, has recently devised a questionnaire to collect information about the type and levels of education already being provided in the mosques which are said to be numbering over 90,000. Information is also being collected with regard to the facilities, such as free boarding and lodging of the students, number of classes and the staff and the financing of these mosque institutions.

While the scheme for Mosque schools was being discussed, apprehensions were expressed in certain quarters with regard to violation of the sanctity of the Mosque by using it for education. Every person entering the Mosque is supposed to be clean or should have done ablution (Arabic words *Taharat* and *Wadu*, which is necessary before offering prayer). However, this objection was mainly on account of ignorance on the part of certain vested interests. They were perhaps not aware of the historical role of the Mosque in the Muslim system of education. Even now a large number of children in most of the Muslim countries go to the Mosque to learn the Holy Quran and this is one place where the parents do not object to co-education. While learning the Holy Quran the child learns about the Islamic concept of cleanliness. The same is the case in Pakistan. It has not been possible for the Education Department to introduce co-education throughout the Province at primary level. The more conservative parents are adamant in not allowing their daughters to study in a mixed school. Hence, in many villages there are separate schools in existence for boys and girls and at places the meagre enrolment does not justify their separate existence. In the 26,000 villages of the Punjab, there were 34,000 primary schools functioning in early eighties and there are very few villages where there is no school. A lot of resources could have been saved if there had been no such social barrier. But in the case

of Mosque schools, the parents are willing to send their daughters as has already been experimented in the Bahawalpur Division.

In addition to the wholesome role in respect of co-education, the Mosque school will be more economical and cost-effective than conventional primary education. The Imam of the Mosque will be given an honorarium for the help he will provide in teaching the students. But his status as head of the Mosque and his place in the village community will be duly ensured. According to the Education Policy twenty sets of textbooks and copies of the Holy Quran will be provided in each Mosque school for lessons to the students. The most important nature of this programme is that students qualifying from the Mosque schools will be eligible for admission to Secondary schools in the formal system. They will also be transferable to the formal system at any stage. It is also intended to make use of the Mosque for the education of out-of-school youth and adults. Out-of-school youth of the age-group 10-15 who normally work during day time in the fields or lend a helping hand to their parents in other professions will be given a 2-hour elementary course between 1 to 4/5 p.m. (between *Zohr* and *Asr* prayers) and a 2-hour learning programme for adults is planned after 8 p.m. (after *Ishaa* prayer). In villages where there is no electricity, a petromax lamp will be provided.

Since the Mosque provides a covered area, mats and other facilities, there will be no need for development expenditure. Upkeep of the Mosque and its maintenance is the responsibility of the community. The Government is required to provide only non-development expenditure which has been calculated as follows per Mosque school and per year :

Salary of one trained teacher	Rs. 400 × 12	= Rs. 4,800
Honorarium to the Imam	Rs. 150 × 12	= Rs. 1,800
Contingent expenditure on books, blackboard, etc., per year		= Rs. 1,400
Annual expenditure per Mosque school		= Rs. 8,000



**The recent experiment of self-help Maktabs**

As part of a literacy drive in 1980 in the District of Gujrat it was decided to establish Maktab schools in Mosques on a self-help basis. The local representatives and the officials in the District were consulted and a programme was drawn up. The District of Gujrat has been divided into 15 Rural Development Markaz (*Markaz* is an Urdu version of the word Centre) and each Markaz was assigned to set up at least five Maktab schools. Since a system of elected representatives of local bodies had been established on sound footing, the elected representatives in 15 Markaz were able to open 77 Mosque schools or Maktabs on a self-help basis. In each case a Masjid Committee was formed by the local population which raised necessary funds for the construction of an additional room, where needed, and for providing other expenditure for the Maktab. The result of these efforts were so encouraging that within a short period these Mosque schools achieved the enrolment of 2,858 pupils with an average of 38 students in each Mosque school (as against the proposed figure of 20-30 in the National Education Policy). In actual fact the enrolment ranged from 30 pupils to a maximum of 135. The teaching in these schools is being performed by the Imam of the Mosque and where necessary by a locally employed untrained teacher. It may be pointed out that in view of the shortage of trained teachers and for the reason that most of the teachers do not like to go to unattractive or remote areas, the Provincial Education Department has already relaxed condition of PTC qualification for the recruitment of a primary school teacher.

In some of the Mosque schools, the average enrolment is much higher than in formal primary schools where the average is some 60 pupils per school. It will be relevant to refer to the setting up of the Mosque schools under the New Education Policy. In the Punjab, 144 Mosque schools had been opened by the Government in 1979-80. In 1980-81, 100 Mosque schools were opened. It was planned to open 150 Mosque schools in 1981-82 and 200 Mosque schools in 1982-83. Before launching the programme of admission in Mosque schools in 1979-80 certain steps were taken

to ensure the success of the programme. These steps included the selection of dedicated teachers who could adjust to the new pattern. Naturally on account of sanctity attached to the Mosque, only a person with missionary zeal rather than a person who is merely interested in a job, and a person more amenable to discipline could succeed in this kind of a situation, particularly when the head of the institution (Mosque) does not happen to be a full employee of the Department. An equally important aspect in this context was the selection of suitable mosques to initiate the opening of first batch of 144 Mosque schools. It was also important to provide training to both the primary trained teacher and the Imam of the Mosque to build up proper understanding and a two-way communication between the primary trained teacher and the Imam. As such a combined training programme was organised for the teachers and the Imams of the Mosque schools. Evaluation reports on these schools are not yet available and as such it is premature to comment on their functioning. Comparison can however, be drawn as to the expenditure on these Mosque schools and those Mosque/Maktab schools established by the local community on self-help basis.

Realising the role of the Maktab schools, the Government decided to provide encouragement to the private efforts as it would eventually reduce the stress on public development as well as non-development expenditure. The case of Maktab/Mosque schools run on self-help basis was examined in relation to other primary schools, Maktab schools and Mosque schools established under the Education Policy and it was found that the expenditure on Mosque schools on self-help basis was far less than for any other type of school, as is seen from Table 3 at page 106 :

Consequently a proposal was placed before the Planning and Development Department on August 3, 1980 to bring these Mosque schools at par with the similar Mosque schools set up by the Government with the following rationale,

- (i) Up to enrolment of 35, a recurring grant of Rs. 150 per month should be given to the Imam of the Mosque, who, at present is teaching both boys and girls.

TABLE 3

## Expenditure on formal schools and the Mosque/Maktab schools

Type	Number	Students	Recurring Expenditure	Average No. of students	Cost/school	Cost/student
Primary school	34,000	20,00 lac	70,00 crore	60	20,000	350
Maktab school	401	12,030	792,490	30	1,976	66
Mosque school	244	4,320	803,520	30	5,580	186
Maktab on self-help	77	2,858	138,600	28	1,800	48

Note: Expenditure is in Rupees which is approximately 1/16 of a US \$. Similarly one million is equal to ten lac and ten million is equal to one crore.

- (ii) When the enrolment exceeding 35, an untrained middle/matric teacher available from the same village should be appointed to assist the Imam and he should be given a stipend of Rs. 150 per month.
- (iii) Since it will cover classes I to IV, the school should be recognised by the Education Department and should be supervised by the staff of the District Education Officer so that a boy or a girl can have his or her admission guaranteed in a regular primary school in the next class after taking a prescribed level of examination. The cost per school in this case would range from Rs. 1,800 to Rs. 3,600 per year on the basis of teachers employed in one Maktab as compared to recurring cost of Rs. 20,000 in the formal primary system.
- (iv) A modest grant for equipment of Rs. 2,000 per Mosque should be allowed for the purchase of necessary equipment. The rest of the expenditure for the construction of rooms, etc., should be left to the Mosque Committee.

The proposal was approved by the Government and the Education Department was asked to review the progress for four years

and extend the operation to the scheme if found feasible. It will be then that this scheme would be replicated. It is too early to say anything about the operation of the scheme. One thing however, is certain that the expenditure incurred on Mosque schools is much less than the expenditure per pupil in a formal school. In a developing country like Pakistan, where the resources are already under heavy constraint, the Mosque school seems to be the most important instrument to improve the educational profile of the Province and the country.

### CONCLUSION

The Mosque as an institution of learning has withstood the onslaught of time. The very fact that even now it is being used for educational purposes leads us to think that it has an inherent potential which the modern formal education has only been able to weaken but not to destroy completely. This poses serious questions to planners, educationists and scholars. Should this community-based system be allowed to flourish afresh as an alternate means of education when financial resources do not permit further stretching of the formal system? Has this system not a sufficient ingredient of equity and relevance? Can it serve the purpose of life-long education?

One will find answers to these questions which could not be dealt with here due to the limited scope of the present study. Although much has been written about the Muslim system of education, a lot remains to be exposed to precise diagnosis, highlighting the good and weak points of the system and determining the degree to which it could be gainfully employed. A large-scale survey will be of paramount importance about the facilities which Mosque education can afford. This might require resources and services of experts for programming and processing the data so collected.

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5. A.L. Tibawai, *Islamic Education*, London, 1972, p. 32.
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7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*

Andre Singer, *Lords of the Khyber*,  
Faber and Faber, London, 1984,  
pp. 234.

Andre Singer, in his book *Lords of the Khyber*, unfolds the stories of some great characters, both Pushtun and the British. He mentions about those actors who had participated in the three wars, between the Pathan and the British as a consequence of the British marching into Afghanistan some 150 years ago. The author pays special attention to Khushal Khan Khattak, Elphinstone, Alexander Burnes and Ivan Vitkevich, Theodore Pennell, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Olaf Caroe.

The author feels fully convinced that the Afghans do not accept authority from 'outside' with ease. Three wars, innumerable skirmishes and thousands of assassinations and deaths followed the British invasion of Afghanistan in 1839 before they realized that a policy of *laissez-faire* was the most effective way of dealing with inhabitants. But the lessons of history are the hardest to learn. Talking in the present day scenario, we see that despite their sophisticated weaponry, the Russians have discovered that the problems the British faced some 150 years ago were not simply an accident of history but stemmed from the harsh realities of life and the values of the inhabitants of that unique region—the North-West Frontier. The Russians are discovering the hard way, lessons learned by the British during more than a century of conflict. Precisely speaking, the lesson is that those who wish to occupy lands of the Pushtuns have to contend with warrior tribesmen, skilled in mountain guerilla warfare and prepared to sacrifice themselves in the name of Islam and of their own tribal code of honour.

It may be noted here that today the eyes of the world are focussed on the struggle going on in the heart of Afghanistan. To quote Andre Singer: "Some people see the struggle as being a monolithic Goliath with his invincible modern military machine attempting to steamroll an anacharonistic David defending himself with sling, bow and arrow. These observers see an eventual defeat for David as Goliath applies more and more pressure and refuses to be intimidated by world opinion or by the pinpricks delivered by his persistent enemy."

A second scenario takes more cognizance of Pushtun society, the terrain and the traditional resilience of the people. This view believes that gunships and missiles, despite their obvious effectiveness, do not make the Russians any more formidable a foe than the British Empire in the nineteenth century. Unless the Soviet leadership is prepared to embark on a policy of genocide, it is impossible to foresee a Pushtun society accepting the domination of both Moscow and the Khalq and Parcham factions of the Afghan Communist Party.

We learn from the narrative that until 1978, none of these Afghans regime claimed close affiliation to any of the super powers wooing them. However, in that year, a Marxist coup d'etat, with close ties to Russia and with no affiliation to tribe or royal family, succeeded in Kabul. This coup d'etat known as Saur Revolution brought a triumvirate of Marxist leaders to the forefront of Afghan politics.

The factionalism and rivalry between Noor Mohammad Taraki, Hafizullah Amin and Babrak Karmal gave the Russians little chance to relax and their eventual armed intervention in the country seems to reflect their doubts as to whether the new pro-Soviet regime could survive both the intensive squabbling and the overwhelming tribal and religious opposition inside the country. The invasion did not seem to be a realization of nineteenth-century ambitions to expand towards the Persian Gulf. The Saur Revolution in Kabul and soured and Soviet embroilment, to bolster their proteges took on uncontrollable propositions. By December, 1979 when Russian troops and tanks rolled southward towards Kabul and thousands of Afghans

Year	Month	Number on live register (million)
1974	March	8.35
1980	March	14.69
1981	March	16.20
1982	September	19.21
1983	September	21.23
1984	September	23.52

An enquiry undertaken in 1975 showed that, of those registered with employment exchanges, 90 per cent were below 30 years of age. While 27 per cent of the job-seekers had some kind of employment at the time of registration, 56 per cent were wholly unemployed and 7.3 per cent were still engaged in studies. The proportions of wholly unemployed and students from rural areas were 70 and 6 per cent respectively. Of the job-seekers, 47 per cent were from rural areas. According to information provided by the Directorate-General of Employment and Training in the Ministry of Labour, the proportion of job-seekers from rural areas was 53.3 per cent in September 1982, 48.3 per cent in September 1983, and 48.7 per cent in September 1984. Thus, one-half of the job-seekers come from rural areas.

The enquiry undertaken in 1975 showed that, compared to an earlier enquiry in 1968, the proportions of literate and educated registrants had risen at all levels.

#### Proportion of Rural Registrants

	(percentage)	
	1968	1975
Literates below matric	36.7	48.8
Matric, below graduate	35.4	47.5
Graduate and above	21.2	36.2
All Categories (including illiterate)	34.4	46.9



were looking for refuge outside their own borders, there was no turning back.

It may be mentioned here that in the current conflagration the Russians appear to have ignored several vital factors that their predecessors, the British had learnt while they were dealing with Afghanistan and her tribal population. The most crucial of all is Islam.

The Russians fail to realize or accept the strength of Islam as a motivating force for rebellion. Most of the leadership among the Mujahideen is sanctioned by Islam. Today's leaders have declared their struggle as one of Islam against the ungodly. Of the men leading the opposition, four of the most important are because of their religious position. Sayyid Ahmed Gaylani, Sayyid Beheshti, Maulvi Muhammad Nabi and Sibghatullant Mojaddadi are either descendants of holy men or hold religious office. For all of them and for the movements they lead, Islam is the guiding and sanctioning force for their followers.

Inside Afghanistan, adherence to tribal codes plays further important role in determining leadership on a local level. The combination of charisma, fighting ability and spiritual support has been irresistible in the past and is proving so again today. Alongside Islam, for the Pushtun tribe is that unique and fundamental code of behaviour *pukhtunwali*. Leadership in the past in Pushtun society has succeeded only when the individual has lived up to the expectation of Islam, charisma and tribal code.

To conclude, this highly revealing book throws ample light on the psycho-social structure of the Afghan society. Their valiant spirit and indomitable will are a clear indication that Russians will one day be forced to vacate Afghanistan. The earlier these hard realities dawn on the Russian policy-makers, the better it would be towards the cause of world peace.

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Alexander Lavrentyev, *USA and Asia*,

Sterling Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi, 1982,

pp. viii+192.

South and Southwest Asia has been a turbulent region in the post-World War period, in terms of regional as well as international politics. Soon after the War ended, the process of de-colonisation started, leading to the independence of Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka, Burma and Indonesia. The rise of the 'new states' interested the superpowers in Asia, in an effort to 'cultivate' these countries, both for friendship and influence.

*USA and Asia* by Alexander Lavrentyev discusses the American role in Asia after the War, i.e., after de-colonization, in its political, economic and military dimensions. The study covers the whole of Asia, western, southern, southeast, and the developments and events involving the US, e.g., US involvement in Iran and the removal of Musaddiq, US aid to rebel forces in Indonesia, involvement in Korea and Philippines, US-Israel collusion in the Middle East and efforts to forge bilateral and multilateral defence alliances—aimed, the author believes, to contain the threat and spread of Communism.

The author also discusses the Non-Aligned movement, its aims and objectives, its anti-US stand, and briefly, the summits. CIA's role and 'dirty work' in Asia (especially in Iran and Indonesia) is discussed in detail.

Coming from a Soviet author, the book concludes on a familiar note: all 'imperialist machinations' could not stop national liberation movements and struggles, of course backed by the Soviet Union. As a corollary follow Soviet Union's efforts and achievements to promote peace and stability in the region. In final analysis, the book turns out to be a 'good guys vs. bad guys' story, with two bad guys, the US and China. The latter, once comrade-in-arms, but now, revisionist, imperialist, hegemonic; collaborating with the US to check Soviet

influence in Asia.

Curiously, the author does not have much to say about the US 'role' in Pakistan, which has a lot to offer to the Soviet scholars, nor the Russian deep-rooted interests in India are taken note of.

Reference to Afghanistan and the Soviet presence there is defensive, dealing with the 'gains' of the Revolution and the necessity of maintaining a presence to fight the counter-revolutionary forces—backed by the US, Pakistan, China and Egypt.

Quoting the Paris-based *Afrique-Asie*, the author contends that Pakistan "had been preparing an invasion of Afghanistan with the help of the United States, the Arab Emirates and China since April 1978" (p. 113). This seems rather far-fetched as Pakistan could not have contemplated 'invading' Afghanistan, the latter having a 'mutual assistance' treaty with the Soviet Union, and subsequently, a massive contingent of Soviet troops on its soil. The political-military costs of such an undertaking would also have been too high.

There is another conceptual error. According to the author, the Anglo-French 'Operation Musketeer' over Egypt in 1956 was "masterminded by Washington" (p. 42). As yet there has been no indication or evidence of Washington masterminding the operation. In his recent study, *Anglo-American Defence Relations 1939-1980*, John Baylis observes, "... the Anglo-French invasion of the Canal without informing Washington brought an orchestrated series of political and economic manoeuvres by the American government against its two allies designed to halt the operation. Of these pressures, economic sanctions in particular proved to be decisive. Britain was brought to the edge of bankruptcy, with the offer of help from the United States only if the military campaign was called off." (p. 56).

Cliches like 'US imperialism', 'Uncle Sam's masks', 'Peking chauvinists' run through the entire text, making the arguments crude and unappealing. Editing is rather poor. There are some spelling and printing errors as well.

Soviet scholarship has yet to overcome its cliché-ridden, sarcastic

and biased style to make an objective study of US foreign relations. Until it does so, it will not regain its seriousness.

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James Manor, (Edited) *Sri Lanka in Change and Crisis*,

London and Sydney : Croom Helm, 1984,

pp. 229.

Political stability in the developing nations is widely discussed by the analysts of these societies as well as the elite of the relevant nations. The question of democracy versus dictatorship remains the sore point in the underdeveloped world. Some of the nations are still under the military rule for decades, where the bureaucrats in uniform are more interested in gaining control of the meager resources of the country than looking after the defence matters. Other countries like Pakistan and Turkey have seen the glimpses of political freedom amongst long terms of military rule. Sri Lanka is one of the few fortunate underdeveloped nations which is able to obtain its democratic traditions although not in the idealistic sense. The challenges to Sri Lankan democracy have been numerous and are thoroughly discussed in the contributions in James Manor's book, *Sri Lanka in Change and Crisis*.

The mentioned book has been divided into two parts and contains eleven articles in all. The first part of the book deals with the changes in the political structures of the Sri Lankan polity (uptil 1982). The emphasis is on the electoral part of the political process which in the case of Sri Lanka is relevant in order to observe political trends. President J.R. Jayewardene's re-election in October, 1982, as according to C. R. deSilva is attributed to sharp division of

interests in the opposing ranks. In October, 1982, presidential elections, there were six candidates in which J. R. Jayewardene was able to secure 52.91 per cent of the total votes polled while his nearest rival H. Kobbekaduwa received 39.07 per cent votes. A detail analysis of the 1982 elections is given by the proceeding article by M. P. Moore which suggests that "ethnic group identification was the main basis of changes in electoral behaviour in Sri Lanka between 1977 and 1982" (p. 67). The conclusion drawn by M. P. Moore is that J. R. Jayewardene's victories in late 1982 were due to the fact that he was able to create a favourable polity, "a political atmosphere and an electoral coalition which promised considerable stability in the immediate future" (p. 72).

Article by Priya Samarakone, deals exclusively with the referendum of December 1982, which was held to prolong the life of the parliament by six years. The government won the mandate by 54.66 per cent votes. Samarakone is apprehensive about the validity of the fairness of the polls and expresses his concern about the free expression of the opposing groups to operate in the referendum vote and concludes that "historians may some day see the referendum as a watershed in the life of this small but politically sophisticated island nation" (p. 113).

In all the contributions included in the first part, the factor of ethnic conflict dominates the analysis by respective writers. Considering the ethnic complexity, the idealistically democratic elections which Priya Samarakone would like to visualise become difficult for any society with problems of such magnitude as Sri Lanka has.

The second part of the book deals with the riots between the Sinhalese majority and Tamil minority uptill the middle of 1983. The six articles included in this section of the book ranges from tracing the "Roots of the Tragedy" by Eric Meyer to micro analysis of the ethnic problem in article by R.P. Slater which deals with "Hill Country Tamils in the aftermath of the violence."

The ethnic problem has a long history of distrust amongst the Sinhalese and Tamils but the explosions of mid 1983, 1984 and 1985

posed serious threats. The observations of the editor in the introduction of the book are worth while to mention when he writes; "Many observers fear that the violence of 1983, coming after similar eruptions in 1958, 1977 and 1981 has dashed any hope that ways can be found to sustain a minimally workable plural society in Sri Lanka," (p. 22). However the hopes were renewed when talks started between the government of Sri Lanka and the Five Tamil guerrilla groups among them the biggest group known as the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) in Bhutan's capital Thimphu on July 8, 1985. The talks till the time of this publication (August 1985) were still in progress and it is hoped that a viable solution will be in the offering. It was reported that, "Colombo has agreed to redress Tamil grievances but has ruled out any moves towards creation of a Tamil state" (*Daily News—Colombo*, July 9, 1985).

Mention must be made of a lengthy introduction by the editor, James Manor in which he deals with different aspects of Sri Lanka while the later part of his analysis is confined to summing up of the contributions in the book. Economic issues are given prominence by Manor to prove that the existing tensions in the Island nation owes some of its origin to economic factors. For example it is written on pages 16-17, "the liberalising of the economy (by President Jayewardene's government after 1977) also contributed to suspicions . . . in the minds of some Sinhalese about minorities—notably the Tamils, the Muslims and expatriate Indians. Under the new free market system, it was far less possible for the government to intervene on behalf of Sinhalese than it had been before 1977 when the state controlled so much of economic life. . . . Despite the fact that many Sinhalese found employment in the Middle East, the notion that Muslims were the main beneficiaries of opportunities there appears to have fuelled serious Sinhalese—Muslim clashes in Batticaloa and Galle—the first such incidents since 1915."

It is a known fact that ethnic violence and difference in Sri Lankan politics—may it be because of economic factors or historic—ethnic rivalries or even religious divisions, the already small

nation came very near to be rip apart. The country has strong tradition of democracy and a very high literacy rate for a developing nations (85 per cent) as compared to 36 per cent in India and 69 per cent in the People's Republic of China. The riots of 1981-85 destroyed the fragile economy of Sri Lanka. Tourist trade saw a sharp decline and invasion by Indian armed forces became a near possibility. In spite of the weaknesses as mentioned in the reviewed book, Sri Lanka ranks prominent amongst the developing nations as a country with democratic traditions and promising potentials for development in economic and social fields.

The reviewed book is a useful contribution towards the already scarce literature on Sri Lanka.

SYED FAROOQ HASNAT

# Statements

## SOUTH ASIAN REGIONAL COOPERATION

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### SOUTH ASIAN REGIONAL COOPERATION (SARC/MM/8) MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS MALE'—JULY 1984

Report of the Second Session of the Standing Committee of  
South Asian Regional Cooperation, Male' 7-8 July, 1984.

#### INTRODUCTION

1. In pursuance of the decision taken at its First Session in New Delhi, 27-28 February, 1984, the Standing Committee at the invitation of the Government of the Republic of Maldives, held its Second Session in Male', 7-8 July, 1984 to prepare for the Second Meeting of Foreign Ministers of South Asian Countries, 10-11 July. Mr. Ibrahim Hussain Zaki, Senior Under-Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Maldives was elected Chairman of the Meeting by acclamation. The agenda adopted by the Meeting is reproduced in Annexure I.

#### INTEGRATED PROGRAMME OF ACTION

##### (a) Report of the Technical Committees

2. The Committee reviewed Document SARC/MM/7 on the subject matter. It noted with satisfaction that the interim period between its First and Second Sessions marked an active phase in the actual implementation of the programme undertaken by the nine Technical Committees. Useful preparations, initiatives and follow-up actions had seen progress in a number of sectors including, *inter-alia*; the holding of several training courses, the completion of a large number of seminars and workshops with still others scheduled during



the year ; the initiation and in some cases submission of important technical studies ; the exchange on a more organised basis of data and information ; move to compile and publish regional directories ; measures to facilitate the exchange of experts and scientists as well as vaccines, insecticides and germ plasms, etc. Other specific activities relevant to individual sectors have advanced to a stage of fruition, longer-term measures relating to the study and feasibility of establishing regional projects and institutions had also been initiated.

3. The Standing Committee recalled its decisions as reflected at paragraph 5 of the report of its First Session and noted the following position in that regard :

- (a) On the proposed Regional Meteorological Research Centre, the Chairman of the Technical Committee on Meteorology, has requested participating countries to make an in-depth study of the Report of the Panel of Experts and to send their views. The matter will be taken up at the next session of the Technical Committee and the outcome would be considered by the Standing Committee.
- (b) With regard to the holding of a South Asian Archaeological Congress to be hosted by the Government of India, work has been started to prepare for the Congress. An Organising Committee has been set-up to work out the details. It is expected that preparatory work will be completed by early 1985 to enable the Congress to be held in the second half of 1985.
- (c) On the question of the timing, venue, etc., of the proposed South Asian History Conference, the Chairman of the Technical Committee on Sports, Art and Culture charged with working out the details of the Conference, is awaiting replies to his communication to all other Governments inquiring whether any of them would be interested in providing host facilities for the first Conference. The Committee also took note of the offer of Bangladesh to host the Second South Asian History Conference sometime in 1986 or 1987.

- (d) The Chairman of the Technical Committee on Sports, Art and Culture entrusted with the task of convening a meeting of the appropriate agencies of the region to work out modalities and appropriate arrangements to ensure the protection and preservation of antiquities and art objects is awaiting replies to communications addressed to all other South Asian Countries inquiring whether any of them would be interested in hosting the meeting.
- (e) The Standing Committee noted with satisfaction that the First South Asian Federation Games to be hosted by Nepal would be opened on the 17th of September, 1984 in Kathmandu.

4. The Standing Committee recalled the decisions taken at its first session with regard to the future work of the Technical Committees as reflected in paragraph 6 of the Report of its First Session: The hope was expressed that the implementation of these decisions would make a significant contribution to further progress under the Integrated Programme of Action. In the light of experience in the implementation of activities under various programmes, the Committee decided the following:

- (i) The time limit of four weeks for invitations to participate in programmes as well as for submission of the necessary background documentation may be increased to six/eight weeks.
- (ii) A time limit of at least three weeks be set for intimating participation by member states to the organiser country.
- (iii) The Standing Committee should draw up a calendar of activities on an annual basis. In this connection, it called on each of the Technical Committees to prepare as early as possible a calendar of its activities with maximum care to ensure effective participation. National Focal Points may forward the calendars of the Technical Committees to the Chairman of the Standing Committee.
- (iv) The National Focal Points were asked to effect timely completion of procedures to ensure full participation.

This trend may be expected to have been maintained over the past decade.

In the seventies the Directorate-General of Employment and Training carried out Area Skill Surveys in a number of districts. In every district the finding was that an insignificant proportion of the new employment generated in various establishments during the preceding ten years benefited the rural areas directly. Comparisons between new registrations and placements through employment exchanges over a series of years show large lags in all categories, including, for instance, apprentices and those coming out of Industrial Training Institutes, not to speak of arts and science graduates, technical personnel, and women. In September 1984, women job-seekers accounted for nearly 4 million out of 23.5 million and in rural areas for 1.8 million out of 11.4 million.

The major conclusion which emerges is that the present patterns of development do not give to the Indian economy the essential capacity to absorb additions to the labour force. Inevitably, ever larger reserves of labour are being thrown into the rural areas and the unorganized sector generally. With advance in education along existing lines—in these the charges envisaged are at best marginal—the mismatching between education and employment will be continuously accentuated. The problem of literate rural youth will be barely touched—with all the consequences that can be anticipated both in the relatively more advanced regions and in the more backward regions. The larger changes in the design and strategy of planning which are called for in these circumstances are a theme beyond the scope of this discussion. There are, however, certain implications which bear directly on the future of literate rural youth.

#### IV SOME PLANNING IMPLICATIONS

In 1979, the Government of India introduced a scheme of some promise known as TRYSEM or Training of Rural Youth for

- (v) The Standing Committee urged all countries to strengthen follow-up actions in order to implement various activities according to the agreed Schedules.
- (vi) The Committee agreed that it would be useful to have regular informal meetings of Representatives of South Asian Countries in all capitals of SARC countries.

The Committee expressed the hope that as further progress is achieved in the implementation of the programmes, increasing emphasis will be placed on operational activities and to this end it invited the Technical Committees to draw specific projects of regional cooperation in their respective areas.

5. In pursuance of the Committee's decision at its First Session, several delegations informed that they had already communicated the sectoral focal points and others were in the process of doing so. The Standing Committee requested the National Focal Points of member countries to communicate details of their respective sectoral focal points to the Chairman of the Standing Committee by 15th August, 1984.

#### (b) Financial Arrangements

##### (a) Contribution by South Asian Countries :

6. The Standing Committee took note with appreciation of the following contributions announced by the countries of the region for 1984-85 as an expression of their support for SARC activities.

Bangladesh	—	Bangladesh Taka 6.25 million
Bhutan	—	Bhutanese Nu. 1.00 million
India	—	Indian Rs. 7.5 million
Maldives	—	Maldivian Rf. 84,000
Nepal	—	Nepalese Rs. 2.5 million
Pakistan	—	Pakistani Rs. 5 million + Rs. 500,000 for scholarships.
Sri Lanka	—	Sri Lankan Rs. 2.5 million

##### (b) External Assistance :

7. The Committee noted that discussions were in progress with

the EEC for the utilisation of its offers of assistance for 1983 and 1984 in the Sector of Transport and Scientific and Technological Cooperation. In the field of Transport, the Government of Sri Lanka was coordinating a "Study of traffic flows and intermodal distributions within the region." Preliminary estimates of cost involved had been prepared and disbursement was currently being discussed with the EEC. In the field of Scientific and Technological Cooperation the Technical Committee has already identified projects relating to rural technology for utilisation of the EEC offer of assistance, which was conveyed to EEC in January, 1984 through the Chairman of the Standing Committee. A detailed project report for submission to the EEC will be prepared by the Chairman of the Technical Committee as soon as the requisite inputs from concerned member countries are received. In this regard it was noted that the focal point in Bangladesh has submitted a project on 'Bio-Mass Production' to the Chairman of the Technical Committee.

8. With regard to the ITU offer of assistance in the field of telecommunications the Committee noted that the UNDP Aid Coordinators at their meeting held in Bangkok in May 1984 did not consider individual projects, confining their deliberations to broad policy issues. The UNDP meeting, however, strongly supported regional projects for sub-regional groupings like SARC to be funded by the UNDP Regional Programme. It was agreed that a representative of the ITU may be invited to the next meeting of the Technical Committee on Telecommunications in October, 1984 to discuss the modalities of the offer of assistance with a view to an early finalisation of the same.

*(c) Improvement in telecommunications and air-transport :*

9. The Committee reviewed the problems and potential for improving telecommunications and air-transport between South Asian Countries. Conscious of the tremendous benefits that would accrue to the peoples of the region, the Committee drew particular attention of the Foreign Ministers to the need for support and endorsement at the political level for measures designed to improve these services.

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*(i) Air Transportation :*

11. The Standing Committee emphasised the need for improvement in the field of air-transportation among South Asian Countries and the necessity to link the regional capitals by air-line connections. In this regard the Committee noted the following :

- (a) The suggestion by Pakistan for the evolution of a regional mechanism to formulate and coordinate policies relating, *inter-alia*, to the negotiation of traffic rights and tariffs, exchange of technical data, information and training facilities on air-traffic and radar control, aeronautical engineering, airport management and crash and rescue service, etc. It also endorsed with appreciation the offer made by Pakistan to convene a meeting of the civil aviation officials and airlines experts from the region to be hosted by its national airline.
- (b) The proposal by India to establish an Institute of Air Transport Technology and Training for the South Asia Region.
- (c) The paper submitted by the Government of India on "Common Central Airworthiness Requirements, Common Repair, Overhaul and Certification of Airworthiness for common types of aircraft" and the proposal that necessary steps be taken to have the paper examined in detail in a meeting of appropriate experts from countries of South Asia.
- (d) The collection of necessary information on the types of aircraft operated by airlines of SARC countries and the infrastructure facilities available in each country for repair, overhaul and maintenance of aircrafts and components.

The Standing Committee called on the Chairman of the Technical Committee on Transport to examine these proposals in detail and to submit recommendations for further considerations by the Committee.

**IDENTIFICATION OF NEW AREAS OF COOPERATION**

12. The Committee recognised the potential for enlarging the

areas of cooperation. However, it continued to feel that for the time being efforts should be concentrated on the nine areas of cooperation already identified.

### **WORLD ECONOMIC SITUATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR SOUTH ASIAN COUNTRIES**

13. The Standing Committee reviewed the world economic situation and expressed the views that the position had not changed for the developing countries since its last meeting despite the recovery in several industrialised countries. The developing countries had been facing a serious loss of development momentum due to excessive debt burden, protectionist measures and reduced flow of financial resources. It viewed with concern the decline in multilateral concessional resources for the poor countries, particularly the vastly reduced replenishment of IDA VII. It expressed its grave disappointment over the continuing impasse in the North-South dialogue and viewed with serious concern the significant erosion in multilateral cooperation. In this regard, it noted with deep regret that no appreciable progress was made in meeting the concerns of the developing countries at the London Summit Meeting of Industrialized countries in early June, 1984 despite approaches made by various leaders from non-aligned and developing countries conveying these concerns.

14. The Committee urged that SARC countries actively pursue proposals put forward by the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit and the Group of 77 at various forums. It called for the early revival of the North-South dialogue leading ultimately to global negotiations through the phased procedure of dealing urgently with the programme of immediate measures including the convening of an International Conference on Money and Finance for Development with universal participation. It also urged South Asian Countries to instruct their representatives to such important meetings as UNIDO IV, the 39th Regular Session of the United Nations General Assembly, etc., to closely coordinate their positions. The Committee also emphasized the need for greater South-South Cooperation.

The Committee regreted that despite strong pleas from developing countries it had not yet been possible to augment the resources available for IDA VII. It reiterated the call to all donor countries to provide additional resources to enable IDA not only to bring about an increase in real terms in the flow of resources to existing borrowers over the level of IDA VI but also to meet the requirements of new borrowers.

#### **NEXT MEETING OF STANDING COMMITTEE**

15. In accordance with the decision taken by the Foreign Ministers that they would meet on an annual basis to review the progress of South Asian Regional Cooperation, the Committee decided to hold its next meeting by July, 1985. The Chairman of the Committee was requested to carry out consultations with regard to the venue of the next meeting.

#### **PROVISIONAL AGENDA FOR THE MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS**

16. The Standing Committee recommend the following provisional agenda :

1. Election of Chairman.
2. Adoption of Agenda.
3. General Statements.
4. Report of the Standing Committee at its first and second sessions held on 27-28 February, 1984 in New Delhi and 7-8 July, in Male' respectively.
5. Consideration of the date, venue and agenda for the meeting of Heads of State/Government of the South Asian Countries.
6. Consideration of the date and venue for the next meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the South Asian Countries.
7. Any other business.
8. Joint Communique.



**VOTE OF THANKS**

17. The visiting Foreign Secretaries expressed their deep appreciation to the Chairman of the Standing Committee His Excellency Mr. Ibrahim Hussain Zaki and through him to the Government of and peoples of Maldives for the warm and generous hospitality extended to their delegations and for the excellent arrangements made for the meeting.

**SOUTH ASIAN REGIONAL COOPERATION (SARC/MM/10)  
MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS  
MALE'—JULY 1984**

*South Asian Regional Cooperation Second Meeting of  
Foreign Ministers, 10-11 JULY 1984*

**JOINT COMMUNIQUE**

In pursuance of the decision taken at their first meeting held on August 1-2, 1983 in New Delhi, the Ministers of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka held their Second Meeting in Male' on July 10-11, 1984 at the invitation of the Government of Maldives.

2. The Ministerial meeting was inaugurated by His Excellency Uz Maumoon Abdul Gayoom, President of the Republic of Maldives. His Excellency stated that our societies are quite diverse, but their hopes and expectations do not vary. Together, our peoples are sure of themselves, confident of their identities and confident too of their ability to control their own destinies. He added that the moving spirit and objective, the very principles which gave birth to this association, is that of working together which has as its basic foundation, a promotion of the interests of this region, an essential aspect of which is the maintenance and indeed the strengthening of our peoples' political, social and economic independence.

3. On behalf of the Foreign Ministers, His Excellency Sahabzada Yaqub Khan, Foreign Minister of Pakistan thanked His Excellency Uz Maumoon Abdul Gayoom for his wise and inspiring address. It was decided that the text of the address should form part of the final records of the meeting.

4. His Excellency Mr. Fathulla Jameel, Foreign Minister of Maldives was elected Chairman by acclamation.

5. The meeting noted with satisfaction the reports submitted by the Standing Committee following its first and second Sessions in New Delhi from 27-29 February, 1984 and in Male' from 7-8, July, 1984 respectively. It considered and endorsed the recommendations of the Standing Committee.

6. The meeting expressed its deep appreciation for the valuable work accomplished by the Standing Committee in fulfilling its mandate of coordinating and monitoring the implementation of the Integrated Programme of Action launched by the Foreign Ministers in their meeting in August 1983. It also expressed its appreciation to the Chairman and members of all the Technical Committees for their dedication in carrying out their tasks and to the countries concerned for providing support and encouragement to various activities under the Integrated Programme of Action.

7. The Foreign Ministers felt that considerable progress had been achieved in implementing the Integrated Programme of Action in a relatively short time. They also took note of the decisions taken by the Standing Committee on specific issues referred to it by the Technical Committees as well as on a number of important matters connected with the future work of the Technical Committees including preparation of medium to long-term projects of regional cooperation and improving implementation. They expressed the hope that the implementation of these decisions would make a significant contribution to the achievement of further progress under the Integrated Programme of Action. They stressed that as further progress is achieved increasing emphasis should be placed on operational activities and the formulation of specific projects. To this end,

consideration should be given to the convening of meetings at the level of Ministers in some of the vital areas of cooperation already agreed upon.

8. The Ministers noted with appreciation the increased contributions announced by the participating countries for SARC activities in 1984-85. They called for necessary follow-up action to utilize the offers of external assistance that had been made.

9. The Ministers agreed that there was an urgent need for an improvement in tele-communication and air transport links specially between the Capitals of all South Asian Countries. To this end they endorsed the decision of the Standing Committee with regard to examination by the Technical Committees on Tele-communications and Transport of the various proposals submitted by the participating countries and submission of recommendations for consideration by the Standing Committee.

10. The Ministers reviewed the current world economic situation and expressed their concern over the deteriorating economic and social conditions in the developing countries. In the past three years, sharply falling commodity prices, deterioration in the terms of trade, intensification of protectionist measures, excessive debt burden and decline in the flow of financial resources had caused unprecedented balance of payments problems and serious loss of development momentum in the developing countries. They agreed that without redoubling of efforts by the international community including immediate measures the goals and targets of the International Development Strategy under the Third UN Development Decade and the Substantial New Programme of Action for the least Development Countries could not be attained. They expressed their deep disappointment at the lack of progress in putting into place international support measures and the continued stalemate in the negotiations on international cooperation. In this connection, they noted with deep regret that no appreciable progress was made in the meeting the concerns of the developing countries at the London Summit Meeting of the industrialized countries in early June, 1984 despite urgent actions suggested by various leaders from the Non-Aligned and developing countries.

11. The Ministers regretted that despite strong pleas from developing countries it had not yet been possible to augment the resources available for IDA VII. They reiterated the call to all donor countries to provide additional resources to enable IDA not only to bring about an increase in real terms in the flow of resources to existing borrowers over the level of IDA VI but also to meet the requirements of new borrowers. In view of the urgency of the matter the Minister requested the Chairman to formally convey the concern of the South Asian Countries to the leaders of the Industrialized Countries and in particular to the Prime Minister of Japan.

12. The Ministers urged that SARC countries actively pursue proposals put forward by the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit and the Group of 77 at various forums and re-affirmed their resolve to cooperate closely in all relevant forums in seeking appropriate solutions to the problems affecting the developing countries.

13. In pursuance of the decision taken by them at their first meeting in New Delhi in August, 1983 the Ministers agreed to recommend to their Heads of States/Government, the convening of the First Summit Meeting of South Asian Countries in Dhaka, in the last quarter of 1985. They expressed their deep appreciation to the Government of the Peoples Republic of Bangladesh for the offer to host the Summit meeting. They emphasized the importance of thorough preparation for the Summit and decided to devote special attention to this matter at their next meeting.

14. The Ministers also agreed that the next meeting of Foreign Ministers would be held at Thimphu, in the first half of May, 1985 and that it would serve as the preparatory meeting for the Summit. They expressed deep gratitude to the Royal Government of Bhutan for the offer to host the Third Foreign Ministers' Meeting.

15. The Ministers further agreed that the Chairman would consult closely with other countries with a view to finalising the date and drawing up the draft provisional agenda for the Summit meeting. They also requested the Chairman after due consultation to finalise the exact date for the Third Foreign Ministers' Meeting in Thimphu.

16. The visiting Foreign Ministers expressed their deep appreciation to the Chairman His Excellency Mr. Fathulla Jameel and through him to the Government of the Republic of Maldives for the cordial and generous hospitality extended to their delegations and for the excellent arrangements made for the meeting.

COOPERATION—IV (5)

1. The visiting Foreign Ministers expressed their deep appreciation to the Chairman His Excellency Mr. Fathulla Jameel and through him to the Government of the Republic of Maldives for the cordial and generous hospitality extended to their delegations and for the excellent arrangements made for the meeting.
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Self-Employment. TRYSEM is yet a low-key programme, the amount released by the Central Government having amounted between 1979-80 and 1983-84 to no more than Rs. 3.75 crore. A number of evaluations have brought out the main weaknesses. The scheme is limited to beneficiaries selected from among households identified as being below the so-called poverty line. In the conditions of rural India, a programme of the nature of TRYSEM has to be generally available to all rural youth offering to take advantage of it. The approach of laying down targets from above (40 per block per year) is altogether inappropriate. TRYSEM is not backed by serious planning of industrial activities and skill-formation programmes area by area. Stipends and bank loans to individuals are indeed essential, but they have to be an integral part of plans for expanding non-agricultural activities in each area according to its resource potentials and other possibilities.

Much attention has been given over the years to the development of various segments of village and small industries. Schematic approaches in this sector have severe limitations. Modern small-scale industries have remained largely limited to the larger cities. The contribution to the growth of rural industry and the strengthening of traditional household industries in the villages has been altogether meagre. The stage has come to evolve new strategies for the small industry sector. These would be based, on the one hand, on closer integration with agriculture and the rural economy and, on the other, on the approach of common production plans within each main industry, marking out in terms of scale and technology the areas within which small industry could develop more fully within rural areas and the smaller towns.

The transformation of the structure and occupational pattern of the rural economy of every region and planning together for agriculture and industry have far-reaching implications for national planning. Priorities for industry, transport and communications, energy, health and other social services have to be redefined to serve more completely the needs of the rural population. Large and small industries have to be viewed together in relation to their role in

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# Chronology of Important Events

## SOUTH ASIAN REGION

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January—December 1984

### BANGLADESH

- January 2* General H. M. Ershad invited opposition leaders for talks to discuss ways and means for returning the country to democracy.
- 3* The opposition leaders rejected the offer of General Ershad for talks.
- 4* A half-day strike was observed in Dhaka, which was called by the opposition parties.
- 6* General H.M. Ershad allowed political parties to hold closed-door meetings.
- 10* In a village polls, twenty-five persons were killed and over six hundred and fifty were injured.
- 12* The Soviet Union was reported to have stopped buying jute from Bangladesh in retaliation for expulsion of Soviet diplomats from Bangladesh.
- 16* The Soviet Embassy closed its cultural centre in Dhaka.
- 21* According to an agreement with Japan, Bangladesh was to receive five million dollars from Japan for setting up a pharmaceutical plant.
- 25* The Awami League held demonstrations in Dhaka against Martial Law in the country.
- 27* Two major opposition alliances in separate press conferences, decided to boycott the polls scheduled for March 24.
- 29* The militant National Socialist Party urged the National Law authorities to form a national government to face Indo-Soviet designs against Bangladesh.

- January 29* The Government expelled Lt. Colonel Farukh-ur-Rahman from the country when he arrived after seven-years exile in Libya. (Earlier, he had led a successful coup against Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman).
- 31* The Government refused permission to the Soviet Airlines Aeroflot, to operate special flights from Moscow to Dhaka.
- February 4* Two hundred persons were injured in clashes in Chittagong between rival groups of Jana Dal.
- 5* Two agreements were signed at Dhaka between Bangladesh and Bhutan for expanding trade economic cooperation between the two countries. Both the countries issued a joint communique in Dhaka expressing their concern at growing manpower rivalry in the Indian Ocean. They demanded that the area should be declared as a zone of peace.
- 12* According to the Election Commission, the opposition parties emerged victorious in Municipal polls.
- 29* President H. M. Ershad announced that presidential and parliamentary elections would be held simultaneously on May 27.
- March 1* During a general strike at Dhaka, about five demonstrators were killed by the police and para-military forces firing.
- 2* The teachers and the Vice-Chancellor of the Agricultural University resigned in protest against police firing during the general strike.
- 4* The Central Students Action Committee launched a massive protest in Dhaka against the police and army action during the general strike.
- 5* About seven hundred local bodies candidates withdraw their nominations, in response to a call by the opposition political parties.
- 7* President H. M. Ershad appointed four Jana Dal Party members as ministers in his cabinet.
- 12* President H. M. Ershad postponed the local bodies polls which were scheduled to be held on March 24.
- 20* In order to mark the thirteenth anniversary of the independence, the Government lifted restrictions on political activity and released more than seventy political prisoners.

# Patterns of Economically Active Manpower : A Comparison between Selected Advanced Countries and South Asia

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DR. MRS. SHAHEEN KHAN

## I. INTRODUCTION

This paper investigates the way in which South Asian Region is using its manpower resources as compared to the developed economies. South Asia is very poorly endowed with natural resources, which are very unevenly distributed within the region. However, the region is rich in respect of manpower resources as it claims about 20 per cent of world's population.<sup>1</sup> The efficiency in the use of manpower resources can be determined through an indepth analysis of activity rates. Activity rate is a measure of the labour supply expressed as a ratio of the potential labour supply. Specifically, activity rate (or participation rate) is defined as the percentage of population (of workable age) working or looking for work in the labour market. This article compares the activity rates (that is, the economically active manpower) of South Asian Countries with those of the developed countries.<sup>2</sup> The trends in activity rates of South Asian Countries, namely Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, have been compared with developed economies of Australia, Canada, France, Germany (Federal Republic), United Kingdom and United States.

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- March 29** President H. M. Ershad disclosed in an interview that he would lift Martial Law after the parliamentary elections.
- 30** President H. M. Ershad in a statement said that trade between USSR and Bangladesh had resumed and relations between the two were improving.
- Indo-Bangladesh ministerial level talks began in Dhaka on the issue of the permanent sharing of the Ganges waters.
- Attaur Rehman Khan, an eminent politician was sworn in as Prime Minister in the cabinet.
- 31** According to reports, the Indo-Bangladesh round of talks regarding distribution of Ganges waters had failed.
- A big demonstration was held in the country by the opposition political parties.
- April 1** A big public meeting was organized by the seven-party opposition alliance at Dhaka, which was presided by Begum Khalida Zia. It demanded immediate lifting of Martial Law and holding of parliamentary elections.
- 2** The Jamat-i-Islami Party demanded the replacement of the Military Government by an interim government headed by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, to hold parliamentary elections and to transfer of power to the elected representatives.
- According to China-Bangladesh Agreement, Bangladesh was to input 40,000 tons of high speed diesel and 10,000 tons of lubricating base oil from China at an estimate cost of US \$ 14 million.
- 4** The leaders of the thirteen political parties, in a statement urged the Government to refer the water dispute with India to the United Nations, the OIC and other international forums.
- 6** The Government lodged a strong protest with India, for erecting a barbed wire fence on zero-line on Indo-Bangladesh border.
- 9** The opposition alliance of seven political parties headed by Mrs. Khalida Zia, staged a walk-out from the President's House during talks with President H. M. Ershad.
- 11** The opposition alliance of fifteen political parties led by Awami League held a formal talk with the Government

demanding the immediate lifting of Martial Law and holding of parliamentary elections.

- April 20* President H.M. Ershad agreed to opposition demands to hold parliamentary elections separate from a presidential poll and to lift Martial Law.
- 22 The Bangladesh National Democratic Party staged a demonstration in Dhaka, against the killing of a Bangladesh soldier by the Indian Border Guards on April 21.
- 23 Bangladesh severed its diplomatic relations with Costa Rica for moving its Embassy from Tal Aviv to occupied Jerusalem.
- 24 The Border Security Forces of India and Bangladesh clashed at two places along the troubled Kuriguan border.
- 28 The Foreign Minister, A. R. Shamsud Doha accused India of violating the border guide lines agreed upon by the two countries in 1973.
- 29 The troops of India and Bangladesh clashed on the border at Shikarpur (India) and Chaudannae (Bangladesh).
- 30 The Government rejected the main stream opposition demand of lifting the Martial Law by May 1.
- May 11* Bangladesh and United Arab Emirates signed a trade agreement in Dhaka.
- 12 President H. M. Ershad announced the acceptance of the Opposition demand for parliamentary elections before the Presidential elections in the country.
- 13 The Opposition Political parties rejected the Government's offer to hold parliamentary elections by the end of 1984.
- In a joint communique issued simultaneously from Dhaka and Abu Dhabi, both the countries called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and Kampuchea.
- 14 Two Bangladeshi nationals were killed by the Indian Border Security Guards in Pragpur, northern District of Kushtia.
- June 1* In a massacre of Chittagong Hill tracts by tribal insurgents, over four hundred persons were killed and about one thousand and five hundred were injured.

- June 3* India massed Border Security Forces and Central Reserve Police along the border with Bangladesh's trampled Chittagong Hill Tracts District.
- 10* The Government strongly denied press reports, that Murmese Muslims insurgents were being trained on the Bangladesh's soil.
- 27* Two persons were killed and another injured during a clash between the Security Forces and the tribal guerillas of the Chittagong Hill Tracts District.
- July 4* An opposition alliance of fifteen political parties decided to launch a movement for the immediate lifting of Martial Law and for fixing date for the general elections.
- 12* The Chief Election Commissioner announced to hold parliamentary elections on December 8, 1984.
- Thousands of journalists underwent a strike for an indefinite period for the implementation of a wage board award for the purpose of additional benefits.
- 13* Two major opposition alliances headed by Shaikh Hasina Wajid and Begum Khalida Zia renewed their demand for the immediate lifting of Martial Law from the country.
- 18* A Chinese delegation comprising seven members headed by the Air Force Chief, Zhang Tingfa arrived in Dhaka to assess requirements of Bangladesh.
- 19* Two major opposition alliances give an indication of their willingness to take part in the general elections scheduled to be held in December.
- 20* President H. M. Ershad rejected the opposition demand to lift Martial Law and to give way to a non-political caretaker government before December 8—the day fixed for the parliamentary elections in the country.
- 25* Hundreds of students held an anti-government rally in Dhaka in a week-long protest against military rule in the country.
- President H. M. Ershad ordered that summary Martial Law courts be abolished by August 1, 1984.
- 27* India and Bangladesh Trade Agreement of 1980 was extended for a period of another three years.

*July 31* Thousands of journalists and other newspaper employees staged a demonstration in front of the President's House in Dhaka to press for the implementation of the Wage Board Award.

*August 1* The Chinese Red Cross Society agreed to provide medicines and other goods worth \$ 50,000 to the flood victims in Bangladesh.

3 The talks between the Government and the striking journalists failed and as such the country went without newspapers for the twenty-second days.

Mrs. Shaikh Hasina Wajid was warmly welcomed by her forty thousand followers at the airport after her return from abroad where she had gone for a few weeks.

5 The opposition political parties threatened to boycott the elections (scheduled for December 8) if Martial Law was not lifted immediately and a neutral non-political government set up to conduct free and fair elections.

6 According to reports, India finalized her deal with the Soviet Union for the outright purchase of the MIG 29 aircrafts.

7 The twenty-six-day journalists' and news agencies' strike ended in the country.

8 Due to recent floods about eight hundred persons died and over thirty-five million people suffered heavily.

12 The authorities denied any sort of interference and military training provided to the underground Tripura National Volunteers (TNV) who were being accused of carrying out an insurgency in the bordering Indian state of Tripura.

18 All political, diplomatic, cultural and economic relations were severed with Liberia, in view of her decision to re-establishing diplomatic relations with Israel.

19 A group of Indian nationals with the help of the Indian Border Security Guards, raided the bordering village of Kamolginj in the north-eastern Maulvi Bazar District.

27 One-day nation wide strike was observed in protest against the continuation of Martial Law.

*September 17* The Government announced the nationalization without compensation of all agricultural land beyond a basic eight hectares for each farmer.



- September 24* At a public meeting at Dhaka, eleven persons were injured in a bomb explosion, which was to be addressed by Begum Khalida Zia, the Nationalist Party's Chief.
- 25 In a clash between the pro-government and opposition political workers, about twenty-five persons were injured in Dhaka.
- 27 During the country-wide strike against Martial Law a violent clash occurred in Dhaka, in which one former parliamentary member and five other persons were killed.
- October 1* Mahbur Rahman, Cooperative Minister and Secretary General of Janadal, was relieved of his posts by the President H. M. Ershad.
- 3 The Election Commission announced that Parliamentary polls would be held on December 8 and nominations would be received on November 1.
- 5 The opposition parties announced to boycott the general elections of December 8.
- 7 According to U.S.-Bangladesh Agreement signed in Dhaka, U. S. would provide commodities in aid worth \$ 75 million to Bangladesh during 1984-85.
- 8 President H. M. Ershad said that if the opposition parties did not call off their boycott threat, he would not hold general elections falling in December.
- At least seventeen tribal insurgents in Chittagong Hill tracts were killed in a clash between rival groups.
- 12 The opposition parties spurned an offer of a phased withdrawal of Martial Law from November by President H. M. Ershad.
- 14 In a big rally, organized in Dhaka, about five hundred thousand people called for Civil Disobedience Movement against the Government.
- 17 A coalition of ten right wing political parties known as Islamic United Front urged the Government to convene round table conference of all parties to resolve political problems.
- 19 Major opposition parties declared that they would physically resist Parliamentary Elections under the Martial Law.

- October 21* The Combined Action Committee demanded an end to the Martial Law and formation of an Islamic revolutionary government composed of Islamic thinkers.
- 25 President H. M. Ershad made an offer to the opposition parties for talks.
- 26 Two weeks anti-Government protests were organized by the opposition parties aiming at forcing an end to Martial Law and setting up of an interim government before the elections.
- 27 President H. M. Ershad ordered an indefinite postponement of Parliamentary Elections which were scheduled to be held on December 8.
- 30 The Government lodged a strong protest with India over a recent attack by Indian Border Guards on some bordering villages of the country.
- 31 Leader of the Opposition alliance, Begum Hasina Wajid rejected the Government's offer to resume talks for the restoration of democracy.
- November 1* An eight-day workshop began in Dhaka by education experts of six Asian nations to evaluate non-formal education in health and agriculture.
- 2 In Dhaka, the police opened fire on demonstrators in order to rescue a minister besieged by hundred of students.
- 25 Seven people were killed and ninety injured in a police firing on demonstrators in two cities of the country.
- December 2* During police firing three protestors were killed in Dhaka.
- 8 A nation-wide one-day strike called by the opposition parties virtually paralysed the country. The opposition alliance demanded immediate end of Martial Law.
- 9 The opposition parties began Civil Disobedience Movement in the country.
- 14 Ten students were injured in a clash in a Bangladesh University.
- 15 President H. M. Ershad announced that general elections would be held in April 1985 and promised to end Military Courts in the current year.

- December 16* The opposition parties rejected President H. M. Ershad's plan for elections under the Martial Law.
- 17* Nearly five thousand students from Dhaka University demonstrated outside the National Broadcasting Authority building, claiming that state-run Radio and T.V. reported nothing about opposition activities.
- 20* The police arrested opposition party workers campaigning for a forty-eight hour nation-wide strike.
- The Government banned projected country-wide strike and all sorts of political activity.
- 22* Three persons were killed and eleven injured by police firing on a crowd in Rajshahi at the start of the anti-government national strike.
- 23* The police arrested about one thousand people throughout the country on the first day of the general strike.
- 25* President H. M. Ershad suggested that referendum should be held in the country to approve his policies.
- 28* The opposition parties rejected President's programme and demanded immediate Parliamentary polls.
- 31* President H. M. Ershad abolished Martial Law tribunals as first step towards democracy.

## INDIA

- January 4* In a news conference at New Delhi, Farooq Abdullah, the Chief Minister of Indian held Jammu and Kashmir reiterated that Congress (I) was trying to destabilize his government.
- Mrs. Indira Gandhi expressed concern over the decision of the Government of Bangladesh to dispossess the Indian nationals and other minorities in Bangladesh of their properties.
- 6* Dr. Jagjit Singh Chauhan urged militant Sikhs to form a parallel government in East Punjab before India's Republic Day.
- 10* In Lucknow more than thirty-five political workers belonging to different opposition parties were injured during a clash with the police.

- January 11* The Indian Secretary of Defence Research and Development Department disclosed in a press conference in New Delhi that Indian technology had reached such a stage that it was possible to provide the infrastructure for indigenous development of such defence items as light aircrafts and the main battle tanks.
- 14 The Union Government asked the United States of America to materialise her commitment to provide heavy water and spare parts for India's atomic plant at Tarapur.
- Five Congress workers were killed by the police firing in held Kashmir.
- 15 Thousands of Congress (I) workers demonstrated in front of Kashmir House in retaliation to the last days killings of Congress political workers.
- Twenty opposition leaders in a three-day conference, adopted a resolution charging the Congress(I) of launching a concerted attack on opposition-dominated states.
- 16 On the eve of the fourth anniversary of her government, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Premier of India, in an address to the nation said that the country's security was threatened as never before.
- 17 The Congress (I) workers demanded resignation of the Chief Minister of occupied Jammu and Kashmir during a demonstration staged in West Bengal.
- 18 Curfew was imposed in Bangalore because of violent clashes between the Security Forces and the demonstrators.
- 19 As a reaction to the demonstrations in Calcutta and New Delhi against the Chief Minister of occupied Kashmir, a general strike was observed throughout the state.
- 20 In occupied Kashmir, atleast eighty-three persons were killed in clashes between Congress (I) and the police.
- 21 Addressing to National Integration Conference, Mrs. Indira Gandhi declined to hold talks with the Sikh 'extremists'.
- The Union Government declared the Mizo National Liberation Army and its allied institutions as unlawful.
- 22 It was reported that India was to buy the latest Soviet tanks, fighter planers and surface-to-air missiles at a very low price.

- January 23* In Chittagong hill tracts, about fourteen Border Security Forces personnel were killed in a clash with the Bangladesh Army troops.
- In fresh clashes in occupied Kashmir between the police and the Congress(I) workers, about two hundred persons were injured.
- 25* A meeting took place between the Indian Premier and the Chief Minister of occupied Kashmir.
- The Akali Dal leaders agreed on an eight-point action plan in a meeting held at Amritsar, East Punjab.
- 27* In order to press their demands, the Akali Dal called for a general strike in East Punjab on February 8 and stage a protest demonstration on February 27 outside the Indian Parliament.
- About one thousand farmers were arrested in Karnataka, when they tried to block the traffic.
- 28* Dr. Farooq Abdullah, Chief Minister of occupied Kashmir won a vote of confidence in the State Assembly.
- Four railway stations were set ablaze in renewed violence in East Punjab.
- 29* The police arrested about one hundred Muslim fundamentalists in occupied Kashmir.
- 31* A general strike was observed in Bombay under the supervision of the opposition parties. The police arrested six thousand persons on this occasion.
- February 5* An organization known as 'Kashmir Liberation Army' kidnapped an Indian diplomat in Birmingham for the release of three Kashmiri freedom fighters imprisoned for the last eight years without trial. (The diplomat was later killed).
- 9* The Amnesty International appealed to the Union Government to disallow the execution of the Kashmiri freedom fighter, Maqbool Butt.
- 10* The Indian Supreme Court rejected the application for the stay of execution of Maqbool Butt.
- 11* Maqbool Butt, the Kashmiri 'extremist' leader was executed in New Delhi.

- February 14* At least twelve persons were killed and more than one hundred and fifty injured in a clash between the Sikhs and Hindus in East Punjab.
- 16 India and Bangladesh agreed to establish observation posts at three points for the interim share of Tista Waters.
- A general strike was observed in the occupied Jammu and Kashmir in protest against the execution of Maqbool Butt, the 'extremist' Kashmiri leader.
- 18 Mrs. Indira Gandhi decided to send an inquiry team to East Punjab, where at least nineteen persons had been killed because of communal clashes.
- 21 At least nine persons were killed in clashes in East Punjab during Hindu-Sikh clashes.
- 24 Mrs. Indira Gandhi constituted a committee comprising of senior officials to deal with the law and order situation in East Punjab.
- 27 A number of prominent Sikh leaders were arrested in East Punjab for having copies of the Indian Constitution in response to the decision of the Akali Dal.
- 28 Mrs. Indira Gandhi urged the political parties to rise above political considerations to face the grave situation confronting India.
- March 1* Mrs. Indira Gandhi, while addressing the Lok Sabha expressed grave concern over the secessionist activities and . . . forces in occupied Jammu and Kashmir.
- 4 As a result of continued violences, three districts of East Punjab *viz.*, Gurdaspur, Amritsar and Kapurthala were declared as 'disturbed areas' by the Armed Forces.
- 5 The Soviet Defence Minister, Marshal Dmitri Ustinov held talks with Mrs. Indira Gandhi in New Delhi.
- Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, in a press statement said that the Indian Constitution was imposed without popular support and against the wishes of the minorities.
- 8 Curfew was lifted from all the districts of East Punjab.
- 9 The talks between the Soviet Defence Minister and Mrs. Indira Gandhi, concluded at an agreement on massive aid supply.

The data used for various countries has been taken from the International Labour Organization (ILO) Year Books of Labour Statistics, which enlist the economically active population by age and sex groups for all countries as reported by the Census or Labour Force Surveys.<sup>3</sup> Although the figures reported by different countries are not directly comparable as the biases involved would be different, but still the differences in biases for the same country over the years would be far less than among countries, and assuming the biases (for each country) to be constant over time, the trends in participation rates can be traced out. In order to reduce the biases involved, effort has been made wherever possible to keep the figures consistent over time, by using either the Census figures for a country or Labour Force Survey figures, in this way mixing of data from two sources for any country was avoided. Here it would be appropriate to mention that we have ignored the biases which exist due to differences in definitions of concepts and methods of enumeration adopted by various countries. The trends have been traced out over a period of twenty years, from 1961 to 1981.

## II. TRENDS IN PARTICIPATION RATES

For tracing out the trends we need information of participation rates for at least two points in time. The points taken are the ones which correspond to the usual Census years, that is, 1961, 1971 and 1981. Additionally, 1975 data from a special survey by ILO has also been incorporated. The following sub-sections illustrate that the trends of overall activity rates are not uniform and broad differences exist between South Asian and Industrial countries of the West. Here it won't be out of place to mention that Long in his pioneering study found the trends to be broadly similar among countries. According to him the off-setting movements in the trends of male and female activity rates kept the overall activity rates more or less stable. He explained that increased economic activity of women enabled younger members to invest in education and older in early retirement. The stability of labour force as a whole with rising income was explained by increased leisure in the form of reduced working week rather than direct withdrawals of members.

- March 10* Indian Government expelled a Soviet diplomat on charges of espionage.
- 11* The Janata Party Executive demanded an immediate withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan and urged the Soviet Union and the United States.
- 15* About seven hundred persons were arrested in Assam during a protest demonstration against immigrants from Nepal and Bangladesh.
- Sardar Harchand Singh Longowal announced that to boycott the by-elections for the Lok Sabha in East Punjab.
- 21* Curfew was imposed in parts of Calcutta due to communal clashes.
- 22* The Defence Ministry, in its annual report stated that the country's Ordnance Factories had increased their production by over 10.5 per cent, i.e., from rupees 787 crore during 1981-82 to rupees 869 crore in 1982-83.
- 29* Because of ethnic violence, the members of the Indian Parliament called upon the Indian Army to protect the minority Tamil population on the island.
- The Congress(I) won forty-three out of the seventy-two seats in the Rajya Sabha bi-annual elections.
- 30* Leaders of the major opposition parties appealed to Mrs. Indira Gandhi to begin talks aimed at halting Hindu-Sikh Strife in the East Punjab.
- April 1* About six persons were killed in the continuing violence in East Punjab.
- 2* A two-day curfew was imposed in Amritsar, East Punjab, due to growing tension between Sikhs and the Hindus after the murder of a Hindu politician.
- 3* In widespread rioting in East Punjab, sixteen persons were killed all more than two hundred injured following the assassination of another Hindu politician.
- 4* A militant group of Sikhs in East Punjab threatened to kill one Indian VIP every day until the government lifts the ban imposed on the All-India Sikh Students Federation.
- 5* In order to stop Sikh militants to flee across the border, an Indian Army Unit was stationed along a 12.5 km. 'vulnerable' stretch of the East Punjab's border with Pakistan.



- April 6 Mrs. Indira Gandhi postponed her tour to Egypt and Algeria on account of unrest in East Punjab.

According to reports, India began work on important programmes related to the manufacture of light aircraft and sophisticated guided missiles.

- 7 Mrs. Indira Gandhi arrived in Libya at the start of a North African tour.

- 8 It was reported that India had signed a satellite launching accord with the Soviet Union.

A Sikh was shot dead by a gunman and seven Hindus were injured in two separate incidents of communal clashes in Bhatinda, East Punjab.

- 11 The first Indian spaceman, Rakesh Sharma, returned to earth alongwith two Soviet cosmonauts after a week aboard the orbiting space station *Salyut-7*.

- 12 Two persons were killed and a number of others were injured by police firing on demonstrators in Tamil Nadu.

About ten thousand Sikhs participated in a protest march in Amritsar, East Punjab at the beginning of their new year.

- 16 In East Punjab, curfew was imposed on four districts on account of threats of demonstrations against the arrest of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale's brother.

In a major crackdown on the defunct All-India Sikh Students Federation, the security forces arrested about one hundred and sixty agitators.

- 18 Chandigarh, East Punjab was placed under curfew due to violent clashes between Hindus and the Sikhs.

- 19 The opposition benches in the Lok Sabha staged a walkout over the demand for a categorical statement from the Indian Defence Ministry on the issue of a Pakistani civilian aircraft which landed at an abandoned airstrip near Pathankot on April 18.

The Ameer of Qatar signed a five-year accord on economic and technical cooperation with India.

- April 19 About seven persons were killed and a number of others injured in a series of attacks by Sikh agitators in East Punjab.
- 21 According to reports, seven leading members of the Bhindranwale's group sought asylum in England.
- 23 Mrs. Indira Gandhi, in a meeting in Himachal Pradesh said that her Government had conclusive proof of super power involvement in the disturbances in East Punjab.
- Six persons were shot dead in Ferozepur, East Punjab in a gunbattle between the Indian Security Forces and armed men.
- 27 Seven persons were killed in Moga, East Punjab by the Indian Security Forces in an exchange fire with the Sikh agitators.
- May 2 Sardar Harchand Singh Longowal threatened the Union Government that Sikh *Shaheed Jathas* might be used if the Security Forces did not lift their seige of the Sikh shrines in East Punjab.
- 3 About eight thousand supporters of an Indian opposition alliance were arrested in New Delhi, on the occasion of a protest demonstration against Mrs. Indira Gandhi for handling the crisis in East Punjab.
- 4 The police arrested two thousand demonstrators in New Delhi against the Indian Government's handling of the Sikh agitation in East Punjab.
- Five persons were shot dead by police firing during a Hindu-Muslim clash in Karnataka state.
- 5 At the conclusion of the official visit to India, the Japanese Premier, Nakasone, while addressing a press conference, pledged to make his country an 'International State' politically and to help the Third World nations attain self reliance.
- 6 In East Punjab, seven Hindu organizations announced their merger and pledged to take firm action to combat Sikh agitation.
- 11 The authorities in East Punjab ordered the release of about two hundred Sikh militants from the jails.

- May 11* The Union authorities dismissed the state government of Sikkim headed by Narbahadur Bhandari.
- The United States Vice-President, George Bush arrived in New Delhi on his four-day official visit to India.
- 13* Four major cities in East Punjab were placed under curfew after widespread rioting due to the assassination of a newspaper editor.
- 14* The U.S. Vice-President, George Bush during his talks with Mrs. Indira Gandhi in New Delhi declared that U.S. had an abiding interest in India's security and unity.
- 17* The opposition parties demanded resignation from Mrs. Indira Gandhi in case she failed to control violence in East Punjab.
- 21* Mrs. Indira Gandhi visited the Commercial riot-affected areas in Bombay.
- 22* Due to Hindu-Muslim riots, the death toll in six days in Maharashtra rose to one hundred and thirty-two.
- 25* Presidential rule was imposed in Sikkim.
- 26* The Police opened fire to disperse Hindu and Muslim demonstrators in the suburbs of Bombay.
- A militant Hindu politician was killed in East Punjab by Sikh militants.
- The Maharashtra communal riots resulted in two hundred and twenty-one lives.
- 28* Due to police firing one person was shot dead and another injured seriously when some demonstrators staged agitation outside the High Commission of Bangladesh in New Delhi.
- 30* At least eight persons including a local leader of Bharatiya Janata Party was murdered in continuing violence between Sikhs and Hindus in East Punjab.
- One person was killed and one hundred and fifty injured in occupied Jammu and Kashmir during a demonstration staged against the Government.
- June 1* Curfew was clamped in Amritsar after a day long gunbattle between the Sikh militants and the para-military forces in East Punjab.

- June 2** The Army assumed control of the East Punjab.
- 3** The Government declared a thirty-six-hour statewide curfew in East Punjab and suspended rail and road traffic.
- 4** A five-hour gunbattle took place at the Golden Temple, Amritsar between the Security Forces and the Sikh militants.
- 5** At least two hundred people evacuated the Golden Temple Complex, Amritsar, after troops warned the gunmen to leave the Complex.
- The Indian Foreign Minister, P. V. Narsimha Rao met President Soharto in Jakarta.
- 6** The Union Government sent armoured cars into the Golden Temple Complex at Amritsar to crush fierce resistance from the Sikh militants who were fighting a last ditch battle.
- 7** Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale was killed in a battle with the Indian Army for control over the Golden Temple Complex, Amritsar.
- About thirty-two persons were killed in East Punjab in protest riots following the death of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale.
- 8** In several parts of occupied Jammu and Kashmir, troops were called out, following widespread riots in protest against the storming of the Sikh holy shrine at Amritsar.
- Sardar Harchand Singh Longowal, leader of the Akali Dal surrendered to the troops in Golden Temple Complex, Amritsar.
- 9** About four hundred soldiers of the Sikh Regiment rebelled in protest against the attack on Golden Temple Complex at Amritsar.
- 10** More than thirty thousand Sikhs in Britain protested against the Army Action on the Golden Temple in East Punjab.
- 11** After bloody clashes between the Sikh militants and the Indian Security Forces, a twenty four-hour curfew was imposed in Poonch, in occupied Kashmir.
- 13** Dr. Jagjit Singh Chauhan announced the formation of a 'Khalistan' Government in exile in London.
- 14** The Gutwali Railway Station was set on fire in East Punjab by Sikh agitators.

- June 15* Amritsar was reconnected to the outside world after completion of the Army Action on the Golden Temple.
- A general strike was observed in Assam in protest against the Government's failure to solve the problem of illegal immigrants in the state.
- 16* Sikh militants killed a Congress(I) leader in Jullundhur in East Punjab.
- 17* The Sikhs observed a protest day in New Delhi against the Army Action on the Golden Temple Complex, Amritsar.
- 22* Curfew was imposed in Bombay after fresh outbreak of violence.
- 28* The Acting President of the Akali Dal and the SGPC was arrested by the Indian Security Forces in East Punjab.
- 29* The Governor of the East Punjab, Bhairab Bat Pande and the Police Chief, Pritan Singh Bhaider tendered their resignations.
- July 1* An Indian Air Force delegation left from Moscow for discussions on the planned production of Soviet fighter-jets and other military equipments in India.
- 2* The Chief Minister of occupied Jammu and Kashmir, Farooq Abdullah was dismissed and was replaced by G. M. Shah, leader of the opponent group.
- President Junius Jayewardene of Sri Lanka held talks with Mrs. Indira Gandhi on Sri Lanka's ethnic problem in New Delhi.
- 3* Farooq Abdullah, former Chief Minister of occupied Jammu and Kashmir called for a civil disobedience movement from July 13, to get the democratic process restoration in occupied state.
- The Soviet Union offered to supply India, Mig-29 air craft to meet the 'Challenge' posed by the presence of F-16s in Pakistan.
- 4* The Police opened fire on supporters of Farooq Abdullah and G.M. Shah in occupied Jammu and Kashmir.
- 5* The Marxist, Indian West Bengal Government pledged to lend 'full support' to the Sikh demand of Indian troops from the Golden Temple Complex, Amritsar.

- July 5** The police opened fire on the supporters of Dr. Farooq Abdullah in Srinagar, occupied Jammu and Kashmir.
- 7** All security staff members were arrested, who were on duty at the time of departure of the Indian Air Bus in Bombay via Delhi, which was later hijacked to Lahore by the Sikh hijackers.
- 10** The White Paper on the crisis in East Punjab was published.
- 11** Mrs. Indira Gandhi said that Dr. Farooq Abdullah was sacked because he failed to take any action against the Sikh militants in occupied Jammu and Kashmir.
- 13** The All-India Sikh Students Federation accepted responsibility for the hijacking of an Indian Air Bus.
- 14** The Union Government announced to set up special courts to try 'terrorists'.
- 15** Dr. Farooq Abdullah led a protest rally in Srinagar, in occupied Jammu and Kashmir.  
In Amritsar, curfew was imposed for an indefinite period.
- 16** After the failure of peace talks, the Sikh agitators along with one hundred Sikh women were arrested by the Indian Army when they tried to make a protest march to the Golden Temple Complex in Amritsar.
- 19** Mrs. Indira Gandhi took over the External Affairs Ministry herself in an attempt to reshuffle her cabinet.
- 20** Thousands of workers of Dr. Farooq Abdullah's National Conference group took out a procession of the party headquarters, led by Dr. Farooq himself in occupied Jammu and Kashmir.
- 21** The All-India Sikh Students Federation declared a 'War of Liberation' against Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Government.
- 23** MPs of opposition group, in upper and lower houses staged a walkout to register protests over the Government's handling of crisis in East Punjab and the state of occupied Jammu and Kashmir.
- 24** Some secessionist guerrillas tried to attack India's biggest natural gas fields—the Baramura Gas Complex in Tripura state.

**July 26** In the Rajya Sabha, the opposition termed the dismissal of Dr. Farooq Abdullah's Ministry as unconstitutional and undemocratic. The opposition demanded the removal of Jagmohan, Governor of the occupied Jammu and Kashmir.

**27** Indo-Bangladesh Trade Agreement of 1980 was renewed for another three years.

The police opened fire on unruly crowd during anti-Muslim riots in Hyderabad Deccan, in which three persons were killed and about sixty received serious bullet injuries.

**28** A representative World Sikh Convention was held under the auspices of sixty Sikh organizations in New York, which demanded the establishment of an 'independent and sovereign Sikh homeland.'

**29** About four hundred Sikh militants were arrested who were said to have tried to stage a long march from Patiala to the Golden Temple in Amritsar.

**30** Under the states anti-decision law, the question of disqualifying thirteen members of the Legislative Assembly, who withdrew their support for Dr. Farooq Abdullah, was ruled out by the High Court of occupied Jammu and Kashmir.

**31** The speaker of the Legislative Assembly of occupied Jammu and Kashmir was physically thrown out and Congress (I) member, Mangat Ram was elected new speaker of the Assembly.

**August 1** Eight persons were killed and over two hundred injured by the Security Forces' firing on the demonstrators of National Conference workers agitating against the forcible removal of Dr. Farooq Abdullah in occupied Jammu and Kashmir.

The Congress (I) nominated R. Vankataraman, Defence Minister as its candidate for Vice-Presidency.

**2** S. B. Charan was appointed as the new Indian Defence Minister.

Malaysia decided to impose visa requirements for Indian nationals in retaliation to the India's decision for imposing visa restrictions on several Commonwealth countries.

**4** In Himachal Pradesh, while addressing a public meeting, Mrs. Indira Gandhi once again alleged that some 'foreign powers' were trying to create communal hatred in the country.

- August 4 Sharp exchange of notes between India and Sri Lanka were reported on the question of the bomb explosion at Madras airport on August 2, in which twenty-nine persons were said to have been killed.
- 5 Mrs. Indira Gandhi, addressing in Himachal Pradesh, accused the United States for 'encouraging' Indian nationals in foreign countries to demand a separate Sikh state in East Punjab.
- 6 The opposition members staged a walk-out from the Lok Sabha when the Government benches moved the National Security Amendment Bill for the 'terrorist affected area.'
- Mrs. Indira Gandhi denied her last statements about links between Washington and the Sikh militants.
- A closed-door trial of Sikh militants began in three special courts in East Punjab.
- 10 A decision was made by the opposition parties to form a 'national alternative' under the leadership of Sardar Charan Singh, former Prime Minister, to fight the Congress (I) in the next general elections.
- 11 The Sikhs, in East Punjab, declared that until the withdrawal of the Armed troops, repairs of the Golden Temple Complex should not be undertaken.
- 16 The Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, N. T. Rama Rao was deposed and arrested.
- 17 At least eight persons were killed in Hyderabad (Deccan) in a clash between the supporters of N.T. Rama Rao and the police.
- 18 Mrs. Indira Gandhi disclosed in the Parliament that India was the only developing country which had the technological capability to design, construct and operate nuclear power sectors.
- 19 In order to prove the majority in the Assembly in favour of N. T. Rama Rao, about one hundred and sixty-five parliamentarians left Andhra Pradesh for New Delhi as a protest against the undemocratic step taken by the ex-Chief Minister.



- August 21** Mrs. Indira Gandhi, while addressing the Parliament denied a hand in the dismissal of N. T. Rama Rao and his Ministry in Andhra Pradesh.
- 22** Ramasawami Venkataraman, a former Defence Minister was elected India's eighth Vice-President.
- In New Delhi, a huge rally was held in support of N.T. Rama Rao, the sacked Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.
- 23** A bill was passed by the Indian Parliament to further amend the constitution in order to extend Presidential rule for two more years in East Punjab.
- 24** An Indian aircraft Boeing 737 was hijacked from Singapur to Lahore and Karachi, which later left for an unknown destination.
- 25** The hijackers of the Indian aircraft surrendered to the authorities in the United Arab Emirates.
- As a result of a nation-wide strike organized by the opposition parties in support of N. T. Rama Rao, about thirty persons were injured in the country.
- Mrs. Indira Gandhi told in Lok Sabha, that the Sri Lankan President, Jayewardene expressed his desire to settle the differences between India and Sri Lanka through an Indian mediator, Parthasarthy who could be sent to Sri Lanka at an appropriate time.
- 28** The Government extended direct rule over two border states as a result of the guerrilla attacks in the Manipur state.
- 30** It was reported that about forty thousand Sikhs arrived in Amritsar for participation in the World Sikh Convention.
- September 1** Narasimha Rao, Home Minister, outlined the terms for resuming negotiations with the Akali Dal and called on the Sikhs to denounce separatism.
- 2** The World Sikh Convention was held in Amritsar.
- The Seven Sikh hijackers were returned to India, who had hijacked an Indian aircraft to Dubai.
- 3** In New Delhi, a statement was issued by U.S. Embassy that the Sikh hijackers returned from Dubai would be tried but would not be given death sentence.

TABLE I  
Trends in Activity Rates: from 1961 to 1981

Countries	Total						Male			Female		
	1961	1971	1975	1981	1961	1971	1975	1981	1961	1971	1975	1981
<b>South Asian Countries</b>												
Bangladesh	34.3	—	34.4	—	56.2	—	55.3	—	10.8	—	12.1	—
India	43.0	—	39.2	—	57.1	—	51.3	—	27.9	—	26.2	—
Pakistan	33.5	—	27.8	31.0	55.7	—	48.6	52.3	8.8	—	5.7	7.9
Nepal	45.8	42.0	48.3	—	55.3	59.0	58.1	—	36.5	24.7	—	—
Sri Lanka	32.9	34.8	37.9	37.3	49.3	49.9	49.8	53.1	14.1	18.8	20.6	21.2
Total	37.5	38.4	37.5	34.2	54.8	54.5	52.6	52.7	19.6	21.8	20.6	14.6
<b>Industrial Countries</b>												
Australia	—	41.8	42.7	45.9	—	56.8	57.8	57.4	—	26.7	27.3	34.5
Canada	35.7	40.9	41.8	49.5	51.3	53.4	56.2	59.3	19.7	28.3	27.5	39.9
France	—	41.6	42.2	43.4	—	55.9	55.6	53.8	—	28.0	29.3	33.5
Germany (F.R.)	—	43.7	45.3	46.0	—	58.9	60.1	59.1	—	29.9	31.7	33.9
United Kingdom	46.7	46.3	46.2	42.5	65.3	60.6	60.0	54.7	29.3	32.9	33.1	29.6
United States	—	40.8	44.2	48.5	—	52.7	56.3	57.3	—	29.5	32.7	40.3
Total	41.2	42.5	43.7	46.0	58.3	56.4	57.7	56.9	24.5	29.2	30.3	35.3

Note: For details of specific country data refer to statistical notes in the Appendix.

—Signifies non-availability of data throughout except for table on page 25 where it signifies zero value.

- September 6** P. S. Majitha, the Convener of Akali Dal, rejected the terms outlined by the Indian Government for resumption of negotiations for settling East Punjab crisis.
- 9** Widespread Communal violence broke-out in Hyderabad (Deccan), where six persons were killed and about one hundred injured.
- 10** Dr. Farooq Abdullah, ex-Chief Minister of occupied Jammu and Kashmir was arrested.
- Sendhwa town, Madhya Pradesh was put under curfew for three days, following communal riots resulting into death of four persons, causing injuries to about thirty persons.
- 13** The Speaker of Andhra Pradesh Legislature resigned.
- In three different incidents of violence, ten persons were killed and about sixty were injured by the Sikh militants.
- With regard to the disputed border issue, a top level delegation of India left for China for talks.
- 15** Throughout Andhra Pradesh, a full-day strike was organized at the call of the deposed Chief Minister, N.T. Rama Rao, to protest against the delay of a crucial vote in the Assembly.
- Mrs. Indira Gandhi, during the course of her address to soldiers in Bangalore said that India's armed forces were ready to meet any threat from outside and that top priority was being given to defence preparedness.
- 16** N.T. Rama Rao was reinstated as Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.
- 17** Due to Hindu-Muslim clashes, curfew was reinforced in Hyderabad (Deccan).
- 22** Mrs. Indira Gandhi speaking at a dinner in honour of the Vietnamese delegation, urged the Vietnam's leadership to solve the Kampuchean problem on the basis of the Non-Aligned Conference resolution.
- 24** Curfew was clamped in different parts of Andhra Pradesh following serious clashes between the supporters of the Chief Minister and the Congress (I) workers.
- 26** At the U.N. headquarters, Ram Nivas Mirdha, Minister for Foreign Affairs conferred with his Soviet counter-part.

- September 27* President, Giani Zail Singh formally handed back the Golden Temple administration to the Sikhs.
- 28 The Indian Minister of States for External Relations, Ram Mirdha, strongly criticized Sri Lanka regarding Tamil question, in the U.N. General Assembly.
- October 1* In Srinagar, occupied Jammu and Kashmir one person was killed and two injured by the police firing.
- In an attempt to hoist the 'Khalistan' flag on the building of the Golden Temple Complex, the Sikhs militants were arrested by the Security Forces and most of them were driven out of the Complex.
- 3 The police laid formal charges of sedition against the Sikhs arrested on October 1.
- 5 The Indian Government rejected allegations made by Sri Lanka regarding supply arms to Tamil extremists.
- 7 In Karnataka, curfew was reimposed due to incidents of violence.
- 8 The militant World Hindu Forum, (Vishwa Hindu Parishad), began a 130 km. march in support of the demand for the 'liberation' of mosques in Uttar Pradesh which the *Parishad* claimed were Hindu temples originally.
- 10 In Maharashtra, the city of Belgaun name in the fold of Hindu-Muslim clashes.
- 13 Due to violation of the ban regarding public gathering, the former Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, Bhaskora Rao was arrested alongwith two hundred supporters.
- 21 The Congress(S), Lok Dal and Democratic Socialist Party decided to form a new political party called Mazdoor Kisan Party, led by former Lok Dal Chief, Chandhi Charan Singh.
- In Bihar, two persons were killed and twenty-five injured as a result of police firing on demonstrators.
- 26 At least twenty-six persons were injured by bomb explosions in East Punjab and New Delhi.
- 27 At least seven hundred and nine members of Congress(I) were arrested in Tripura state on the occasion of a-day long strike.

- October 31** Mrs. Indira Gandhi was assassinated by three members of her Security Guards and Rajiv Gandhi was sworn in as the new Prime Minister.
- As a reaction to the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi, large scale rioting occurred in the country and most of the cities were placed under curfew. At least fifteen Sikhs were injured during communal clashes.
- November 1** In New Delhi, curfew was imposed for twenty-four hours as one hundred and fifteen persons had been killed in a country-wide violence following the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi.
- In separate messages, the U.S., the Soviet Union and China, expressed grief and sorrow over the death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi to the new Premier of India.
- 2** Death toll rose to five hundred causing injuries to thousands of people throughout the country in spite of imposition of curfew in almost all the big cities.
- 3** Mrs. Indira Gandhi was cremated in Delhi. The cremation ceremony was attended by leaders of ninety-four nations of the world.
- George Shultz, U.S. Secretary of State complained to the Soviet Prime Minister, Tikhonov in New Delhi, that U.S. was concerned over Soviet media reports charging America in the involvement in Mrs. Gandhi's assassination.
- 4** Rajiv Gandhi, the new Premier included nine more cabinet ministers and thirty-two other junior colleagues.
- 7** The Chief Sikh Priest stated in Amritsar that despite large scale murders of Sikhs in the country, the Sikh community had not retaliated and further said that slaughter of thousands of Sikhs was forcing the community to choose between their country and their religion.
- 8** The Chief Security Adviser tendered his resignation.
- 12** Rajiv Gandhi, the new Premier declared his desire to promote friendly relations with Pakistan.
- 17** K.D. Sharma, the Indian Ambassador to Pakistan left Islamabad for consultations with Rajiv Gandhi, in New Delhi.

- November 18* Dr. Farooq Abdullah demanded immediate dissolution of the State Assembly and holding of elections, along with the Lok Sabha polls.
- 19 Rajiv Gandhi, commenting on the assassination of his mother, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, said that it was part of a conspiracy to break up the country.
- 20 Rajiv Gandhi warned the armed forces to be prepared to meet any eventuality and stated that sophisticated weapons being acquired by Pakistan might be used against India.
- The opposition parties reached an agreement in principle, on sharing seats in the forthcoming elections.
- 25 Y.B. Chavan, a leader of the Congress (I) died in New Delhi.
- 27 Britain's Deputy High Commissioner was shot dead in Bombay.
- 30 In a meeting with the U.S. Senators in New Delhi, the Chief of Indian Foreign Policy Committee expressed concern over the supply of arms to Pakistan.
- The Union Government talks with the Sikh leaders as part of its efforts at reconciliation with the Sikh community.
- December 2* One more person was arrested in New Delhi for involvement in Mrs. Indira Gandhi's assassination.
- 3 Poison gas leak in Bhopal pesticide factory killed four hundred people and thousands were hospitalized.
- 6 An American executive of Union Carbide was disallowed by the police to enter the pesticide plant in Bhopal where a gas leak killed more than two thousand people.
- 7 Warren Anderson, Carbide Chairman was arrested on five charges including criminal negligence. He was released on bail.
- One person died and another was injured in continuing Hindu-Sikh clashes in Srinagar in occupied Jammu and Kashmir.
- 12 Thousands of people fled from Bhopal fearing another leak of poisonous gas from the Union Carbide plant.
- 23 More people (about one lakh) fled from Bhopal as scientists made plans to neutralise the lethal gas which killed more than two thousand people.

- December 18* People started returning to Bhopal after the gas was successfully neutralized.
- India, while complaining to the International Aviation Organization, alleged that the Sikh hijackers of the Indian aircraft were given a pistol while the plane was stranded at Lahore.
- 23 The authorities refused to renew the licence of the Unión Carbide pesticide plant in Bhopal.
- 24 Polling began for the general elections and some stray acts of violence were reported.
- 25 The Indian Oil tanker was bombed in the Gulf.
- 28 Madhya Pradesh Labour Minister resigned over the horrible incident of Bhopal Carbide Plant.
- 29 The Congress (I) gained a more than seventy-five per cent majority in the Lower House of Parliament in the General Elections.
- After unprecedented victory of the Congress(I) Rajiv Gandhi in the first press conference stressed the need for national unity and good neighbourly relations with the countries of the region.
- 30 Dr. Farooq Abdullah's National Conference won three Lok Sabha seats in occupied Jammu and Kashmir.
- 31 Rajiv Gandhi was sworn in as Prime Minister and a new Cabinet was formed in which Pranab Mukherjee was replaced as Finance Minister by Vishwanath Pratap Singh, one of Rajiv's closest aides.

#### NEPAL

- November 2* Two leaders and about seventy workers of the banned Congress Party were arrested.
- 7 Sir Edmund Hillary was appointed New Zealand's Ambassador to Nepal.

#### SRI LANKA

- January 6* A dissident group of Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) declared to form a rival party.

- January 17* Nine minority Tamil University students were kidnapped by the police. The students were on a hunger strike in the troubled northern District of Jaffna.
- 20 State of emergency was extended for one more month throughout the country.
- 28 Ten persons were killed and twenty-five others were injured in a clash between the police and the Tamil separatists in Jaffna.
- 30 The Prime Minister called upon the Indian Government to hold joint investigation into allegations about the military training of Tamil separatists in Tamil Nadu.
- April 11* Fifteen persons were killed by troops firing on a crowd in Jaffna who made an attack on a Buddhist Temple.
- 16 The President, Jayewardene in an interview said that India was trying to bully his country over the ethnic crisis between the Sinhalese and the Tamil communities.
- 18 President Jayewardene extended the state of emergency for another one month.
- 27 According to reports, the Government was sending a four thousand strong paramilitary force to the north of the country to launch a major anti-terrorist operation against Tamils.
- May 25* The outlawed New Socialist Party's leader, Vasudeva Nanayakkara surrendered the police.
- 31 The Muslim students took out a procession against the Government's decision, allowing Israel to open an office in the country for . . .
- June 6* An Israeli diplomat arrived in Colombo to lead his country's special interest mission in Sri Lanka.
- 8 The Government imposed censorship on news reports about the presence in Sri Lanka of Israeli advisers on insurgency.
- 9 President Junius Jayewardene, while addressing at the annual session of the United National Party said that the Government did not deviated from its established foreign policy in



allowing Israel to open an interests section at the U.S. Embassy in Colombo.

- June 18** President Jayewardene conferred with U.S. President, Ronald Reagan in Washington.
- 21** President Junius Jayewardene, in an interview in Washington accused India of harbouring Tamil terrorists trying to set up an independent state in Sri Lanka.
- 22** Sri Lankan and the World Bank Officials confirmed in Paris, that a group of Western nations had promised an increase in aid for the coming year for the country.
- July 5** Lahith Athulathmudali, National Minister, while addressing the Parliament said that Sri Lanka had not sought consultancy services of Israel's *Mosad* secret service.
- August 5** According to reports, the Prime Minister, Ranasinghe Premadasa proposed that India and Sri Lanka should hold a joint inquiry into the bomb explosion at Madras airport which occurred on August 2.
- 7** According to reports an indefinite curfew was imposed on Jaffna District when more than twenty-two suspected Tamil guerrillas were killed when Security Forces carried out a major operation against terrorists in the Tamil dominated northern part of the country.
- 11** The separatist guerrillas killed five soldiers and injured several others on a road near Jaffna District.
- 12** Nineteen persons were killed in three bomb blasts in Jaffna District.
- 13** It was reported that thirty-six terrorists were killed in the Army offensive against terrorists in northern areas of the country.
- 17** China and Sri Lanka signed a protocol on economic and technical cooperation in Beijing.
- 18** President Junius Jayewardene extended state of emergency for another one month throughout the country.
- 24** A protest rally was called in Jaffna District demanding for immediate release of political prisoners.
- September 4** It was alleged by the authorities that the arms and ammunition recovered by Sri Lankan Navy, from a boat used by separatist guerrillas had come from India.

- September 11* In two separate incidents of violence, twenty-five persons including ten soldiers were shot dead by an unidentified gunman.
- October 2* According to official sources in Colombo, it was reported that the Israelis who had been training Sri Lankan police had left the country.
- 8 The Government asked the representatives of the airlines of the USSR (Aeroflot) and Bulgaria to leave the country without defining any reason.
- 22 In Colombo, six persons were killed in a series of bomb blasts.
- 27 The Parliament endorsed a Presidential Order according to which the state of emergency was imposed in the country in May, 1983.
- November 17* The Government accused India of giving training to separatist guerrillas fighting for minority state.
- Tamil separatists blew up a police station in northern part of the country, in which about forty policemen were killed.
- 23 The authorities lifted the nation-wide curfew.
- 29 The Government made an announcement for new emergency measures to counter the threats of the Tamil guerrillas to carry out a serious offensive in the north-eastern parts of the country.
- 30 More than one hundred and ten persons were killed in attacks by Tamil guerrillas and ensuing battles with the troops.
- December 3* The Tamil guerrillas attacked an Army camp in which twenty Tamil defender were killed.
- About ninety bodies were found on a road in the north close to the spot where an army jeep was ambushed by Tamil guerrillas.
- 6 The Government clamped a night curfew on Colombo and ordered troops to shoot troublemakers on sight.
- 7 Tamil separatists attacked two fishing hamlets and troops arrested fifty-six suspected rebels in the northern part of the country. The troops killed more than one hundred Tamils.

- December 8** The Government ordered forty-two-hour curfew in northern areas of the country.
- 9** The Security Forces detained about two hundred suspected Tamil separatists during a weekend curfew in the northern part of the country.
- A special U.S. Envoy General Walker, former Deputy Chief CIA, arrived in Colombo to help Government to overcome ethnic crisis.
- 13** The Foreign Minister of the country accused India of helping Tamil rebels.
- 14** An All-parties Conference was convened in Colombo to find political solution for ethnic conflict.
- 26** The Government dropped a controversial plan proposed by President Junius Jayewardene to ease unrest between Sinhalese and Tamils.

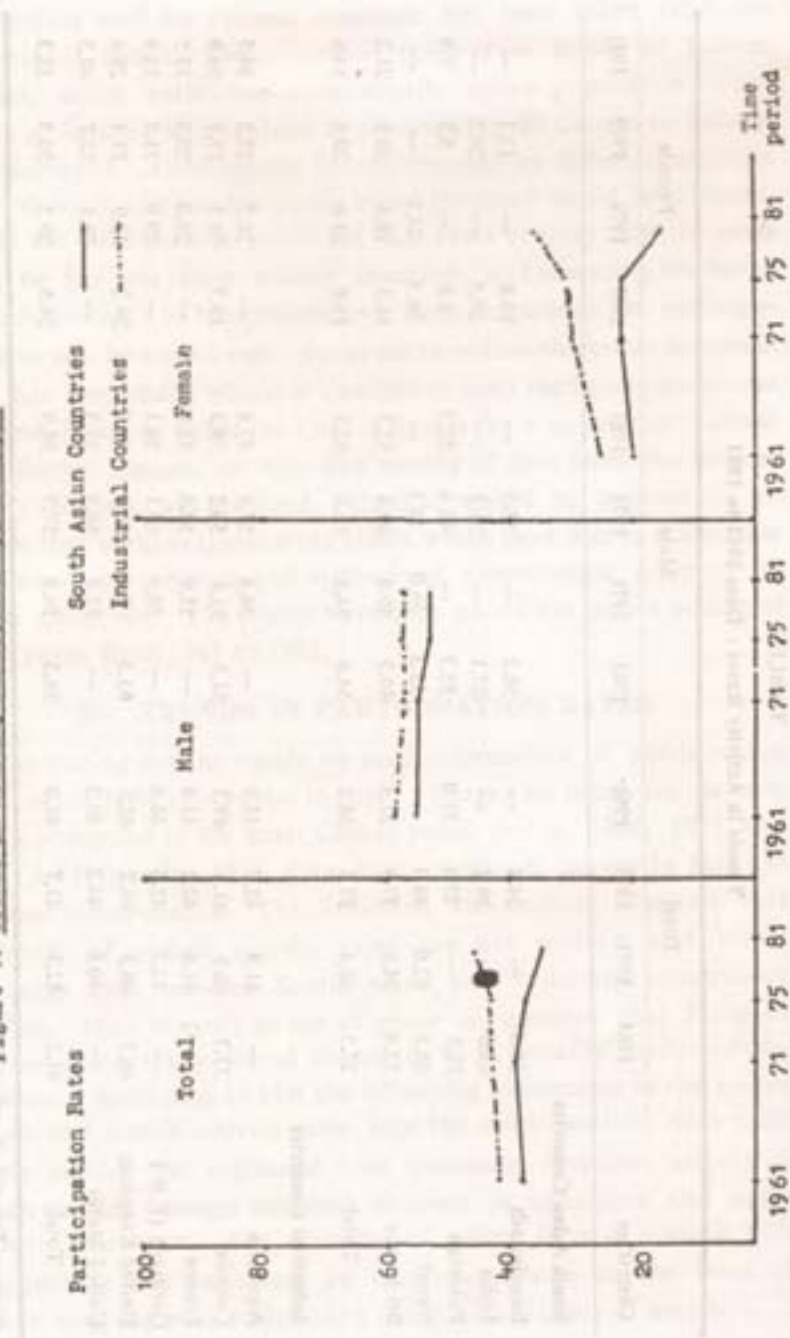
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Figure 1: Trends in Activity Rates: from 1961 to 1981



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(A Politico-economic Analysis)

### 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 complete 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.

## II.1 Overall Activity Rates

Table 1 presents the overall trends in activity rates for the chosen countries. Looking at the overall activity rates we find no evidence to support Long's hypothesis of stability in general. The pattern is fairly varied. All industrial countries (except United Kingdom) register a distinct rise in overall activity rates, while in South Asian Region only Sri Lanka exhibits rising trends. Bangladesh and India show decline in participation and Pakistan and Nepal present variations in trends over the time period under consideration. In absolute terms, from Asian countries the highest activity rates are for Nepal and lowest are for Pakistan, while among the industrial countries the differences in absolute rates is not very marked. Comparing the data for the two groups of countries, the maximum difference (the highest minus lowest rate from 1961 to 1981) is that of 11.8 per cent. Summing up the overall activity rates, clearly the trends are markedly different for the two groups of countries. For developed economies we find a rising trend while for developing economies of South Asia the trend is distinctly declining.

## II.2 Male Activity Rates

For male activity rates no uniform pattern is visible for either group of countries. In South Asia, Pakistan and Nepal show varied trends while Bangladesh and India have a declining trend, and in Sri Lanka male participation is on the increase. In the industrial world, Canada and United States register rising male participation while France and United Kingdom present declining trend. Australia and Germany show variations, that is, slight increase for male participation around 1975 which declines again in 1981. In absolute terms for Asian countries, the highest activity rate is for Nepal and lowest for Sri Lanka, while among industrial countries the United Kingdom's figures are slightly higher than other countries. Comparing the two groups of countries, the maximum difference is of 5.7 per cent (nearly half of the corresponding figure reported for overall rates).



education, health and social well-being have been small in comparison with those provided for economic and industrial development. The effort for human resource development has fallen short not only in range and intensity, but also in the quality of management and in innovation. Equally, in health, education and other social services, the needs of the mass of the people came to be given, for whatever reason, the second rather than the first place. It is not that the choice of priorities and strategies in India's five-year plans have led to spectacular economic progress. On several fronts, the best claim that can be made is one of steady advance at a moderate pace, but in its nature unevenly distributed and one marked by widening disparities between different regions and different sections of the population. Under the dispensations thus far, the nation as a whole has failed to advance together. Under any circumstances, this would have been a difficult goal to reach, but doubtless the pattern of development followed accentuated old inequalities and strengthened forces making for new inequalities.

Human resources development covers a wide spectrum of activities but, in one form or another, education lies close to the core. In the area of education, if progress in higher education and in the development of scientific and technical manpower represent one side of the coin, widespread illiteracy, and large disparities in education between boys and girls, between rural and urban areas, and between the different sections of the population and different regions represent the other side. Earlier starts or larger opportunities in education are often the most fundamental element in differences in the pace of development. Within national societies, no less than between nations, in the ordinary course, differences in levels of development tend to widen and perpetuate themselves. Only radical changes in the scheme of priorities and the pattern of development, accompanied by almost superhuman efforts at the grassroots, can help reverse trends set in the past.

Human resources development is a pervasive concept. It is an essential component in every attempt to improve the quality of management and administration. There are, however, at least three

### II.3. Female Activity Rates

Female activity rates clearly portray a rising trend for the majority of countries. For South Asian group, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka show increase in female market activity. Similarly in the group of developed countries except for Canada and United Kingdom, all countries show rise in female market activity. In absolute terms for Asian countries the highest rates are for Nepal and lowest for Pakistan. The differences in absolute terms among activity rates of developed countries are not as significant as they are for Asian economies. The maximum difference among the rates for the two group of countries is 20.7 per cent, which is nearly double the difference in overall participation rates and four times the difference in male participation rates. The particularly low female market activity in South Asian countries can be explained by low female education and qualifications, comparatively greater domestic responsibilities and social and traditional barriers to female employment.

Detailed study of the trends establishes the fact that the changes in female activity rates over time are the gearing agent for trends in overall activity rates. In other words, the rise in female activity rates for developed countries has been more than enough to accommodate the fall in male activity rates, hence the rising trend for overall activity rates. Similarly for South Asian countries the fall in female activity rates combined with slight decrease in male activity rates is the significant cause of declining trend in overall activity rates.

### III. PARTICIPATION RATES BY SEX AND AGE GROUPS

This section presents the trends in age specific activity rates. Age specific participation rates would help to point out the areas where effort should be concentrated on eliminating the differences in activity rates among developed and developing countries. For an indepth analysis of activity rates by sex and age groups we look at the market behaviour of young age groups, prime-aged groups

and old age groups. Age specific activity rates have been given in the Appendix Table 1A which have been used for the explanation in this section.

### III.1. Young Age Group

Young age groups in population and labour force consist of childrens, teenagers and youth. In other words we would look at the age groups of less than 15 years, 15 to 19 and 20 to 24 years and their activity rates.

The participation of children in the labour market is virtually nil for industrial countries while it is more or less constant around 6 per cent for Asian countries, except for sharp rise in 1981 due to reportedly substantial increase in child labour in Pakistan. This is partially the result of relative poverty and low education levels in South Asia. Another noticable point about child labour in Asia is that the market activity of boys is much higher as compared to that of girls. Of all the Asian countries the activity rates of children are highest for Pakistan.

Looking at the age group of 15-19 we find a uniformly declining trend for males and females for the two sets of countries. This declining trend could be the result of increased educational and training facilities for this age group since 1961. The overall participation of this group in developed countries is higher throughout due to the higher activity rates of females. In fact for industrial countries the sharp decline in male participation has been to some extent compensated by the slow decline in female activity rates. The male activity rates of this group are much higher in Asian countries (the difference between Western and Asian countries is of 9.6 per cent in 1981). The low female market activity of this group in Asian countries which is roughly half of their male counterparts can be explained by the social barriers of entry to labour market for unmarried females.

The age group of 20 to 24 in developed countries exhibit distinctly rising participation, mainly due to increased female

Figure 2: Trends in Activity Rates: Less than 15 Years Age Group.

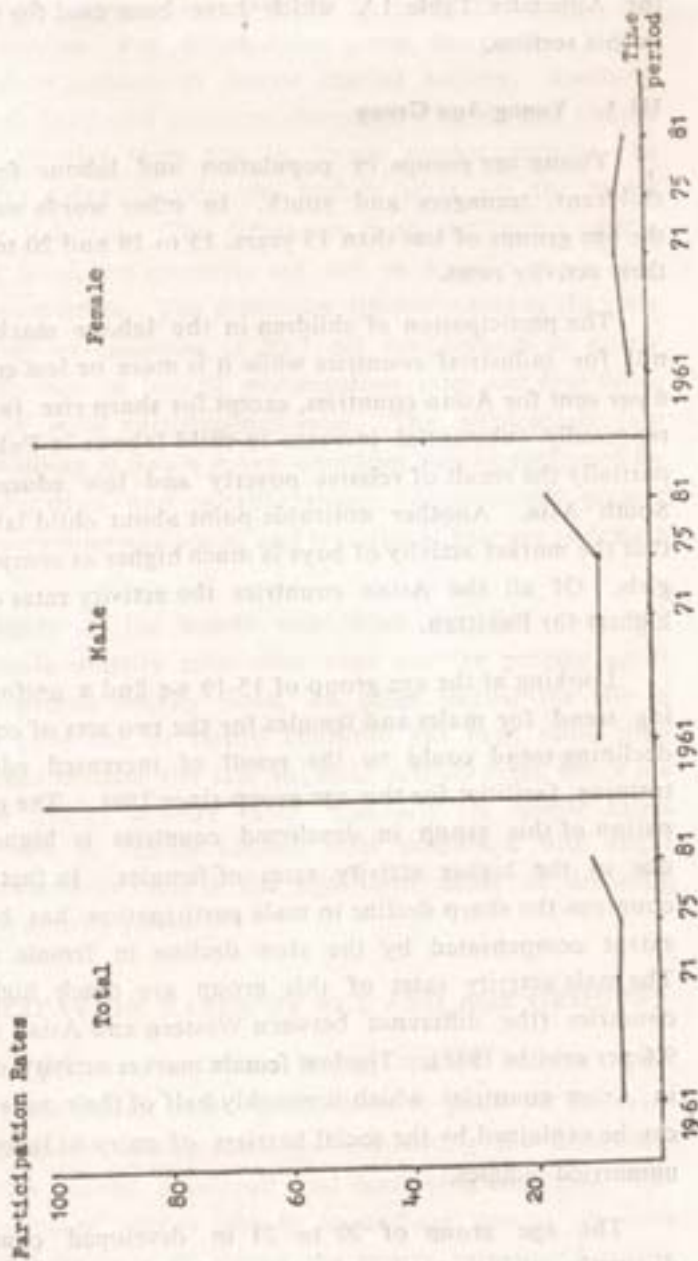
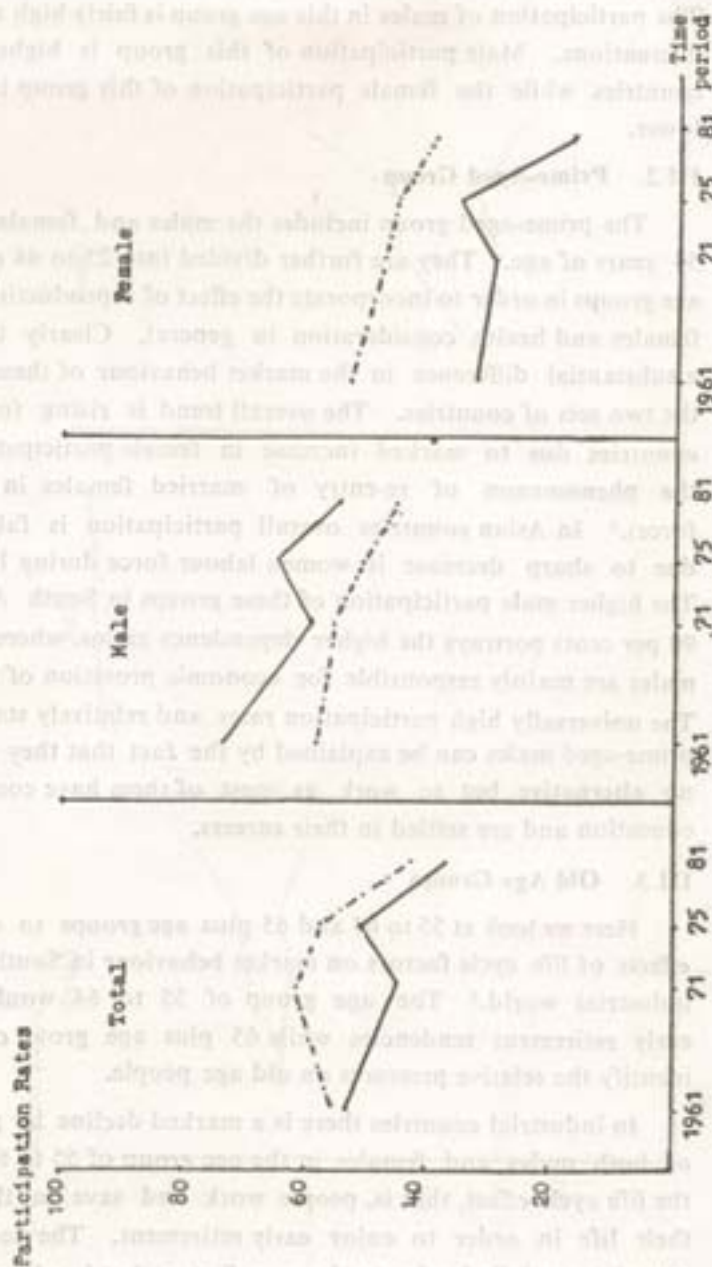


Figure 3: Trends in Activity Rates: 15 to 19 Years Age Group



participation from 49.5 per cent to 71.2 per cent during 1961 to 1981. The participation of males in this age group is fairly high and without fluctuations. Male participation of this group is higher in Asian countries while the female participation of this group is very much lower.

### III.2. Prime-Aged Group

The prime-aged group includes the males and females of 25 to 54 years of age. They are further divided into 25 to 44 and 45 to 54 age groups in order to incorporate the effect of reproduction cycles for females and health consideration in general. Clearly there is not a substantial difference in the market behaviour of these groups for the two sets of countries. The overall trend is rising for industrial countries due to marked increase in female participation (that is, the phenomenon of re-entry of married females in the labour force).<sup>4</sup> In Asian countries overall participation is falling mainly due to sharp decrease in women labour force during 1975 to 1981. The higher male participation of these groups in South Asia (nearly 90 per cent) portrays the higher dependency ratios, where prime-aged males are mainly responsible for economic provision of the families. The universally high participation rates and relatively stable trend of prime-aged males can be explained by the fact that they usually have no alternative but to work as most of them have completed their education and are settled in their careers.

### III.3. Old Age Groups

Here we look at 55 to 64 and 65 plus age groups to examine the effects of life cycle factors on market behaviour in South Asian and industrial world.<sup>5</sup> The age group of 55 to 64 would show the early retirement tendencies while 65 plus age group could help to identify the relative pressures on old age people.

In industrial countries there is a marked decline in participation of both males and females in the age group of 55 to 64, exhibiting the life cycle effect, that is, people work and save in the prime of their life in order to enjoy early retirement. The declining trend can also partially be due to the age factor, that is, older people tend



Figure 6: Trends in Activity Rates 5 to 5+ Years Age Group

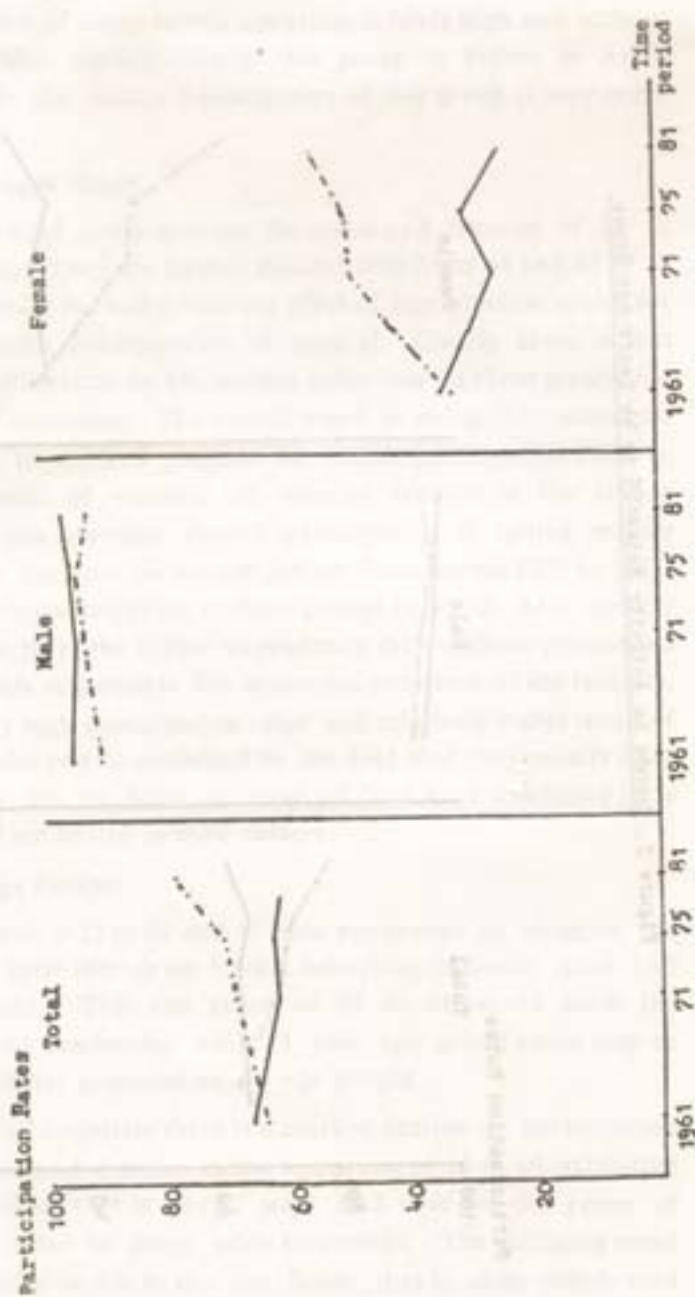




Figure 7: Trends in Activity Rates: 15 to 64 Years Age Group

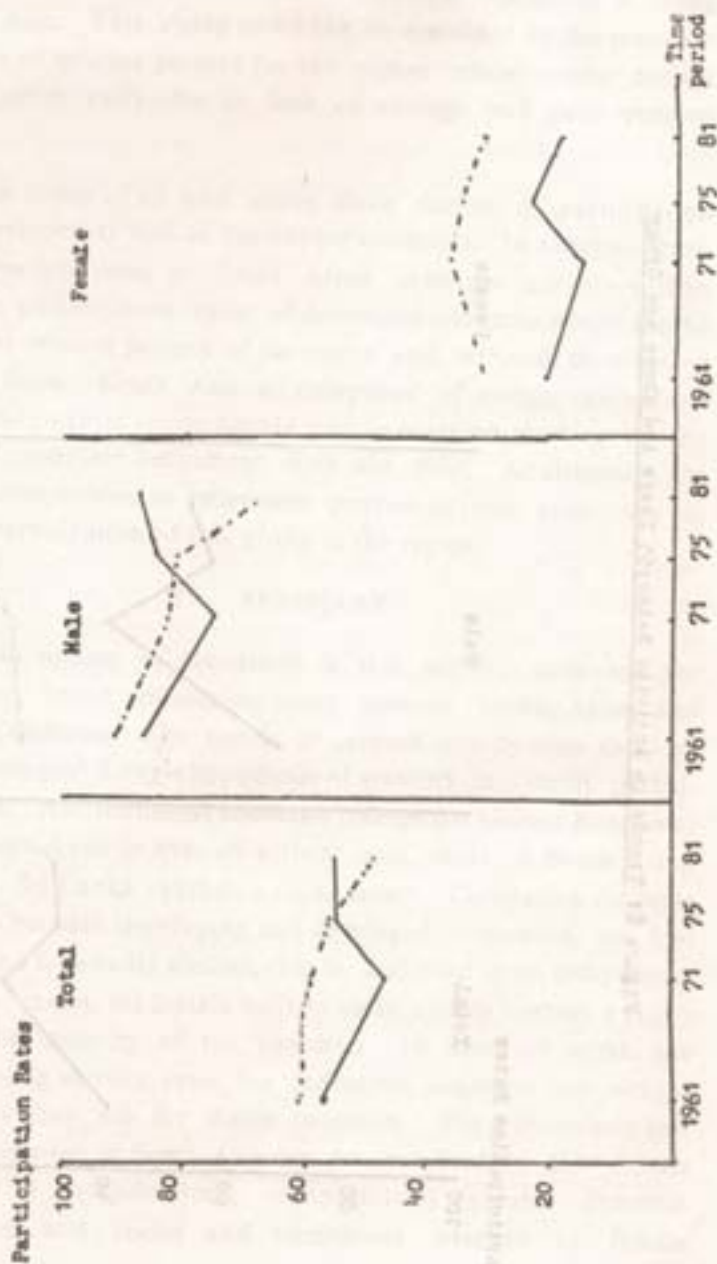
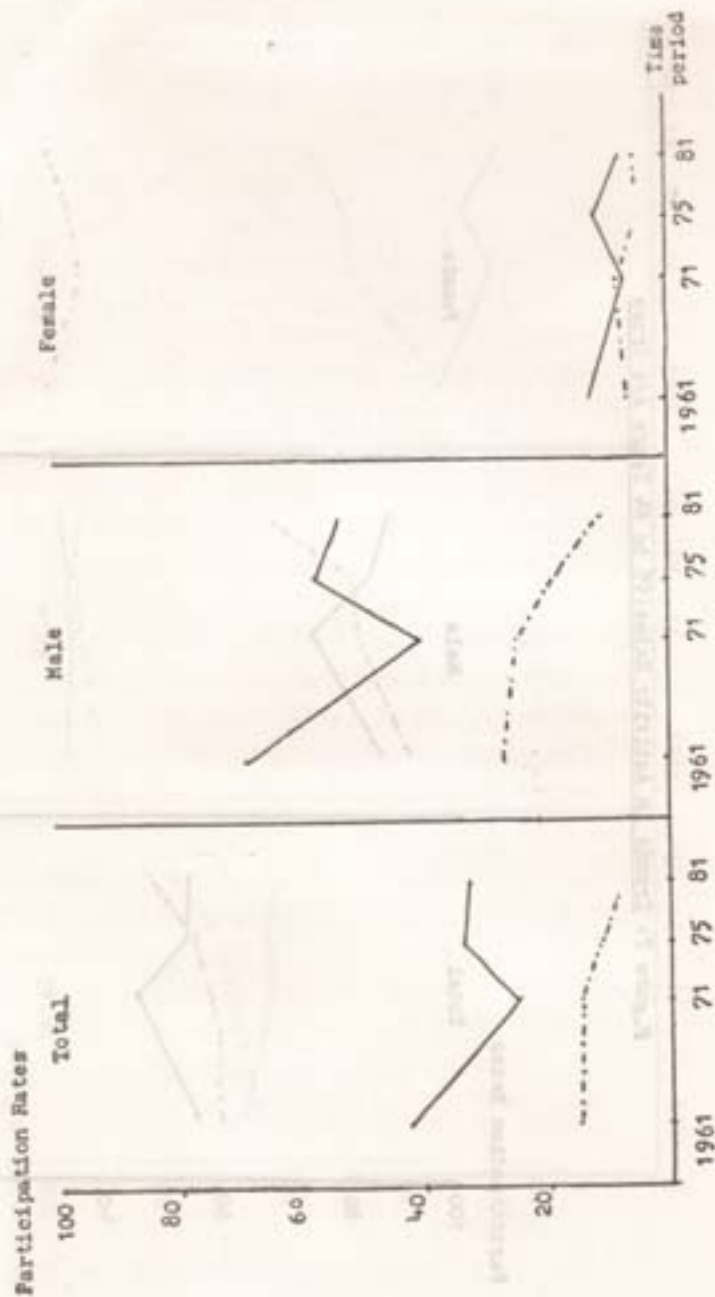


Figure 6: Trends in Activity Rates: 65 Years and above Age Group



to work less due to health reasons. Contrary to the trend in developed countries the participation of males in this group is rising in South Asia. This rising trend can be explained by the pressures and stresses of relative poverty for the region where people cannot afford to retire early due to lack of savings and poor pension benefits.

The age group of 65 and above show decline in participation rates in developed as well as developing countries. In absolute terms the participation rates of South Asian countries are more than double the participation rates of developed countries which can be explained by relative poverty of the region and sectoral distribution of labour force. South Asia is comprised of mainly agricultural countries and in rural sector people tend to carry on working as the concept of complete retirement does not exist. Additionally the absence of comprehensive retirement provisions also contribute to the higher participation of this group in the region.

#### IV. SUMMARY

The main finding of the study is that activity rates are not uniform and broad differences exist between South Asian and Industrial Countries. The trends in overall activity rates show no evidence to support Long's hypothesis of stability in overall participation rates. All industrial countries (except for United Kingdom) register a distinct rise in over-all activity rates, while in South Asian region only Sri Lanka exhibits a rising trend. Comparing the male activity rates between developing and developed economies, we find that the trend is broadly similar, that is, declining trend everywhere. In contrast to males, the female activity rates clearly portray a rising trend for the majority of the countries. In absolute terms, the difference among activity rates for industrial countries are not as significant as they are for Asian countries. The particularly low female participation in South Asia can be explained by low female education and qualifications, comparatively greater domestic responsibilities and social and traditional barriers to female employment.

vital areas in India in which the tasks of human resources development involve large masses of the population and can only be envisaged as major strategies of national planning. These areas are : productive utilization of rural manpower, development of women; and development of literate rural youth.

Beginning haltingly during the sixties, the problem of rural manpower utilization is now being approached through large-scale efforts like the national rural employment programme, the rural landless employment guarantee programme, and the integrated rural development programme. There is much to be done to improve these programmes and to broaden their scope and perspective from provision of supplementary work to raising the productivity of the entire rural population and achieving the productive use of rural manpower resources at rising levels of skill and income. Nevertheless, the direction of advance has been set and the policy framework and the institutions to give effect to it are available in substantial measure. Similarly, although practical efforts and policies still lag far behind, the need to bring the entire population of women into the mainstream of development and free society of the handicaps and inequities from which women continue to suffer is widely acknowledged. The political and social system has yet to be mobilized and geared to these tasks and all practical plans and concepts in this area continue to be woefully meagre in content. All the same, the essential problems are now better understood than before.

The third vital area of mass action for human resources development concerns that section of the population which may be described as 'literate rural youth'. Broadly, this group comprises men and women in the age group above 15 and below 35 years of age who possess some measure of literacy and education and form an integral but increasingly restless, discontented and explosive part of our vast rural population. The problems presented by this large group have been hitherto assumed under the category of educated unemployed. However, in the main schemes for providing self-employment to educated unemployed youth aimed, to begin with, at graduates and above. The scheme introduced a year ago to provide

Analysis of the young age groups revealed that the participation of children in labour market is virtually nil for industrial countries while it ranged from 6 to 10 per cent in Asian countries during 1961 to 1981. Furthermore, the incidence of child labour was found to be more common for boys. This emphasises the already well known problem of child labour in South Asia which needs to be gradually resolved through extensive educational and training facilities. The 15 to 19 age group exhibit declining trend for the two sets of countries, which could be the result of increased educational and training facilities for this age group since 1961. The youth group, that is, 20 to 24, show rising market activity for all countries, though it is specially noticeable that the female market activity of this age group is very high in industrial countries. There is no particular difference in the market behaviour of prime-aged males though it is noticeable that the female market behaviour of this group shows marked increase for Western countries, portraying re-entry of married women in the labour force, while for Asian countries their participation shows declining trend. The comparison of activity rates for 55 to 64 age group presents a marked decline for both males and females in industrial countries contrary to rising trend in South Asia. For 65 and above age group, although participation is declining in developed as well as developing economies, yet in absolute terms the activity rates in the latter are more than double the rates in the former.

The analysis of activity rates clearly shows that in South Asia the economic responsibilities are mostly born by males, the pressure of responsibilities on them is so enormous that they can't afford to retire till quite late in life. Additionally, it is clear that females market activity is very much less compared to developed countries and policies for utilizing these untapped resources of manpower can be of significant help in the development effort of the region. Moreover, the market behaviour of various population groups in the region points out the importance of devising the manpower strategy in accordance with the changing socio-economic order in the region.



TABLE IA

Trends in Activity Rates by Sex and Age Groups from 1961 to 1981 less than 15 Years Age Group

Countries	Total						Male						Female					
	1961	1971	1975	1981	1961	1971	1975	1981	1961	1971	1975	1981	1961	1971	1975	1981		
<b>South Asian Countries</b>																		
Bangladesh	7.6	—	9.0	—	12.6	—	14.1	—	2.3	—	3.7	—	2.3	—	3.7	—		
India	8.0	4.7	5.9	—	9.4	6.6	5.7	—	6.6	2.6	6.0	—	6.6	2.6	6.0	—		
Pakistan	6.6	—	4.2	18.6	11.1	—	7.1	30.9	1.8	—	1.1	6.3	1.8	—	1.1	6.3		
Nepal	—	14.0	11.8	—	—	17.5	13.0	—	—	10.4	10.5	—	—	10.4	10.5	—		
Sri Lanka	2.1	1.7	1.1	1.7	2.7	2.0	1.7	2.2	1.4	1.3	0.8	1.1	1.4	1.3	0.8	1.1		
Total	6.1	6.8	6.4	10.2	9.0	8.7	8.3	16.6	3.0	4.8	4.4	3.1	3.0	4.8	4.4	3.1		
<b>Industrial Countries</b>																		
Australia	—	—	0.4	—	—	—	0.4	—	—	—	0.4	—	—	—	0.4	—		
Canada	—	—	0.8	—	—	—	1.0	—	—	—	1.0	—	—	—	0.6	—		
France	—	—	0.8	—	—	—	1.0	—	—	—	1.0	—	—	—	0.5	—		
Germany (F. R.)	—	0.4	0.5	—	—	0.4	0.5	—	—	0.4	0.5	—	—	0.4	0.5	—		
United Kingdom	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
United States	—	0.6	0.6	—	—	0.9	0.8	—	—	0.4	0.4	—	—	0.4	0.4	—		
Total	—	0.5	0.6	—	—	0.7	0.7	—	—	0.7	0.7	—	—	0.4	0.5	—		

## 15 to 19 Years Age Group

## Total

## Male

## Female

## Countries

Country	Total			Male			Female		
	1961	1971	1975	1961	1971	1975	1961	1971	1975
<b>South Asian Countries</b>									
Bangladesh	48.4	—	48.1	—	81.1	—	16.8	—	18.1
India	—	36.6	43.0	—	—	55.2	—	15.5	32.1
Pakistan	45.7	—	35.4	41.9	76.7	—	12.6	—	7.4
Nepal	84.7	61.6	80.8	—	91.8	75.7	77.5	46.2	74.9
Sri Lanka	34.1	37.6	46.6	31.7	46.2	48.6	21.6	26.4	41.2
Total	53.2	45.3	50.8	36.8	74.0	59.8	32.1	29.4	34.7

## Industrial Countries

Australia	—	54.1	53.3	58.3	—	55.8	—	52.1	52.3
Canada	37.9	57.3	38.2	46.4	41.4	65.3	34.2	49.3	34.6
France	—	37.1	37.2	19.4	—	42.8	—	31.3	34.1
Germany (F.R.)	—	68.0	63.2	42.7	—	69.0	—	67.0	63.3
United Kingdom	73.5	58.3	56.1	—	75.4	50.8	71.5	55.7	54.6
United States	—	34.8	40.1	44.5	—	40.3	—	29.2	34.9
Total	55.7	61.9	57.6	42.3	58.4	55.7	52.9	47.4	45.6

Total

42.0

45.3

39.1



## 20 to 24 Years Age Group

Countries	Total				Male				Female			
	1961	1971	1975	1981	1961	1971	1975	1981	1961	1971	1975	1981
<b>South Asian Countries</b>												
Bangladesh	52.9	—	56.0	—	91.6	—	90.1	—	17.5	—	19.7	—
India	—	49.6	64.1	—	—	81.3	86.0	—	—	17.8	40.9	—
Pakistan	52.1	—	49.7	50.3	89.8	—	86.8	88.2	14.2	—	9.9	12.7
Nepal	82.0	63.5	81.9	—	96.7	89.8	96.1	—	69.3	39.2	67.3	—
Sri Lanka	56.9	65.4	72.8	63.9	84.4	89.2	85.9	90.8	29.3	42.2	54.1	38.3
Total	61.0	59.5	64.9	57.1	90.6	86.8	89.0	89.5	32.6	33.1	38.4	25.5
<b>Industrial Countries</b>												
Australia	—	74.1	75.7	80.5	—	89.1	90.6	90.1	—	58.6	59.7	70.5
Canada	37.9	—	71.9	83.7	87.2	—	83.5	90.3	49.5	—	60.1	77.1
France	—	72.7	74.3	73.4	—	82.6	84.3	79.0	—	63.3	63.9	67.6
Germany (F.R.)	—	77.6	77.5	76.3	—	86.1	85.6	80.9	—	68.8	69.0	71.3
United Kingdom	73.5	75.1	75.2	—	—	89.9	89.0	—	—	60.1	60.9	—
United States	—	68.0	71.2	78.0	—	80.9	84.0	85.9	—	56.1	58.1	70.0
Total	55.7	73.5	74.3	78.4	87.2	85.7	86.2	85.2	49.5	61.4	62.0	71.3

## 25 to 44 Years Age Group

Countries	Total				Male				Female			
	1961	1971	1975	1981	1961	1971	1975	1981	1961	1971	1975	1981
<b>South Asian Countries</b>												
Bangladesh	60.5	—	59.6	—	96.8	—	96.4	—	19.5	—	20.8	—
India	66.2	59.1	73.0	—	88.1	95.7	96.3	—	43.6	20.8	48.1	—
Pakistan	58.0	—	54.6	55.9	95.6	—	95.5	96.9	15.7	—	11.4	24.4
Nepal	79.4	65.2	78.5	—	98.5	96.1	98.0	—	61.6	35.1	59.5	—
Sri Lanka	62.5	66.9	61.4	68.0	95.2	97.1	96.4	97.4	26.7	36.1	24.3	38.8
Total	65.3	63.7	65.4	62.0	94.8	96.3	96.5	97.2	33.4	30.7	32.8	26.6
<b>Industrial Countries</b>												
Australia	—	69.1	70.1	75.9	—	94.9	96.2	94.7	—	41.7	42.1	56.7
Canada	62.8	68.8	69.5	79.9	93.9	92.7	96.8	95.0	31.2	44.2	41.6	64.9
France	—	72.0	72.5	80.5	—	95.9	96.5	96.2	—	47.0	46.8	63.9
Germany (F.R.)	—	72.6	74.6	77.7	—	95.1	97.1	95.2	—	49.5	49.8	56.7
United Kingdom	—	73.0	75.1	—	—	97.6	97.9	—	—	48.0	51.7	—
United States	—	69.9	72.3	81.1	—	93.9	95.2	94.6	—	46.9	49.8	67.9
Total	62.8	70.9	72.4	79.2	93.9	95.0	96.2	95.1	31.2	46.2	47.0	62.0

## 45 to 54 Years Age Group

Countries	Total			Male			Female			
	1961	1971	1975	1961	1971	1975	1961	1971	1975	1981
<b>South Asian Countries</b>										
Bangladesh	—	—	61.7	—	—	96.5	—	—	21.6	—
India	73.8	59.6	71.3	96.7	94.0	95.5	47.6	19.4	45.0	—
Pakistan	60.5	—	53.8	95.8	—	94.7	16.6	—	11.2	12.5
Nepal	73.6	64.8	71.1	97.7	95.4	96.7	51.4	31.5	51.5	—
Sri Lanka	62.4	62.6	59.2	92.7	94.0	93.9	21.4	27.2	21.2	37.1
Total	67.3	62.3	63.8	95.7	94.5	95.5	34.3	26.0	30.1	24.8
<b>Industrial Countries</b>										
Australia	—	66.9	68.2	—	93.0	94.3	—	40.0	40.9	51.4
Canada	62.5	—	68.5	90.7	—	95.3	32.7	—	42.0	55.7
France	—	67.7	70.4	—	91.4	92.9	—	45.3	48.0	55.3
Germany (F.R.)	—	64.7	69.8	—	93.7	94.8	—	44.0	48.5	51.8
United Kingdom	67.2	78.5	79.3	—	97.6	97.6	—	60.1	61.4	—
United States	—	71.8	75.1	—	92.5	92.6	—	52.5	58.8	61.6
Total	64.9	69.9	71.9	90.7	93.6	94.6	32.7	48.4	49.9	55.2

## 55 to 64 Years Age Group

Countries	Total				Male				Female			
	1961	1971	1975	1981	1961	1971	1975	1981	1961	1971	1975	1981
<b>South Asian Countries</b>												
Bangladesh	62.5	—	56.9	—	94.8	—	92.3	—	17.1	—	17.0	—
India	49.5	43.2	61.8	—	76.6	73.8	87.3	—	22.4	10.5	33.5	—
Pakistan	59.3	—	49.7	52.3	93.2	—	85.8	87.1	14.0	—	8.4	9.9
Nepal	62.3	49.9	59.9	—	87.2	77.2	84.4	—	39.8	22.8	38.5	—
Sri Lanka	53.5	46.5	42.0	58.8	82.3	73.3	74.0	87.3	14.5	13.6	17.0	27.5
Total	57.4	46.5	54.1	55.6	86.8	74.8	84.8	87.2	21.6	15.6	22.9	18.7
<b>Industrial Countries</b>												
Australia	—	51.6	52.7	45.3	—	82.0	83.2	67.2	—	22.2	23.3	24.2
Canada	53.1	62.7	55.8	54.5	81.3	85.9	81.9	75.9	24.1	40.1	31.2	34.9
France	—	54.8	54.5	44.4	—	74.1	72.1	57.3	—	37.4	38.9	32.7
Germany (F.R.)	—	57.4	48.1	41.9	—	87.8	77.8	62.9	—	35.5	27.9	26.6
United Kingdom	67.2	63.7	64.0	—	98.2	90.9	90.8	—	41.5	39.4	39.9	—
United States	—	59.8	60.9	54.2	—	79.9	80.3	68.9	—	41.8	43.9	41.3
Total	60.2	58.3	56.0	48.1	89.8	83.4	81.0	66.4	32.8	36.1	34.2	31.9

## 65 Years and above Age Group

Countries	Total				Male				Female			
	1961	1971	1975	1981	1961	1971	1975	1981	1961	1971	1975	1981
<b>South Asian Countries</b>												
Bangladesh	54.2	—	47.0	—	87.3	—	79.7	—	13.6	—	11.5	—
India	—	—	37.8	—	—	—	60.6	—	—	6.0	13.8	—
Pakistan	51.6	—	35.2	34.7	83.5	—	62.0	56.9	10.8	—	4.3	5.4
Nepal	34.4	25.1	30.7	—	53.0	40.5	46.7	—	18.4	10.4	17.7	—
Sri Lanka	31.3	24.4	18.1	31.3	52.2	40.7	38.7	50.9	6.0	5.1	7.5	9.3
Total	42.9	24.8	33.8	33.0	69.0	40.4	57.5	53.9	12.2	7.2	11.0	7.4
<b>Industrial Countries</b>												
Australia	—	11.7	11.6	8.8	—	22.2	21.3	13.1	—	4.2	4.1	5.5
Canada	17.2	15.1	11.4	10.1	28.5	23.9	19.6	15.8	6.7	8.3	4.9	5.6
France	—	12.4	8.4	3.3	—	19.3	12.5	4.4	—	8.2	5.7	2.4
Germany (F.R.)	—	20.3	9.2	4.2	—	35.6	15.1	6.5	—	10.1	5.6	2.8
United Kingdom	12.8	11.3	11.0	—	24.7	19.3	18.7	—	5.4	6.3	6.1	—
United States	—	16.2	15.2	11.7	—	24.8	24.3	16.5	—	10.0	8.9	8.0
Total	15.0	14.5	11.1	7.6	26.6	24.2	18.6	11.3	6.1	7.9	5.9	4.9

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self-employment in industry, business and services extends to educated unemployed who are matriculates and fall within the age-group 18 to 25. It seeks to assist 200,000 to 250,000 young people each year.

Useful as these efforts are within their limits, they do not yet envisage literate rural youth as a great potential human resource which must now be developed systematically as a major national instrument in the movement for rural transformation, alongside full-scale manpower utilization and the development of women. The Education Commission made several recommendations for continuing education but did not give particular attention to literate rural youth as a challenge to society and a resource to be utilized for reshaping it from within. Neither the Sixth Five-Year Plan, nor the current thinking on the Seventh Plan, deal with the problems and the possibilities of literate rural youth. This section of the population represents, thus, a serious gap in our thinking and planning at the national and state level which is in no sense met by the terms of the current national adult education programme.

## II

### COMPOSITION AND CHARACTERISTICS

The data now available from the 5 per cent sample for the 1981 census provide highly significant information on several aspects of India's population. They also help us to place literate rural youth within the total rural and national setting.

As is well known, out of India's total population of 685 million in 1981, 525 million (76.7 per cent) lived in rural areas and 160 million (23.3 per cent) lived in urban areas. Within the rural areas, scheduled castes accounted for 17.3 per cent, and scheduled tribes for 9.5 per cent, making up together 26.8 per cent. Taking rural youth as comprising those in the age brackets of 15-19, 20-24, 25-29, and 30-34, the youth population of the country in 1981 was 214.5 million, including 156.7 million in the rural areas and

# Private Foreign Direct Investment in Pakistan : Trends and Opportunities

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KHAWAJA AMJAD SAEED

## SECTION A

### ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK AND PRIVATE FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT IN PAKISTAN

Overall development and growth record of Pakistan is very good. In more recent years, the growth rate has picked up to around 5—6 per cent per annum—almost double the rate of population growth. The agriculture sector is well-developed. Reasonably developed facilities exist for industrial development. Physical infrastructure caters well for its growth needs. There is some gap between demand and supply on the energy front, but the Government is tackling it on priority basis in the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1983-88). Exploration for oil is continuing. Deposits of natural gas are available at an economical price. Financial infrastructure is also well-developed and trained manpower is available for work. It is a land of tremendous potential for domestic entrepreneurs and foreign investors.

#### **Economic Performance of Pakistan**

The recent six years (1977-83) have been years of rapid economic growth, which has resulted into expanded market possibilities for



US and other traders and investors. In this respect, an excerpt from *Business America*<sup>1</sup> explains this fact. It says :

"Pakistan's economy has been performing well. The last six years, since the inception of General M. Zia-ul-Haq's Martial Law Administration, have witnessed steady growth across all sectors in a context of increasing financial stability. Agriculture output has improved to the point where Pakistan has become self-sufficient in all major food categories except edible oil. Industrial value added has increased by an average of 9 per cent per year and the balance of payment situation has become substantially more manageable."

In general, great importance is attached to the role of foreign private investment in accelerating the pace of industrial development in Pakistan. The government encourages foreign investment in industries which are capital intensive, require sophisticated technology, are export-oriented, or in import substitution industries.

#### **Foreign Direct Investment : In Retrospect**

The first Industrial Policy of Pakistan was announced in 1954 and this clearly stated that foreign capital brought after April 1, 1954 and profits earned thereafter will be allowed for repatriation. The decade of 1960s was characterised by private sector and foreign investment orientation. However, unfortunately social justice was ignored with great emphasis on growthmanship model. Therefore, due to social compulsions an era of modest nationalisation emerged during 1972-75. This affected the investment climate. Foreigners got discouraged and private sector became shy of investment. During 1977-84 the Government followed an open door policy and brought out a liberal package of investment incentives to motivate foreign direct investment in Pakistan.

#### **Industrial Investment Schedules**

The industrial Investment Schedule for the Fourth Five-Year Plan Period (1970-75), besides including an abstract of investment targets, investment targets at a glance by group of industries, investment targets by major industrial sector and projected investment in

fuels and minerals, listed industries under five groups as per following broad details :

<i>Group</i>	<i>Number of Industries</i>
I. Industries which are Primarily Export-Oriented	63
II. Industries which are based on Locally Fabricated Machinery and Indigenous Raw Materials.	52
III. Industries which are based on Imported Machinery and Indigenous Raw Materials	82
IV. Industries Largely based on Imported Machinery and Imported Raw Materials and Components	95
V. Balancing, Modernization and Replacement	200

It recognized the role of foreign private investment as crucial for the process of industrialization. It clearly stated that foreign private investment was a carrier of technical know-how and it also ensured managerial skill, access to the vast reservoir of research, operational experience and stimulus to the domestic investment potential. It recognized experience and stimulus to the domestic investment potential. It recognized its snow-balling effect in attracting further investment from abroad.

The following incentives and concessions to foreign private investment were offered :

1. Maximum freedom in selection of industrial projects consistent with the national objectives of economic growth.
2. Guaranteed repatriation of capital investment including capital gains, if any.
3. Unrestricted remittance of profits.

4. Unrestricted remittance of approved royalties and technical fees.
5. Flexibility regarding the extent of local participation.
6. Income tax exemption to foreign technicians for 3 years.
7. Facility for family remittances to foreign nationals.
8. Liberal depreciation allowances.
9. Availability of long-term credit facilities from the industrial financing institutions.
10. Tariff protection to deserving industries.
11. Liberal incentives and concessions for exports.
12. Relief from double taxation in the case of foreign investors of practically all the big capital exporting countries of the world.

No bar was imposed to foreign private investment going into any industrial field.

The Industrial Investment Schedule for the Fifth Five-Year Plan (1978-83), besides clearly stating investment strategy, sanctioning procedures and facilitation, location policy, monetary allocation by major groups of industries and industry-wise details, listed 130 industries in 16 groups.<sup>2</sup>

#### **Growth of Foreign Private Investment in Pakistan**

During 1974-75 and 1976-77, there had been a decline in foreign private investment in Pakistan. This was due to the spill-over effect of 1972 (Industrial) and 1974 (Banking) nationalization. However, later, due to clear cut policy of GOP and incentives offered for investment, the trend has been registering an upswing as is shown in

the following table :

TABLE 1  
Trends of Foreign Private Investment

(Million \$)

Year	Direct Investment (net)	Other Long-Term Investment (net)
1980-81	64	12
1979-80	68	10
1978-79	34	9
1977-78	34	14
1976-77	4	2
1975-76	23	19
1974-75	15	nil

Source : Edited from : A. Hafeez Khan, "Foreign Investment Encouraging Trends," *Pakistan Gulf Economist*, May 1-7, 1982, p. 17, Table 1.

## SECTION B

### POLICIES TOWARD INVESTMENT

#### Investment Screening Mechanism

The government has taken several steps to streamline and simplify application procedures. A check list indicating steps to be taken by a foreign investor before establishing an industrial unit is given below :

#### CHECK LIST FOR ACTION BEFORE ESTABLISHING AN INDUSTRIAL UNIT

1. Obtain government sanction to establish firm by filing an application with Investment Promotion Bureau.
2. Register under the Companies Act 1913.<sup>3</sup>

3. Obtain approval of the Controller of Capital Issues to issue capital.
4. Obtain repatriation Guarantee from the Controller of Capital Issues.
5. Obtain the approval of State Bank of Pakistan for transfer of foreign equity and confirmation of guarantees received from the government.
6. Obtain approval under Section 41 (f) of the Income Tax Ordinance, 1979 and Insurance Act, 1938.
7. Issue Prospectus and allot the capital (for public limited companies only).
8. Secure a permit from the Chief Controller of Imports and Exports for the import of machinery and equipment.
9. Obtain permission from Investment Promotion Bureau for the employment of foreign nationals.
10. Apply to Provincial Director of Industries for permission to import raw materials.

### **Investment Incentives**

For specific advice, investors are encouraged to contact the Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad and Central Board of Revenue (CBR) Islamabad. However, a brief review of investment incentives is presented below :

(a) For export-oriented investors the most obvious incentive has been delinking of the Pakistan rupee from US dollar in January 1982. Although the intervention currency continues to be US dollar, the rupee has been linked to a trade-weighted basket of currencies. The State Bank of Pakistan announces the daily rates after making adjustments to the rupee's rate against the dollar. As against a dollar equaling Rs. 9.90 on January 7, 1982, the most recent rate is around Rs. 15.00 (as on December 15, 1984).

(b) Business investments in designated geographical areas of Pakistan or in specific industries are eligible for certain

custom duty concessions.

(c) A liberal package of tax exemptions and concessions is available as per following brief details :

(i) A tax holiday for five years for investment in certain areas/regions and in some cases irrespective of the location.

(ii) Partial tax exemption of 15 per cent or 30 per cent of the amount invested for acquisition of shares, if the company is located in certain areas.

(iii) A tax credit equal to 15 per cent of the cost of machinery installed for modernisation, balancing, replacement and expanding industrial units for designated locations.

(iv) Capital gains including gains arising from the sale of shares of public companies.

(v) Bonus shares in the hands of shareholders.

(vi) Tax rebate on income from exports.

(vii) Tax concessions for mineral industry.

(viii) Write-off of losses for wholly-owned subsidiaries.

(ix) Exemption from sale taxes on machinery and components for industrial use (imported and locally made).

(x) Interest on approved loans are exempted from income tax under certain conditions.

### Repatriations of Earnings

Salient features of the Government Policy on earnings repatriation is given below :

(a) No restriction on remittance of profits to the country of origin.

(b) Repatriation of foreign capital in approved industries established after September 1, 1954.

(c) Plough back profits to be treated as an investment for purposes of repatriation.

- (d) An appreciation of capital under (b) and (c) above is treated as investment for repatriation purpose.

### **Capital Participation and other Aspects**

There is no rigidity about participation of Pakistanis in any industry where foreign investment is approved by the government. Foreign nationals employed in Pakistan are allowed to make monthly remittances for the maintenance of their dependents in their home country at the rate of 50 per cent of their net income, subject to a prescribed maximum limit. Foreign nationals on retirement are permitted to transfer their savings and capital assets from Pakistan by the State Bank of Pakistan under relevant rules, on the production of documentary evidence. Salary received by any person who is not a citizen of Pakistan is exempt for a period of three years from the date of his arrival in Pakistan for services rendered by him during such period as a technician under a contract of service approved by the Commissioner of Income Tax before commencement of his service or within one year of such commencement.

### **Protective and Promotional Legislations**

In order to provide necessary safeguards to foreign investors, the "Foreign Private Investment (Promotion and Protection) Act, 1976" was promulgated. This law contains the basic principles which govern the facilities, incentives and safeguards offered to foreign private investment.

In February 1979, another Ordinance entitled : "The Protection of Rights in Industrial Property Ordinance 1979" (Presidential Order No. 5) was issued. This Order specifies that no industrial property would be compulsarily acquired without authority of law which provides for adequate compensation being given within a reasonable time. The adequacy or otherwise of the compensation so fixed can also be challenged in a court of competent jurisdiction.

Business organizations having foreign private investment authorized by the Federal Government are accorded national treatment in respect of access to courts of justice and other public authorities in Pakistan, contracts entered into by them with the nationals and

companies of Pakistan in accordance with the laws of Pakistan and rights and interest acquired by them in accordance with the laws of Pakistan.

As announced, the Government of Pakistan has no intention of nationalizing industries having foreign private investment. Even during the nationalization period of 1972 and 1974, the foreign component of industrial and banking sectors was not nationalized.

As investment guarantee agreement between USA and Pakistan is in force, under which the US Government guarantees investments by private American investors to business enterprises in Pakistan against losses arising from inconvertibility of foreign currency earnings into dollar or against expropriation. An agreement has also been entered into with the Federal Republic of Germany for the promotion and protection of investments in Pakistan by German nationals. Similar agreement with other countries such as Canada, Great Britain, Switzerland, France, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Libya are under the process of ratification.

#### **Requirements for Joint Ventures**

There is no legal requirement placed on the amount of equity which a foreign investor may hold. However, the Government usually expects that the initial rupee expenditure for establishing the project would be met from local equity capital. In many cases, foreign investors have been allowed to hold majority equity, management and control.

#### **Licensing Agreements and Royalty Policy**

Approval for remittances of royalties and fees is given by the State Bank of Pakistan. However, foreign investors must submit licensing agreements for approval to the Investment Promotion Bureau. Principal licensors to Pakistan are companies from UK, US, Italy, Germany, Japan and USSR.



## SECTION C

## PERFORMANCE OF MNCs IN PAKISTAN

## Performance of Multinationals in Pakistan

The first multinational to be listed on Karachi Stock Exchange<sup>1</sup> was Glaxo Laboratories Pakistan Limited. As in February 1982, there were 25 multinationals quoted as per details given in Table 2 :

TABLE 2  
Multinationals Listed on Karachi Stock Exchange Ltd.

Sector	No. of Companies
1. Chemicals and Pharmaceuticals	11
2. Engineering	5
3. Tobacco	2
4. Construction	2
5. Fuel and Power	1
6. Vanaspati and Allied	1
7. Others	3
Total	25

Note: Position as in February 1982. Recently more companies have been listed in Chemicals and Engineering.

The number of listed multinationals is on the increase and by now it has exceeded 32. The number is increasing in the Chemical and Pharmaceuticals Sector.

Multinationals have performed well in Pakistan. The following table shows an abridged picture :

57.7 million in the urban areas. Youth accounted for 31.3 per cent of the total population, 29.8 per cent of the rural population, and 36.1 per cent of the urban population (Table 1).

TABLE 1  
Youth Population in 1981

(In thousands)

Age Group	Total Population	Rural	Urban
15—19	64,037	47,273	16,765
20—24	57,309	41,158	16,150
25—29	50,747	36,817	13,830
30—34	42,442	31,461	10,981
Total	214,535	156,709	57,726

The age-group 10—14 comprised a total population of 85.7 million, 66.3 million in rural areas and 19.4 million in urban areas. This is the population which, at the very minimum, should be in school and if, for some reason, it is out of school it should be undergoing some form of non-formal education.

The 1981 census returned a literacy rate of 36.23 per cent for the entire population, 29.65 per cent for rural areas and 57.4 per cent for urban areas. Table 2 draws attention to some relevant literacy characteristics.

TABLE 2  
Literacy, 1981

(Percentage)

	Persons			Male			Female		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
All ages	36.23	29.65	57.40	46.89	40.79	65.83	24.82	17.96	47.82
10 years and above	43.52	35.84	67.23	56.99	50.08	77.31	28.99	29.86	55.48
15 years and above	40.76	32.70	65.10	54.84	47.27	76.36	25.68	17.57	51.88
35 years and above	30.18	23.17	54.25	44.61	37.96	69.42	44.44	8.62	35.91

TABLE 3

## Performance of Multinational-Listed Companies in Pakistan

(In Million Rupees)

Particulars	Listed Companies Excluding Mutual Funds	Multinational Companies	Percentage Share of 3 to 2
1	2	3	4
1. Listed Companies (number)	294	25	8.5
2. Paid-up Capital as on June 30, 1981	7,324	1,248	17.0
3. Market value as on June 30, 1981	9,240	2,390	25.9
4. Profit after tax	1,193	336	28.2
5. Payments to shareholders :			
Cash dividend	831	215	25.9
Bonus Shares	193	60	31.1

Source : Edited from *Economic Review*, February 1982, p. 35.

The following conclusions can be drawn from scrutiny of the Table 3 :

1. Although multinationals represented 8.5 per cent of the total listed companies, their market value was 25.9 per cent.
2. Profit after tax was 28.2 per cent of the total profit earned by all listed companies.
3. Payment to shareholders by MNCs composed of 25.9 per cent in cash dividend and 31.1 per cent of bonus shares.

Annexure 'A' shows chronological growth of multinationals during 1953 to 1980 with comparative figures of financial and operating data relating to the year of listing and 1980.

### Role of Foreign Banks

There are currently 17 foreign banks operating in Pakistan. These represent business in nearly 100 countries of the world. They provide importers and exporters with information regarding suppliers, new and alternate markets, foreign trade regulations, etc., counsel on interest and exchange rate movements, identify trade finance, lend their global reputation in transactions. Their combined

capital and asset base consists of Rs. 442 million and Rs. 6,864 million, respectively.

Pakistan is open for any foreign bank to set up its office with the permission of the Government.

#### **Pakistan's Trade with Major Partners**

Pakistan is an active country in foreign trade. Its major imports consist of foodstuffs, petroleum products, chemical elements and compounds, dyeing, tanning and colouring mats, medicinal and pharmaceutical products, textile yarn, cloth and manufactures, iron and steel, non-ferrous metals, metal manufactures, machinery (non-electric), electricity machinery and transport equipment.

Its major exports consist of fish and preparations, rice, animal feeding stuffs, textile fiber and waste, leather and manufactures and clothing. Its five major trade partners are : Japan, USA, West Germany, UK and Italy.

### **SECTION D**

#### **PROSPECTS OF DIRECT FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN PAKISTAN**

##### **Pakistan's Export Processing Zone**

On February 6, 1980, the Government promulgated an Ordinance to establish an Export Processing Zone Authority. The first Export Processing Zone (EPZ) has been set up at Karachi. The Zone covers an area of 200 acres, with a provision of adding another 100 acres later. It is located within a distance of 15 to 20 kilometers from the two seaports (Karachi and Port Qasim). The Zone has been well equipped with facilities such as water, electricity and gas and is ready and eager to absorb foreign direct private investment.

The following categories of persons are eligible to establish industrial undertakings in the Zone :

1. A foreign investor with repatriable investment.
2. A foreign investor in collaboration with another foreign investor.

3. Non-resident Pakistani national with non-repatriable investment.

All investments in the Zone should be made in convertible foreign currencies. Investors have the option to establish public or private limited companies or sole proprietorship or partnership.

The following are industries required to be set up in the Zone :

- (a) Electronic items, like auto and radio equipment.
- (b) Computer hardware and peripherals.
- (c) Sophisticated engineering items.
- (d) Petro-chemicals, chemicals and pharmaceutical items.
- (e) Refrigerators, air-conditioners, deep-freezers, vacuum cleaners.
- (f) Wooden and stone products, etc.

The following incentives and facilities are available :

- (a) Exemption from federal, provincial and local taxes, including custom duty, sales tax, octroi charges, etc.
- (b) Five-year holiday on income and corporate tax.
- (c) Double tax relief.
- (d) Investment guarantees.
- (e) Repatriation of capital and profits on foreign investment to foreigners.
- (f) Liberal labour laws.
- (g) Liberal banking and insurance facilities.
- (h) Availability of skilled and semi-skilled workforce.
- (i) Tele-communication facilities, including international dialing.

Investments have been made by companies from USA, Japan, West Germany, South Korea and Gulf States. Other countries are

welcome to invest and share the fruits of prosperity.

The industries include garments, cosmetics, electrical and electronics, engineering, light chemicals, ceramics, printing and packaging, etc.

Ten banks (seven foreign and three local) have been given permission to operate in the area.

The EPZ Authority makes all possible efforts for an expeditious processing of investment proposals. An investor has only to fill in a simple application form. The processing starts immediately and the investor is kept informed about its progress. A special feature is that investors have to deal with only one agency—namely EPZ Authority and consequently, the possibility of delay and red-tapism has been eliminated.

Till March 31, 1984, forty-five industrial projects involving \$ 272 million investment in foreign exchange had been sanctioned in areas such as electric instruments, industrial alcohol, artificial turf, special plastic materials and structural foams. The countries participating in the above investment were USA, UK, Hong Kong, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, UAE, West Germany and Belgium. There is a potential employment for 6,000 persons. Export potential increase is expected to be \$ 386 million per annum. As of above date, three projects worth \$ 2 million had gone into production and 6 projects worth \$ 4 million are expected to go into commercial production by the end of 1984.

#### **Prospects of Exports to Pakistan**

Foreign countries may be eager to ask as to what are the prospects of setting businesses and exporting their goods to Pakistan. Good opportunities exist for sale of the following :

Agricultural machinery and implements,

Vegetable oil.

Tallow.

Soyabean meal.

- Food processing and packaging equipment.
- Chemical and petro-chemical industry equipment.
- Railroad equipment.
- Electric power generation, transmission and distribution equipment.
- Textile and leather machinery and equipment.
- Tele-communications equipment.
- Oil and gas field machinery.
- Process control instrumentation mining and extraction machinery.
- Earthmoving and construction machinery.
- Electronic industry—production and testing equipment.
- Analytical and scientific instruments.
- Motor vehicles and equipment.
- Hospital and health care industry equipment.
- Computers and peripheral equipment including mini-computers and word processors.

Service sector also offers opportunities in the area of airport construction, energy, communications and transportation project design and engineering.

#### **US Investment Mission to Pakistan**

In April 1973, the US Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) sponsored an investment mission to Pakistan. This represented one of the largest investment missions which consisted of 27 participants from 25 firms from a broad US industry including agri-business, refrigeration equipment, gypsum wall board, alternative energy systems, tele-communications, hotel construction, etc.

At the conclusion of the mission, the following announcements were made :

1. U.S. companies announced plans to develop 22 joint venture projects with Pakistani partners.

2. In addition, six other US companies announced their intention to pursue commercial ventures in the near future.

The President of Pakistan has assured that the project results resulting from the mission's visit would be given accelerated consideration in the government's approval process.

In June 1984, the Government has announced a highly enlightened industrial policy which contains incentives and concessions for attracting private foreign direct investment in Pakistan. Aspects dealt with in the above policy are now reviewed.

### INDUSTRIAL POLICY STATEMENT, 1984

The Government of Pakistan, after a detailed consideration and extensive consultations with industrialists, released Industrial Policy Statement in June 1984. Besides containing a lucid analysis of various aspects governing industrial policy, this also contained exclusive section dealing with foreign direct investment and loans and investment by overseas Pakistanis.

The Policy Statement clearly indicates that the Government attaches a great importance to the flow of foreign direct investment in areas where it brings advanced technology, managerial and technical skill and marketing expertise.

Main aspects to be considered for allowing joint ventures between local entrepreneurs and foreign investors will be as under :

1. To serve overall national objectives.
2. To contribute to the development of capital, technical and managerial know-how.
3. To lead to the discovery, mobilisation or better utilisation of the natural resources.
4. To strengthen balance of payments.
5. To result in substantially increasing employment opportunities in Pakistan. Package deal with foreign firms for the provision of capital, production of goods, technology, management and marketing know-how backed up by their



own international network will also be encouraged for such joint ventures.

The above Industrial Policy Statement also reiterates that the foreign investment is also entitled to the following facilities :

1. Foreign nationals employed in Pakistan are permitted to send monthly remittances to the country of their domicile upto 50 per cent of net income, and
2. Foreign nationals on returning from Pakistan are permitted to transfer their savings.

There is a special emphasis in the above Statement that foreign investment will be encouraged in industrial projects involving advanced technology and heavy capital outlay like engineering, basic chemicals, petro-chemicals, electronics and other capital goods industries.

#### INVESTMENT BY OVERSEAS PAKISTANIS

It is well recognised by the Government that Pakistanis working abroad have made a notable contribution to the economy of the country. They are not being asked to disclose the origin of the funds for investment and they can bring second-hand machinery without any surveyor certificate. It is stressed in the above Statement that this policy will continue. Several concessions have been allowed. In this respect significant ones are stated below :

1. Concession in custom duty on machinery imported against non-patriable investment.
2. Advisory services by Investment Centre abroad.
3. Simplified sanctioning procedure.

There is a proposal to set up more investment centres jointly with the assistance of development financial institutions in the Gulf States and Europe to provide overseas Pakistanis with investment counselling and guidance. It is expected that overseas Pakistanis will favourably respond to the above concession and get involved as active partners in accelerating the pace of industrialisation.

## SECTION E

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

The track record of Pakistan so far has been excellent. It has always honoured her commitments in the past. There is no single instance where the foreign investors in the past faced any problem relating to repatriation of profits or capital.

Sl. No.	Name of the Company	Year of Incorporation	Year of Commencement of Operations	Year of Last Dividend Payment	Year of Last Profit Distribution	Year of Last Capital Repatriation
1	Abdullah Brothers	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
2	Abdullah Brothers Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
3	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
4	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
5	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
6	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
7	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
8	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
9	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
10	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
11	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
12	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
13	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
14	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
15	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
16	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
17	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
18	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
19	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
20	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
21	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
22	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
23	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
24	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
25	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
26	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
27	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
28	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
29	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950
30	Abdullah Brothers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1947	1947	1950	1950	1950

## ANNEXURE A

## Listed Growth of Multinationals in Pakistan

(Million Rupees)

Company	Year of Listing	At the Listing Time			In 1980		
		Paid up Capital	Sales	Profit before Tax	Paid up Capital	Sales	Profit before Tax
1. Glaxo Laboratories Pakistan Ltd.	1953	7	12	1	42	233	37
2. Lipton Pakistan Ltd.	1954	NA	NA	NA	26	780	10
3. Pakistan Cables	1955	2	Not in operation		26	115	27
4. Brook Bond	1956	7	22	<1	30	517	9
5. Gammon	1956	5	15	<1	15	386	7
6. Pakistan Tobacco	1956	55	124	18	144	2298	90
7. ICI Pakistan	1957	8	9	2	263	170	11
8. Johnsons & Phillips	1961	2	2	<1	7	33	8
9. Premier Tobacco	1962	5	11	1	28	1204	23
10. Sandoz Pakistan	1965	8	1	Loss	16	86	1
11. Exxon Chemical	1968	104	38	Loss	104	337	81
12. Pakistan Burma Shell	1970	40	398	11	56	3574	63
13. Dawood Hercules	1971	139	Operations started in 1972		139	344	54
14. Phillip Electrical	1972	12	20	Loss	33	217	26
15. Pintex	1973	3	17	1	23	104	10
16. Berger Paints	1974	6	40	4	19	148	17
17. Hoechst Pakistan	1977	13	70	2	23	128	22
18. Reckitt & Colman	1977	8	47	5	11	96	11
19. P. Lenier	1977	2	28	1	16	25	1
20. Siemen Engineering	1978	28	244	20	31	294	15
21. KSB Pumps	1979	25	37	4	25	38	<1
22. Bata Pakistan	1979	32	347	28	32	414	45
23. Well-come	1980	66	152	19	66	152	19
24. Lever Brothers	1980	64	848	103	64	848	64
25. MLC	1980	20	386	9	20	386	9

Source : Prepared from data appearing in *Financial Reports of Companies*.

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1. October 17, 1983, p. 23.
2. The groups were categorised as : food, tobacco and beverage industries, textiles, leather, foot-wear and leather goods, rubber and rubber products, paper and pulp, chemicals, pharmaceuticals and fertilizers, petroleum refining and petrochemicals, cement and other non-metallic minerals and their products, basic metals, metal products other than machinery and transport equipment, machinery other than electrical, electrical machinery appliances and fittings, electronic industry, transport equipment, service and miscellaneous industries.
3. Replaced by the Companies Ordinance, 1984.
4. Set up in 1949, this is the largest stock exchange of the country. The two Pakistan stock exchanges are located in Karachi and Lahore.

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The failure to give primacy to mass education during the first decade of planning will continue to be a drag on India's development until the end of the century and perhaps beyond. Even so, because of her large population, her manpower resources with the requisite education and skills are of such dimensions that if an adequate approach to human resources development at the grass-roots is built into the planning process, even from now on, in the threefold concept described earlier, some of the time lost can still be regained. This is surely one of the most critical issues for decision in relation to the Seventh Plan. Unfortunately, this problem has been almost entirely missed out in the recent approach document from the Planning Commission.

The Special Report and Tables provided by the Registrar General on the basis of the 5 per cent sample provide valuable information on the occupational and educational characteristics of the population described here as 'rural youth' and 'literate rural youth'.

The 1981 census has distinguished two categories of workers—Main workers and Marginal workers. To quote from the Registrar General's Report (Series-1, INDIA, Part-II) :

"Main workers are those who have worked for the major part of the year preceding the date of enumeration and whose main activity was in either cultivation or as an agricultural labourer or in household industry or in other work. Marginal workers are those who have not worked for the major part of the preceding year concerned but nevertheless have done some work during any time in the reference period. In other words, such workers while not being capable of being classified as main workers, nevertheless perform some work."

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## US and the South Asian Security

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MOONIS AHMAR

The beginning of 1980s marked a substantial change in the US policy towards the South Asian region. By virtue of its importance, this change raised a serious question as to why the US policy makers began to rank South Asia as a region of high priority. The perceptual shift in the US decision making nucleus is perceived to be the outcome of multiple factors which if summed would reveal that the United States provided serious attention to once neglected South Asia because its interests were at stake in the Gulf/South West Asian regions. It was due to the US debacle in Indo-China and Iran, the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan and volatile situation in the Gulf that the United States became increasingly conscious about the South Asian security, which is closely linked with the security and stability of US interests in the Gulf. If the regional and the US perception towards the South Asian security issues are viewed critically, it would not be difficult to comprehend a marked degree of gap between the US and the regional approaches towards the South Asian security problem. With the passage of time, this divergence has become more wide and serious.

This paper is an attempt to discuss in detail the areas of convergence and divergence between the US and the South Asian security perception, particularly in the 1980s. A brief description of South Asia with relevance to the US interest would make the subject rather explicit and interesting.



The United States prior to 1946 had no South Asian policy,<sup>1</sup> and the focus of its foreign policy at the time of partition of the Sub-Continent was Europe and its immediate post war politics between the Soviet bloc and Western Europe.<sup>2</sup> But, South Asia didn't remain remote for the United States after its decolonisation in 1947. Wide range American involvement in South Asia began in the fifties. In this context, the US strategy in South Asia was mainly limited to the economic assistance to the regional states, with the aim of involving these newly independent nations against the growing spread of Communism in Asia, particularly in South East and West Asia.<sup>3</sup> By mid-fifties, its success with the European recovery programme (the Marshall plan) of economic aid to the war affected West European countries encouraged the US Congress to pass the act for International development. This act was to become the major theme of the US policy in Asia, and Mr. Chester Bowles, the first US Ambassador to India was assigned the job to introduce it in South Asia.<sup>4</sup>

However, in the initial years of its independence, South Asia played a minimal role in the US objectives to contain Communism even if it received a considerable amount of American economic and military aid. From the very beginning, Washington, placed a high priority on certain strategic considerations that were peripherally concerned with the happenings in South Asia.<sup>5</sup> Initially, Pakistan, rather than India, became the principal focus of US policy in the region.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, the US security commitments and bilateral military assistance programme were supplemented with significant participation in economic development plans of the South Asian countries, in order to produce political stability,<sup>7</sup> thus making it easier for Washington to protect its interests in areas which were adjacent to the region.

#### INCONSISTENCY

The Pak-US strategic alliance in mid-fifties lowered India in the list of US priorities, but the Democrat administrations were pro-India in their policies and posture, as they felt that India had achieved a considerable degree of democratic principles while

comparing with the regional states and that the future American policy was expected to acknowledge this fact.<sup>8</sup> The leaders of the Republican Party, although not pro-India, were also not considered vocal in their support for Pakistan over India. As a result the US policy towards South Asia is mainly based on the divergence of interests and perceptions between India and Pakistan on the one hand and between these two countries and the US on the other, which has made the US security policies in the region counter productive. The American military aid to Pakistan since the 1950's alienated India and pushed it towards the Soviet Union. But there were other factors involved such as that of China etc. Whereas, its assistance to India during the 1962 Sino-India border war forced Pakistan to choose other options in its foreign relations and not to depend entirely on the United States. It decided to develop close bilateral relations with China and the Third World Countries.<sup>9</sup> In this background, any assistance to Pakistan is often regarded by New Delhi as 'containment' of India and any support to India or lack of support to Pakistan vis-a-vis India is regarded by Islamabad as the American acknowledgement of Indian 'hegemony' over the region, which of course is not acceptable to Pakistan. Simultaneously, the US recognition of Nepal's claim to be a Zone of peace results into Indian charges of American interference in the regional affairs.

The US security perception in South Asia prior to the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan was inconsistent in nature due to the absence of any wide-range geo-strategic interests in the region. Its policies rather dealt with the interests and relevant positions of the Soviet Union, China and itself, than with those of India, Pakistan or other regional countries.<sup>10</sup> Support to Pakistan during the 1950's, to India after the 1962 Sino-Indian war and again to Pakistan in the 1980's couldn't easily be regarded as consistent. However, the policies pursued by the Nixon Administration alienated all three major regional states. i.e., India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.<sup>11</sup> The focus in South Asia was to support China as to counter the Soviet Union. Kissinger's secret visit to Beijing via Islamabad had finally

led to the signing of August 1971 Soviet-Indo treaty of Friendship and Cooperation which played a decisive role in the dismemberment of Pakistan and reorientation of the South Asian geo-political setting. Similarly, the US so-called tilt towards Pakistan during the 1971 East Pakistan crisis antagonised the leaders of Bangladesh, and strained the US-Bangladesh relations till the demise of Sheikh Mujib in August 1975.

Prior to the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan, on many occasions, US considered South Asia, and especially Pakistan, as a low priority area in which extra attention was not required. Many US Government officials argued that since Pakistan constitutes only one-fifth of the population of India, therefore it can never match the international status of India. That its army is less than one-third as compared with that of India and its political system can only be characterised similar to an authoritarian type.<sup>12</sup> India, on the other hand, is the world's fourth largest country in population and seventh largest in the industrial output. In this way, India, rather than Pakistan is a source of attraction for the United States.<sup>13</sup>

### **INDO-US DIVERGING PERCEPTIONS**

India and the United States however disagree on the issues like the Afghanistan crisis, US naval buildup in the Indian Ocean, Kampuchea and the US-Pak 1981 strategic deal. Divergence between US and India on global and regional issues dates back to the middle-Nehru-era when India refused to join the United States in security alliance against Communism. However, Indo-US relations were at the peak during the Kennedy era. The victory of John F. Kennedy as the President of the United States in 1960 shifted the focus of US interest and concern in South Asia back to India.<sup>14</sup>

In real terms, Indo-US relations suffered a setback on three main occasions. Firstly, due to the American military assistance to Pakistan in the 1950's, secondly during the 1971 East Pakistan Crisis and, thirdly, after the 1981 Pak-US package deal. Even during these periods, Washington didn't openly side with Pakistan, neither it

adopted hostile posture towards India.

However, Indo-US relations rapidly progressed during the Carter era. It revived the Kennedy policy of placing India first in the list of US priorities in South Asia. In fact, Nixon was the first US President to accept publicly New Delhi's status as the dominating power in South Asia, whereas, Carter was first to indicate publicly using the American resources and influence to sustain and extend the Indian predominance over South Asia.<sup>15</sup> Such views are not acceptable to Pakistan.

Apart from these differences, the areas of Indo-US security divergence are manifested in four interrelated problems. First, it lies in the nature of the 'core' security relationship in the region between India and Pakistan. Secondly, there exist sharp differences in the approaches of two sides in resolving international security issues. If the United States follows the 'balance of power' approach, India wrongfully claims that it prefers a commitment to 'non-alignment' and 'peaceful coexistence.'<sup>16</sup> Thirdly, various threats to security in South Asia and the American security approach lead to what may be termed as the diverging American perceptual behaviour regarding security problems in the region. Fourthly, the US policy followed on these patterns creates serious problems for India as the 'American balance of power' approach is in conflict with the Indian 'non-alignment' policy. The Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan, however, has widened the perceptual gap between US and India. The divergent perceptions between India and the United States over the Soviet motives in Afghanistan have led to different interpretations. The United States maintains that Afghan crisis has an international repercussions and that it requires an international solution, involving some kind of multilateral pressure on the Soviet Union to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan. Indian policy-makers, on the other hand, argue that a 'confrontational' approach will not get the Soviets out of Afghanistan and may delay their withdrawal.<sup>17</sup> In other words the Indians have given a tacit approval of Russian presence in Afghanistan. Besides this, US sophisticated arms supply to Pakistan and its naval deployment in the Indian Ocean have been

opposed by the Indian Government as threats to their designs of hegemony in South Asia. Official Indian circles hold the view that the US security role in South Asia is predominantly towards Pakistan and consider as interference in the affairs of South Asia. The interesting thing to note is that India conveniently ignores the Russian factor in South Asia.<sup>18</sup>

### PAK-US SECURITY ALLIANCE

On what merits Pakistan aligned itself with the US sponsored SEATO and CENTO is still a debatable issue. Mohammad Ali Bogra, Pakistan's Prime Minister from 1953 to 1955, made no secret of the fact that he allied his nation with Washington primarily because "we apprehended a threat to our security from India."<sup>19</sup> The question as to why Pakistan was chosen as the security partner of the United States is however understood keeping in view the context of American strategic objectives in the South Asian Region. In the first decade after the end of Second World War, US policy in Asia was pre-occupied with the containment of what was termed as the Soviet threat alongwith the Chinese expansionist ambitions in South and South East Asia. In both South West Asia and South East Asia, the US had vital interests to protect,<sup>20</sup> and for that Washington chose Pakistan to cooperate with its containment policy. However, later when it was felt that the cost of alliance was higher than its benefits, Pakistan minimised its participation in CENTO and SEATO.<sup>21</sup> The US failure to assist Pakistan during the 1965 and the 1971 Indo-Pakistan wars, its inability to pressurize India to solve the Kashmir issue, priority to India over Pakistan, criticism against Pakistan's peaceful nuclear programme, became the leading diverging factors in the Pak-US relations.

### US AND THE SOUTH ASIAN SECURITY ISSUES

According to the US foreign policy analysts, the security problems in South Asia are perceived to fall under two main categories: threats emanating from extra-regional factor because of Soviet and Chinese involvement in the region and intra-regional factors, or core threats especially those pertaining to India and

Pakistan.<sup>22</sup> For United States, South Asia could be divided into 'core', 'peripheral' and 'intrusive' members. The core members are India and Pakistan, while the peripheral members are Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal and Afghanistan, and intrusive members are Soviet Union and China.<sup>23</sup> The US security policy towards South Asia was initially formulated in the perspective of monolithic Communist threat to the 'free world.'<sup>24</sup> In this backdrop, attempts by the United States to draw India and Pakistan into an anti-Communist alliance framework were made. Pakistan responded positively and joined the 1954 SEATO and 1955 Baghdad pact (later CENTO defence pact), whereas, India rejected the American alliance offer which was perceived by Nehru as against the interests of India.<sup>25</sup> This shows how wide was the security perceptual gap between India and the United States. The American strategy on the other hand had been to guarantee or maintain the general US policy regarding the security problems at both levels. US has often linked the question of South Asian security with the broader framework of Asian balance, security of Gulf oil, and its global strategic needs. Its perception of threat to South Asian security is also characterised by intra-regional naval developments in the Indian Ocean. Whereas, extra-regional threat perceived by the US is the 'Communist menace', i.e., threat of possible Soviet penetration Southward of Afghanistan, thus jeopardizing American interests and influence in South Asia and Persian Gulf region.<sup>26</sup>

The US security perception in South Asia is also based on its concern over the stability of the region. As a *status quo* oriented power, United States is willing to support 'different types of Governments and Regimes' around the world and is not sensitive about the nature of these regimes. According to a report of US House Committee on Foreign Affairs, the 'US strategic interests in the area today relate primarily to regional stability and the avoidance of any conflict or pressure in South Asia or the adjoining Indian Ocean, Persian Gulf which could attract a large scale involvement or intervention by any outside power.'<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, economic and political stability has always been a matter of great concern to the

United States in South Asia over events which could destabilise the regional security framework hostile to the US influence and interests.<sup>28</sup>

The US security policy in South Asia till 1979 was based on the notion that the core problem in the region is to be seen from mutual threats between India and Pakistan. That the region carried no vital economic,<sup>29</sup> political or strategic importance to the United States. The limited intrusive threats to India from China and to Pakistan from the Soviet Union appeared to check one another in pursuing US to play a marginal role in the region.<sup>30</sup> However, the pre-1979 US security perception has been modified with the fall of pro-American regime in Iran and the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan which enhanced the geo-strategic importance of South Asia among the US policy-makers.

A major security difference between India and the United States exists over the Indian concern against Pakistan and China as its chief security threats. Whereas, for Pakistan, the chief sources of threat are India and Afghanistan. In case of Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka too, their security perception is different from the United States. Bangladesh considers India as a main threat to its security and the two countries have multiple disputes such as the encirclement of Bangladesh border with the wire fence, dispute over the distribution of Ganges river water and the obsessive Indian attempts to subdue Bangladesh economically and politically. In case of Nepal and Sri Lanka, these two countries have a long list of grievances against India extending from its interference in their internal affairs and to put economic and political pressure on them to follow New Delhi's line. The Tamil question in Sri Lanka is a source of discord between the two neighbours. Generally, South Asian states have a divergent perception towards security, as they don't have a uniform threat against a single foreign power. For them security threats emanate from intra-regional disputes and foreign intervention. India in the scheme of things appears to be on the one side of fence while other regional nations have similar threat perceptions, i.e., from India itself.

TABLE 3  
Main Workers 1981

(In thousands)

	Total	Male	Female
Urban	46,083	40,713	5,370
Rural	176,434	136,831	39,603
Total	222,517	177,544	44,973

TABLE 4  
Marginal Workers, 1981

(In thousands)

	Total	Male	Female
Urban	1,214	447	767
Rural	20,874	3,090	17,785
Total	22,088	3,537	18,552

In view of the relative numbers involved, the analysis of rural youth as a human resource can proceed conveniently in terms of the 'main workers' category. It should be added, however, that the category 'marginal workers' essentially belongs to rural areas and, among them, female workers account for 85.2 per cent of the total number and male workers for 14.8 per cent. A little over one-half of marginal workers belong to the age-groups between 15-34 (Table 5).

TABLE 5  
Rural Marginal Workers in the Age-Groups 15-34, 1981

(In thousands)

Age Group	Persons	Male	Female
15-19	2,936	653	2,286
20-24	2,953	530	2,423
25-29	2,612	333	2,280
30-34	2,208	187	2,021
Total	10,709	1,703	9,010



From the US point of view, a comprehensive solution to the complicated security problem in South Asia may be found in a system of coordination based on the American balance of power approach and the Indian advocacy of regional dominance. The American balance of power approach suggests that military balance must exist between conflicting states if their security and independence are to be protected. Whereas, under the Indian approach, the conflict between small states shouldn't be affected by a Superpower or with its military aid and interference in these states. The problem with the Indian concept of 'peaceful coexistence' is that though it ensures the security of small states against foreign threats, it however seeks to pose an internal threat to these states.

If the balance of power is to be established it could be done by making a loose balance and also without upsetting it by Superpowers' interference. It seems that the Indian version of balance of power being incompatible with that of American is aimed to formulate a regional system in which her own predominance could be ensured. Nevertheless, South Asian security cannot be guaranteed if attempts are made by either a foreign or a regional power to dominate the small states of South Asia through force or coercion.

A prominent aspect of South Asian security is the attempt of Super powers to exploit the 'threat perception' of regional states in their favour. They try to exaggerate or misrepresent the nature of regional security through their propaganda channels—economic, political and military means of coercion or through their supported elements. By doing this, the Big and Super powers are able to find markets for their exportable weapons, thus making these states military dependent on them.

The US responses to the South Asian security problem varies from extensive involvement especially during the period of alliances to the passive withdrawal due to the inter-regional conflict (for example during the 1965 and the 1971 Indo-Pakistan wars) which restrained Washington to meet its security commitments, military supplies and economic programme. A consistent US policy in South

Asian region would have effectively maintained balance between Pakistan and United States relations in the first instance and U.S. India on the other. Due to the geographical distance (covering thousands of miles from its mainland) it is difficult for the United States to demonstrate that there are substantial American interests which will be safeguarded in terms that are acceptable to the regional states.

Therefore, divergence in the South Asian security issues between US and India ranges from New Delhi's concern over the American shipments to Pakistan, and its naval deployment in the Indian Ocean. On the other hand, US perceives India indulging itself in unreasonable controversies and indulging in double standards in the conduct of its foreign policy. It includes India's claim as a non-aligned nation, despite signing the Indo-Soviet treaty of Friendship in August 1971, her use of force in order to resolve the Goa and Bangladesh issues which advocating 'Peaceful Coexistence'. Whereas, according to the Indian policy-makers, United States is economically arrogant, militarily aggressive and lacks foreign policy consistency. For example, American conduct of world affairs includes the perpetuation of Cold War in the name of freedom while supporting various 'fascist' states throughout the world; provocation of arms race in order to protect its own interests and the encouragement of violence in the civil war of Korea and Vietnam.<sup>22</sup>

Some Indian leaders believe that they acquire more support from the Soviet Union than the United States due to three main reasons: Firstly, key members of the Indian governing elite saw the US as a *status quo* imperialist power, trying to prevent India from playing its role in the regional affairs. Secondly, as India's relations with China deteriorated, Soviet relations with China became worse. This situation forced India to perceive that the Soviet Union's conflict with China will make it an ideal balancer to deter possible future Chinese action against India which might turn out as badly for India as the 1962 Sino-India war. Therefore, Kautilya's apothegm 'my enemy's enemy is my friend' became a genuine advice to Chandragupta's successors twenty-two centuries later. Thirdly,

US in the 1950's was developing a strong alliance relationship and India feared that an alliance with Washington would deprive it of the ability to look at such an issue 'on its merits.'<sup>22</sup>

The critics, i.e., pro-India Policy supporters are of the view that the US strategic ties with Pakistan and the arms supply to Islamabad will force the Indian Government to lean more towards the Soviets in the 1980's. The visit of the Soviet Defence Minister, Marshall Dmitry Ustinov to New Delhi in March 1984 is interpreted as a clear signal that the Indian policy-makers are still apprehensive, reasonably or unreasonably about the supply of sophisticated weapons to Pakistan. Another view held is that regardless of US-Pakistan connection, the Indians are anyhow going to pursue pro-Soviet policy and at the same time blackmaking the Americans—a policy syndrome which runs in the Nehru family. Will Pakistan be in a position to safeguard its security with the US supplied weapons is a question often asked from various quarters.<sup>3</sup> Pakistan-United States relations have changed considerably with the advent of 1980s, but much depends upon the persistence of those factors which created attraction for the United States in favour of Pakistan. Will the US maintain the existing state of its relations with Pakistan if the Afghan crisis is solved, or there is some understanding between the two Superpowers? *Status quo* in the US domestic system might sustain Washington's special relationship with Pakistan, whereas, a change in the US Administration could raise speculations regarding the continuation of US commitment towards Pakistan's security.

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6. Leo E. Rose, "The Superpowers in South Asia: A geo-Strategic Analysis," *Orbis*, (Philadelphia) 22: 2, (Summer, 1978), p. 396. For a comprehensive study on Pak-US Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement, (May 19, 1954), *Kessing's Contemporary Archives*, June 1954, p. 13624.

7. Political stability has remained a matter of high priority for the United States in its support of regimes in various Third World States. This includes the sustenance of economic and political *status quo* which could avert any revolutionary change and acts of de-stabilisation.

8. The US foreign policy, leaving aside some set principles, is heavily influenced by domestic politics and the perception of the governing party towards foreign relations. A major dilemma in the US foreign policy is that South Asia has been raised or lowered due to change in the US administration.

9. Zubeida Mustafa, "Pakistan: The Focus of China's South Asia Policy," *Pakistan in a Changing World*, edited by Masuma Hasan, (Karachi, Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, 1978), pp. 197-198, G.W. Choudhry, op. cit., pp. 108-111.

10. Until *detente* began to collapse (after the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan), United States viewed regional events with little interest. It had linked its policies in South Asia with those of Soviet Union and China, rather than dealing with them separately.

11. Stanley Wolpert, op. cit., p. 151, Henry Kissinger, *White House Years*, (Boston, Little Brown and Company, 1979), p. 849 and pp. 903-918.

12. Pakistan as compared with India is perceived in the US lacking democratic political structure and a free press. Howard Wriggins, "The range and scope of US interests in South Asia," *The Sub-Continent in World Politics*, edited by Lawrence Zirang, (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1978), p. 220.

Syed Mehtab Ali Shah, "Pakistan-US Relations : Convergence and Divergence," *Pakistan-United States Relations*, op. cit., pp. 60-61.

13. Lawrence Zirang, op. cit., Henry Kissinger, op. cit., pp. 845-847.

14. The democratic tilt towards India was well demonstrated during the 1962 Sino-Indo War, Stanley Wolpert, op. cit., p. 144.

15. During the Carter era, the US-Indo relations flourished, whereas Pak-US relations seriously deteriorated due to the US opposition towards Pakistan's peaceful nuclear programme, Leo E. Rose, op. cit., p. 399, Naveed Ahmad, op. cit., p. 75.

16. Raju G.C. Thomas, "Security Relationship in Southern Asia : Difference in the Indian and American perspective," *Asian Survey* (Berkeley, Vol. XXI, No. 7, (June 1981), p. 692.

17. On numerous occasions, Mrs. Gandhi opposed the adoption of any strict measure against the Soviet Union. Walter K. Anderson, "Policy towards India and the Indian Ocean," *Asia and the US foreign policy*, edited by James C. Hsuing, Winberg Chai, (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1981) pp. 194-198.

18. P.K.S. Namboodni, "US and Pakistan : Signs of a New Tilt," *Strategic Analysis*, (New Delhi), Vol. IV, No. 2, (February 1981), pp. 509-516. *Facts on File*, Weekly World News Digest, (Facts on File Inc., New York, 1981), p. 631. In a statement published in the *Times of India*, on April 26, 1981, K. Subrahmanyam a leading Indian strategist said that "If Pakistan were to go nuclear and India does not, it will confirm in the US mind the image that they held in the late 1950's and 60's that India is a country to be abandoned," *ibid*, p. 287.

19. Syed Adil Hussain, "Politics of Alliance and Aid : A case study of Pakistan," *Pakistan Horizon*, (Karachi), Vol. XXXII, No. 1 & 2, (First and Second Quarter, 1979), pp. 11-46.

20. Leo E. Rose, op. cit., p. 142.

21. This started with Pakistan's increasing ties with the People's Republic of China in the aftermath of the 1962 Sino-Indian war. When Mr. George W. Ball, the then US Secretary of State visited Rawalpindi from September 3-5, 1963, the former Pakistan's President Ayub Khan made it clear that Pakistan's rapprochement with Communist China was a result of US arms to India, which had increased Indian Military capabilities and was thus threatening Pakistan's security. C.I., *Kessing's Contemporary Archives*, op. cit., October 1963, p. 19671.

22. William J. Brands, "Regional system : South Asia," Rosenau Thompson and Boyd, eds., *World Politics*, (London, Praeger Publishers, 1978), pp. 501-512.

23. For the division of South Asia into core, peripheral and intrusive members, *ibid.*

24. Those states which are Communists or Socialists or under their influence are excluded by the US termed 'Free World'. Raju G. C. Thomas, "Non-Alignment and Indian Security: Nehru's Rationale and Legacy," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, (London), 2 : 2, (September, 1979), pp. 153-171.

25. *Ibid.*

26. C.f., G.W. Choudhry, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

27. *Ibid.*

28. Stephen P. Cohen, "American Security interests in South Asia," *Strategic Studies*, (Islamabad), Vol. II, No. 1, (April-June, 1978), pp. 13-14.

29. Economically, the principal US interests in South Asia are few. The US does not attach much importance to South Asia as a market for American goods or as an outlet for surplus American capital or as a source of raw material need of American industries.

30. Raju, G.C. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 701.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 707.

32. The US policy to support various unpopular regimes of Third World has helped Soviet Union to expand its influence in various Third World states, *ibid.*, p. 691. *Kessing's Contemporary Archives*, *op. cit.*, April, 1956, p. 14846.

33. Woward Wriggins, *op. cit.*, p. 217-218.

34. An attempt was made to clear this apprehension by the US Vice-President Mr. George Bush (who visited Pakistan during May 15-18, 1984). He said that even after the Afghanistan question had been settled, United States would continue to take interest in improving relations and extending an active assistance to Pakistan. "US will continue to help Pakistan," *DAWN*, (Karachi), 19 May, 1984.

TABLE 1  
United States Arms transfer to South Asia 1978-1982

(In Million Dollars)

Afghanistan	—
Bangladesh	—
India	50
Pakistan	3370
Nepal	—
Sri Lanka	—
Total	3320

Source: World Expenditures and Arms Transfers, 1972-1982.

U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Washington, April, 1984, p. 98.

TABLE 2  
South Asian Military Expenditure in World Shares and Growth Rates, 1972-1982

(Percentage)

South Asia	Share		Growth Rate	
	1972	1982	1972	1982
	0.9	1.1	4.6	

Source: Ibid., p. 3.

TABLE 3  
Value of Arms Transfer and total Imports and Exports in South Asia, 1972-82

Year	Arms Imports		Arms Exports		Total Imports		Total Exports		Arms Imports Exports	
	Million Dollars		Million Dollars		Billion Dollars		Billion Dollars		Total Imports Exports Percentage	
	Current	Constant 1981	Current	Constant 1981	Current	Constant 1981	Current	Constant 1981		
1972	370	719	20	38	4	8	3	7	8.8	0.5
1973	450	828	0	0	5	10	4	8	7.7	0.0
1974	400	677	10	16	9	15	6	10	4.4	0.2
1975	325	504	5	7	11	17	6	10	2.9	0.1
1976	750	1101	10	14	9	14	8	11	7.7	0.1
1977	1085	1505	55	76	11	15	9	12	9.5	0.6
1978	595	768	50	64	14	18	10	12	4.2	0.5
1979	940	1119	40	47	17	21	12	14	5.3	0.3
1980	1125	1229	40	43	25	27	23	14	4.5	0.3
1981	1385	1385	60	60	24	24	12	11	5.6	0.5
1982	1835	1730	30	28	27	26	5	4	6.6	0.6

Source: *Ibid.*, p. 56.



TABLE 4

Military Expenditures, Armed Forces, G.N.P., Central Government Expenditure and Population of South Asia 1972-82

Year	Military Expenditures (ME)		Armed Forces	Gross National Product (GNP)		Central Government Expenditures (CGE)		People	ME		Armed Forces Per 100 People	GNP Per Capita
	Million Dollars	Thousands		Million Dollars	Million Dollars	Percentage	Dollars		Dollars	Constant 1981		
1972	1,170	30	28	29	8	8	374	67				
1977	1,827	69	86	24	13	13	379	67				
1982												
	Current	Constant 1981		Current	Constant 1981		Current	Constant 1981				
Afghanistan	165 E	155 E	NA	NA	NA	14.2	NA	NA	11	NA	NA	NA
Bangladesh	205 E	193 E	77	13223	12473	2398 E	93.6	1.6	2	0.8	133	133
India	6223	5870	1120	178141	168035	33499 E	715.1	3.5	8	1.6	235	235
Nepal	13	22	24	2712	2558	447	15.8	0.9	1	1.5	661	661
Pakistan	2033 E	1918 E	178	33598	316926	6120 E	92.1	6.1	2	5.2	344	344
Sri Lanka	160	151	54	1985	1872	720	6.1	8.1	24	8.9	307	307

Source: Op. cit., p. 44.

# The Mosque Schools in Pakistan : An Experiment in Integrating Non-Formal and Formal Education

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*This is an abridged version of a report  
submitted to International Institute for  
Educational Planning, Paris.*

## I

### INTRODUCTION

The demand for Pakistan, a separate homeland for the Muslims of the sub-continent, was based on the principle that unlike other regions, Islam was not merely a religion, but was a code of life which encompassed the whole spectrum of moral, spiritual, social, cultural, political, economic and legal values. As such, all those who professed this belief had a distinct approach towards the problems and their solution which confront them in this world and the world hereafter. They derived inspiration and sought direction from the Holy Quran and the life of the Holy Prophet Mohammad (Peace be upon Him).

Before and after the establishment of Pakistan, the father of the nation, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, had made on a number of times public announcements and declarations that Pakistan would be governed by laws as enunciated in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah so that the Muslims may order their lives in accordance with

It will be seen that the youth group (15—34) accounts for 51.3 per cent of the total number of rural marginal workers, men for 55.1 per cent, and women for 50.7 per cent.

Limiting ourselves from this point on to the category 'main workers', we find that 40.8 per cent of men are literate and 59.2 per cent are illiterate. Among women, 18 per cent are literate and 82 per cent are illiterate. The proportions of literate and illiterate among the principal occupational groups are shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6  
Main Workers, 1981—Literacy and Occupation

Occupational Group	Male		Female	
	Total Number (000)	Literate (Percentage)	Total Number (000)	Literate (Percentage)
Cultivators	75,476	41.2	14,682	11.7
Agricultural Labourers	32,835	24.9	19,878	7.6
Manufacturing, including house-hold and non-household industry	9,231	59.8	2,331	24.4
Construction	1,528	55.2	201	7.5
Trade, commerce, transport, storage and communication	6,356	76.4	785	52.7
Total*—Main Workers	136,831	42.3	39,603	11.8

\*Including occupational groups III, IV and IX of the Census classification 'not shown separately' in Table 6.

It is clear from the Table that rural households engaged in trade and transport and allied activities and, to an extent, in non-household industry have greater immediate probability of entering the mainstream of modernisation than the vast majority in groups engaged in other rural occupations like cultivation, agricultural labour, construction, rural household industry and traditionally poor rural occupations. It is upon these latter that a major human resource effort by way of manpower utilisation and skill-formation has now to be concentrated.

the dictates of Islam. Consequently, the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan approved and passed an 'Objectives Resolution', re-affirming its unflinching faith in the tenets of Islam and for the adoption of Islamic principles. Despite numerous political upheavals and changes and introduction of various constitutions, the Objectives Resolution continued to be the part of each fundamental document.

These guiding principles and the Islamic spirit have also been reflected fully in the successive education policies of the country. The National Education Policy 1978 has taken full account of the need for education in accordance with these principles. In fact the policy centres around producing educated, faithful and loyal Muslims.

Naturally, the question arises as to what we understand by the term 'Islam,' what it stands for, and why the State of Pakistan adheres to this concept so firmly. The present-day world differs completely from the Islamic view of education.

Islam has an all-embracing philosophy of life and for this the Holy Quran has described it as *Din*. There is no separation between religious, economic and political affairs or between Church and State. The law governing both these spheres is indivisible divine law. This concept of Islam is now being understood in the West, though with different interpretation, as is evident from the excerpt from the *Religion in History Books* published by the Council of Europe in 1972.

The traditional system of Muslim Education has by most of the Western writers been described as a religious system (as against secular). Some of the Muslim writers and educationists, too, seem to have adopted this view, in as much as Muslim education started with the teaching and learning by heart of the Holy Quran and of the Sunnah (the life of the Prophet). If one knew the history of early Muslim Education systems, particularly in the Arab lands, one would know that the Holy Quran was the only written text available to the Muslims and as such it was the first textbook of the Muslims which contained doctrines directions and guidance concerning every aspect of life, including the duties and rights of the individuals,

relationship between men, relations with other communities and nations, personal health and hygiene, social obligations, application of logic, search and exploration of unlimited bounties yet hidden from the human eyes. For centuries, the Holy Quran has remained the source and fountain of all knowledge for the Muslims and inspired them to attain knowledge. Every Muslim child was supposed to acquaint himself with this initial textbook and as he grew in age he could take up all other subjects.

This system has even now the potentiality to invigorate the weakened sense of values and create a healthy society having respect for the moral values, human dignity and equality, equality before law, and of opportunity and status. As the formal system has failed to deliver these goods, it is necessary that we should look into the old systems of education, including that of Muslim education, to promote the cause of education. To quote Hisham Nashabi from *The Islamic City* :

"In recent years, determinainly to the special attention that education is receiving at the national and international levels, and as a result of the growing dissatisfaction with the ability of modern educational methods and institutions to cope, either qualitatively or quantitatively, with the educational situation and needs of the world today, some scholars have begun to study the basic educational concepts and practices of past civilizations with the intention of rendering a service to scholarship, and also with the hope of finding some inspiration which could be of value for the renovation of modern education."

## II

### THE ROOTS OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION

Islamic concepts and teachings necessitated the creation of institutions to educate the believers in Islam. In fact, Islam attached

great importance to the acquisition of knowledge (in Arabic *Ilm*) and considered ignorance as antithesis to Islam.

An immense incentive has been provided in the Holy Quran for learning. The first verse opens with an injunction addressed to the Holy Prophet (*Iqra*) 'to read'. At a number of places one finds exhortations like these :

- None can grasp the message of revelation except men of understanding and those firmly grounded in knowledge.  
(iii, 7, 8, vi, 105 ; xxii, 54 ; xxiv, 6)
- Allah bears witness that there is no God but He, and the angles and the men endowed with knowledge, established in righteousness.  
(iii, 16)
- Lack of true knowledge leads people to revile the true God.  
(vi, 108)
- Whosoever has been given knowledge has indeed been given abundant good.  
(ii, 269)

Besides the injunctions, the Holy Prophet emphasized the importance of knowledge and exhorted the followers :

- He dies not who seeks knowledge.
- Seeking after knowledge is obligatory for every Muslim.
- Seek knowledge even though in China.
- He who leaves his home in search of knowledge, walks in the path of Allah.
- A word of wisdom is like the lost treasure of a believer who has got the best right to secure it wherever he might have found it.
- To be present in a circle of learned men is better than prostrating oneself in prayer a thousand times or visiting a thousand sick persons and attend a thousand funerals.
- Acquire knowledge, he who acquires it in the way of Allah performs an act of piety ; he who seeks of it praises the Lord ; he who seeks it adores God ; he who dispenses instructions in it

bestows alms; he who imparts it to the deserving persons performs an act of devotion.

- A father can confer on his children nothing more valuable than the gift of education, it is better that a man should secure a good education for his children than he should leave a treasure of gold and silver for them.
- The ink of scholar is more holy than the blood of martyr.
- Seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave.
- Should the day come wherein increase not in knowledge wherewith to draw nearer to God, let the dawn of that day be accursed.

It was the study of the Holy Quran and Hadith (sayings of the Holy Prophet), the twin fountainhead of knowledge, that created all the impulse and impetus for cultivation and advancement of Islamic learning. In the early days of Islam, the first teaching place of the Muslims was the house of Arqam in Mecca, a companion of the Holy Prophet. Those who embraced Islam in the beginning received education privately in a house and later when the Prophet migrated along with his companions to Madina and built a Mosque, known after him as the 'Mosque of the Prophet,' it was used both as a place of worship and for instruction to his companions. The Holy Prophet paid special attention to the education and used to sit in the Mosque at a place which came to be known '*al-Suffa*,' Those who attended these lessons were called 'companions of *al-Suffa*.' After education in the Mosque the followers used to go to far and near places to spread the message of Islam. Persons who possessed knowledge were sent to adjoining countries as emissaries.

### The Role of the Mosque in Education

The boarding and lodging expenditure of those who came from outside were borne by the community. In Madina there were 9 such Mosques, including the Mosque of the Prophet, where education was imparted. There were 20 other Mosques in other parts of Arabia which were used at that time for educational purposes. Muslim women used to get lessons from the wives of the Prophet. Every

Muslim was also supposed to convey to others whatever he had learnt about the teachings of Islam by word of mouth. The importance of education in Islam could be judged from the fact that during the lifetime of the Holy Prophet "the teaching of reading and writing was accepted from non-Muslims as ransom for their liberation from captivity." In the words of Hisham Nashabi, "It is a remarkable fact that the mosque, as an educational institution, was the first and most effective instrument to assist the transition of Arab society from a primitive one, in which the oral tradition was a dominant characteristic, to a developed stage, based on the written tradition."<sup>1</sup> The deep-rooted oral tradition of pre-Islamic days, instead of being abandoned was systematically institutionalised. The human memory was used to narrate the events mentioned in the Holy Quran and also to remember the Holy Quran by heart.

The Prophet was, therefore, the first teacher of the believers, for it was through him that the word of God was transmitted to the Muslims. As such he was the highest example of human perfection. The manner in which he discharged his functions as a teacher influenced the whole course of Muslim education. The practice that was established during his lifetime continued to be performed in the same spirit by the first four Caliphs. Later on, when the City State of Madina grew into a large country, the political centre under the Umayyads was shifted from Madina to Damascus. The political and administrative requirements must have necessitated the composition of a service structure consisting of educated persons and persons trained in state-craft. However, much is not known about the educational progress during the first century of the *Hijra* (Muslim calendar which is based on lunar movement), except that the Mosque served as the main educational institution.

During the second century of the *Hijrah* due to Arab conquests outside Arab lands, there emerged the need to learn Arabic for the Muslims of non-Arab origin and also for performing the official duties. Thus the teaching and writing of Arabic language was introduced in the curriculum in the Mosque. It was in this century that the Muslims developed the basis of Islamic theology and scholars



like al-Hasan-al-Basri introduced the subject of *Kalam (Ilm al-Kalam)* in the Mosque in Basrah. "Thus, the mosque as a centre of learning became confirmed and the different sciences revolving mainly around religious themes constituted the major part of the curriculum. . . . The heydays of the Mosque as an educational institution extended roughly between the beginning of the second and the end of the third century of *Hijrah*. . . . This period coincided with the appearance of the great Muslim theologians—Imam Malik b. Anas, Imam Abu Hanifa, Imam Ahmad b. Hanbel and Imam al-Shafi'i, to mention only the most prominent."<sup>2</sup>

### Other Institutions of Learning

Alongside the Mosque, another type of educational institution developed during these two centuries. This was called *Maktab*, and was used for elementary education. The *Maktab* was not of a uniform type. In some *Maktab*s reading, writing and arithmetic were taught, in some only the Quran, while in some others it was both. In addition, education was also being imparted by the religious scholars at their homes. According to Hishan Nashabi, the shops of the paper merchants which were called *Warragun* were also used for educational purposes for many years.

During the third and fourth centuries of the Islamic calendar, two new educational institutions of higher learning came into being. These were called *Dar al-Hikmah* and *Dar al-Ilm*. They were established outside the Mosque and in these institutions greater attention was given to those subjects which were not prominent in the Mosque curriculum. These were a sort of research academies of the Greek style and teaching in these institutions was of secondary importance. Due to increased influence of non-Arabs during the Abbasid period, the main function of the *Dar al-Hikmah* was to translate books from Greek into Arabic. It is said that generally *Dar al-Hikmah* was established around the library and that there have been many such institutions in other cities of Iraq besides the famous *Dar al-Hikmah* of Baghdad. It is also said that the idea of *Dar al-Hikmah* was derived from the Persian rulers while the idea of

*Dar al-Ilm* was derived from the pre-Islamic Egypt. There was probably a *Dar al-Ilm* at Baghdad but the most renowned one was the one founded by the Fatimid Caliph al-Hakim bin-Amrillah in the year 495 of *Hijrah*.

In the fifth century of the *Hijrah*, under the patronage of Saljuq rulers another institution for education was sponsored by the State, which was called *Madrassah*. The State exercised control over these *Madrassahs* to some extent. It may be mentioned that the Saljuqs did not interfere with the tradition of Mosque as a place for learning. They supplemented educational activity by spreading *Madrassahs* in Persia and Iraq. The first such *Madrassah* was established at Nishapur in Persia. Some more *Madrassahs* were established during the period of Malikshah. The most famous of these *Madrassahs* was founded by the Wazier Nizam ul-Mulk at Baghdad, which in the history of Muslim education is known as *Madrassah Nizamiyah*. This was established during the years 457 to 459 *Hijrah*. Many such institutions were built by Nazam ul-Mulk in Iraq. They were replicated in most of the Muslim countries. The significance of *Madrassah* lies in the fact that the State accepted the responsibility to educate people at such a large scale.

During these centuries differences of views among the scholars surfaced. For ensuring stronger ideological or intellectual identity, the Caliph al-Mustansir built al-*Madrassah al-Mustansiriyah* in the year 631 *Hijrah*. This grand *Madrassah* had scholars from all the four *Sunni* Schools of thought. The Caliph himself took a keen interest in this institution and provided maximum facilities to all the scholars and even to the students. This included free boarding and lodging. Establishment of these *Madrassahs* did not mean that other educational institutions such as the Mosque, the *Maktab* and private teaching by scholars at their homes had been dispensed with. These institutions continued playing their role side by side with the *Madrassah*, *Dar al-Hikmah* and *Dar al-Ilm*. It may also be made clear that the curriculum of the Mosque did not exclude the teaching of medicine.<sup>2</sup> Medicine was considered a part of philosophy (in Arabic *Hikmah*). The teaching of medicine was, however, done

separately as well. *Bimaristan*, a Persian version of Hospital was an indication which performed functions of treating the patients and teaching the students. *Bimaristan* was like the present day hospital attached with the Medical College or the Medical University. The system of imparting education in medicine alongwith the Islamic jurisprudence (*Fiqh*), logic (*Mantaq*) and the Quran and the Sunnah has been practiced until recently.

In the South-Asian region, in a number of Islamic institutions, (Dar ul-Uloom or Jamia Islamia) these subjects were being taught. One might find many such surviving institutions in Pakistan, India and Bangladesh. In Pakistan their number is estimated to be 1,200 in which 58,000 students are receiving education in religious subjects like *Hadith*, *Tafseer* and *Fiqh*. In most of these institutions *Dars-e-Nizamiyah*—curriculum designed by the Madrassah Nizamiyah of Baghdad is followed with slight modifications. A large number of these institutions exists in Bangladesh and surprisingly they impart education in Urdu. A serious thought is being given to enhance the level and prestige of these institutions in Pakistan.<sup>4</sup> These institutions are mainly concerned with the preparation of religious scholars who could take up the responsibility as Imams of the Mosque. A similar institution, Jamia Ashrafia in Lahore has recently introduced formal education side by side with religious education.

In the Muslim world there existed another institution which commanded a great influence amongst the people in certain areas and groups—it was the institution of mystics or *Sufis*. Though no formal education was imparted, the followers felt that they were being educated by their spiritual leader. They thought that through the attention (or concentration of will power) of the *Sufi* and by remaining close to him (*halqa* or *zawiyah*) they would be able to order their lives. Some of these *Sufis* were great religious scholars. To name a few of the most prominent, one may mention Syed Abdul Qadir Jilani (*Ghaus-ul-A'zam Dastagir*) of Baghdad, Syed Ali Hajveri (*Data Ganj Bakhsh*) of Lahore, Syed Muin-ud-Din Chishti and Nizam-ud-Din (*Aulia*) of Delhi. They had a large following and

their disciples liked to follow the footsteps of the spiritual leaders. This in itself is an interesting study but outside the present paper. For our purpose it would suffice to quote Tibawai :

"Almost all great *Sufis* were also great teachers. The followers of great teachers eventually organised themselves into orders. Their members were drawn from all classes of society, and in later history claimed powerful following in the craft guilds. Spiritual and moral education was the central core of the system in all these orders. Teaching and devotion were practised anywhere, but formally in the *zawiyah*. This was a parallel to the *Maktab* in that it taught the elements, but superior to it in that it provided education at a higher level.<sup>5</sup>

One who is aware of the role played by these orders like *Chishtia*, *Naqashbandia*, *Qadiria*, *Suhrawardia*, *Nizamia*, etc., in the South-Asian region, would know that it was through the teachings of these great *Sufis* and their orders that Islam had been introduced and a large number of non-Muslims had embraced Islam.

In conclusion, one might say that "the *Maktab* was the equivalent of the primary school, the *Madrassah* was the intermediate stage and the mosque was the apex of the system. It was, and still is, the university of Muslim education. The more famous of these mosque universities is Al-Azhar of Cairo."<sup>6</sup>

The concept and classification of knowledge in Islam is by itself a lengthy subject. A number of earlier and contemporary Muslim scholars like al-Ghazali, Ibn Khaldun, al-Maturidi, Ibn Rushad, al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, Fakhār al-Din Razi have dealt with this at length. For our purpose it would suffice to quote M.A. Zaki Badawi :

"Muslim educators unanimously agree that the purpose of education is not to cram the pupil's minds with facts but to prepare them for a life of purity and sincerity. The total commitment to character-building based on the ideals of Islamic ethnics is the highest goal of Islamic education."<sup>7</sup>

It may also be made clear that the traditional system did not lay

emphasis only on the inner purity or idealistic endeavours but also recognised the importance of relevance to the needs of the society and learning the skills.

"Traditional Muslim education was not an activity separated from other aspects of society. It acted in harmony with all other activities and institutions to confirm them and to be reinforced by them. . . . The level of achievement of the student in the traditional system was regarded as of equal, or indeed superior, importance to his attainment in other spheres."<sup>8</sup>

### III

#### PROBLEMS OF EDUCATIONAL GROWTH : THE EXAMPLE OF PUNJAB PROVINCE

##### The Structure of Education

In Pakistan, education is on a so-called 'concurrent list' of subjects, which means that both the Federal and the Provincial governments can make laws concerning education. Important matters like the education policy, planning and curriculum are being taken care of by the Federal Government for the purpose of uniformity and equity among the Provinces. The Provincial governments are solely responsible for all matters concerning implementation of education policy and organisation and management of the educational set up. They are also responsible for the recurrent budget, while the finances for the development are provided by the Federal Government. It may be pointed out that the concept of development budget and non-development budget in Pakistan is different from those of other countries. The recurrent or 'non-development' budget consists of the salary component and contingent expenditure on stationery, electricity, water rates, rent, etc. It also includes the expenditure on new posts created as a result of opening of new institutions under the development schemes. But in the case of projects financed by an outside agency or pilot programmes, the salary component is met out of the development budget. In case of

The Special Report of the Registrar-General on the basis of the 5 per cent sample provides significant information on the educational levels of rural youth and takes us closer to the intrinsic character of the issues and potentials inherent in the group described as literate rural youth. Table 7 gives data on men and Table 8 on women in this group.

TABLE 7

## Main Workers : Young Literate Men in Rural Areas, 1981

*(In thousands)*

Age Group	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	Total 15-34	Col. 6 as proportion of main workers of all ages
Educational Level						
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(Percentage)
Literate (without educational level)	1,537	1,597	1,570	1,440	6,143	20.3
Primary	2,655	3,239	3,017	2,440	11,351	37.5
Middle	1,238	2,240	2,087	1,518	7,083	23.4
Matriculation/ Secondary	416	1,339	1,460	1,230	4,446	14.7
Higher Secondary Intermediate/ Pre-University	61	371	179	371	1,282	4.2
Total	5,907	8,784	8,613	6,999	30,309	22.1

(Differences in rounding)

Of the stock of young literate men numbering 30 million, allowing also for the widening of the educational base and increase in numbers, at least 2 million young people could become readily available each year for serious human resource development and skill-formation programmes. Correspondingly, out of 3 million literate young women, allowing also for a steadily expanding educational base and increase in numbers, 200,000 to 300,000 potential women workers could come forward for carefully designed rural socio-economic and skill-formation programmes.

continuation of the project, the posts are included in the recurrent budget. In the discussion that follows, the terms used may be understood in the light of this explanation.

At the Federal level, there is a Ministry of Education headed by the Minister for Education, and the highest senior officer in charge of the Ministry is the Education Secretary. In the same way, the Provincial Education Department is headed by the Minister for Education and the civil servant responsible to look after the activities of the Department is called the Education Secretary. For the administration of education, the Province of Punjab, for instance, is organised on Divisional basis: there are five Divisional Directorates with one Directorate of Public Instruction at Provincial level to co-ordinate the activities of the five Divisional Directorates of Education. On the side of Technical Education, there is another Directorate. The Divisional Directorates have District Education Officers working under them to look after the schools in the Districts. In larger Districts, there are female District Education Officers as well. Under the DEO's, there are Deputy District Education Officers and Assistant Education Officers. For college level administration, one Deputy Director and one Assistant-Director are attached with each Directorate, as the number of colleges is relatively small.

### **The National thrust towards Universal Primary Education**

According to the 1972 census, the literacy rate in Pakistan is 21.7 per cent. Table 1 (p. 92) will show the province-wise and sex-wise position of literacy. Closely correlated with the literacy situation are the problems of primary education, although since independence in 1947, enrolment in Primary education has increased by about 7-8 times. This has been a significant achievement but due to rapid growth in population, the absolute number of children of the relevant age-group not enrolled in primary schools, has increased. At present about fifty per cent of the relevant age-group are in schools, the situation is being further aggravated by drop-outs, which again are estimated at fifty per cent.

In 1976-77, the primary enrolment ratio in Baluchistan was

TABLE I

Literacy Rates in Pakistan and Provinces, 1972 Census

Percentage

Locality	Total	Urban	Rural
Pakistan	21.7	41.5	14.3
Male	30.2	49.9	22.6
Female	11.6	30.9	4.7
N.W.F.P.	14.5	33.7	11.0
Male	23.1	44.7	19.0
Female	4.7	19.9	2.2
Punjab	20.7	38.9	14.7
Male	29.1	47.8	22.9
Female	10.7	28.0	5.2
Sind	30.2	47.4	17.6
Male	39.1	54.5	27.5
Female	19.2	38.4	5.8
Baluchistan	10.1	32.3	5.6
Male	14.8	42.4	9.2
Female	4.2	9.2	1.3

Note: The situation has not changed much during the last ten years.

estimated at only 32 per cent, in North West Frontier Province it was 52 per cent, in Sind it was 59 per cent and in the Punjab it was 56 per cent. The enrolment ratio for children in rural areas of Baluchistan was 30 per cent, in North West Frontier Province 50 per cent, in Sind 42 per cent and in the Punjab 48 per cent. Besides urban-rural disparities in enrolment, there has been a disparity between males and females. Only 33 per cent of female children of relevant age-group have been attending primary school classes in the country. The out-look for girls in rural areas was even bleaker. According to figures of 1976-77, only 10 per cent of rural female children of Primary age-group were enrolled in Baluchistan. In North West Frontier Province their enrolment was 14 per cent as against 16 per cent in Sind and 29 per cent in the Punjab. Moreover, drop out in Primary level has been greater among females than males.



To universalise primary education, the Government of Pakistan intends to launch a massive programme to achieve enrolment of all boys of Class I age by 1982-83 and universal primary enrolment of boys by 1986-87. In the case of girls, universalisation is proposed to be achieved by 1992. The age for admission in a primary school is 5 years. This will require mobilisation of Government as well as total national resources. For this the Government had decided to make use of Mosques, civil buildings, factories, etc., for spreading fundamental education and also to start special programmes to achieve functional literacy. This includes the traditional institution of Mohallah schools for the females. As a measure of strategy it is intended to revitalise indigenous institutions and structures created by the people themselves.

#### **Situation Analysis in the Punjab**

At the time of the establishment of Pakistan, the Province of Punjab was considered to be advanced both economically and educationally as compared to other provinces. It had more educational institutions and a higher percentage of pupils. The Government, as a matter of policy, used to supplement the private efforts for setting up educational institutions of all levels by way of grant-in-aid, keeping in view the strength of the students and the number of teachers employed. In urban areas, the private sector was quite active and despite the constant influx of rural population, the shortage of educational facilities was never felt. The ever increasing number of Primary and Secondary institutions was matching up with the increase in population except in the slum areas of the cities. Therefore, there was not much drain on the public exchequer on account of education in cities. But due to a sudden decision in September 1972 to make education free up to Matriculation (10th class) and to nationalize all the educational institutions, private efforts received a great set back. The Government got burnt badly. The recurrent expenditure which used to be less than Rs. 40 crore (\$40 million) shot up to Rs. 140 crore (\$140 million). This comes to about 25 per cent of the total recurrent budget of the Provincial Government. Not only was the entire expenditure of the existing Government institutions and that of the

institutions taken over to be borne by the Exchequer, but also all new institutions were in future to be opened by the Government. Leaving apart the personnel problems of the nationalized institutions, their had cropped up a problem of inspection and of equipment which was deficient in these institutions. Most of these institutions were run in rented buildings or structures below the standard prescribed for various categories of schools by the Buildings Department. Some of the buildings required major remodelling. Sufficient to illustrate the enormity of the problem, an amount of about Rs. 170 million was required to provide normal repairs to the nationalised institutions. In addition, a large number of such institutions were run by private enterprises in their own houses and a part of the accommodation continued to be in their possession. This resulted in large-scale litigation. In a good number of cases, the owners were able to secure ejection of the school from the courts with the result that many institutions had to be merged into other institutions. This finally led to dwindling of the enrolment in many schools.

Over the past years, there has been negligible increase in enrolment in comparison with increase in the number of schools. For the past five years on the average 1,000 primary schools have been opened in the Punjab besides construction of new buildings to accommodate female teachers. On the average there are only 61 students in each primary school. Despite better conditions, the average number of students per school has registered a dismally slow increase of just one student per school over a period of eight years (1970-78). In the case of Middle schools the average number of students has increased from 245 per school to 249 per school and in the case of high schools the average number of students has increased from 602 to 622 students per school. Even if the targets proposed in the Fifth Five-Year Plan (1978-1982) and the National Education Policy are achieved, the enrolment ratio for Punjab will be 62 per cent. At Primary level 20 per cent at Middle and 15 per cent at High school level (see Table 2 at page 95). Obviously there is a big gap to be filled.

The overall dismal picture—the Province following behind in

enrolment, heavy expenditure on education, high rate of drop out, low standard of education and non-participation of the community or the private entrepreneur in educational programmes—compelled the Provincial Government to take some radical remedial measures. As an initial step, the Provincial Government, after approval from the Federal Government, decided to allow private associations and legally constituted bodies or social organisations to open schools. These institutions were also allowed to charge fees (no fee is being charged in schools under the Government control). To provide a further incentive, the Government provided land on long lease, free of cost, for building Primary, Middle and High schools and even colleges in the newly-developed colonies or extension schemes in the cities. Within a short span of this decision, many privately run institutions have again started functioning in large cities. This includes some colleges as well.

TABLE 2

Punjab Province : Estimated Enrolment of different Age-groups in 1982.

(In Thousands)

	Population	Enrolment	Percentage
<b>Age-group 5-9</b>			
Both sexes	6,846	4,249	62
Male	3,602	2,811	78
Female	3,244	1,438	44
<b>Age-group 10-12</b>			
Both sexes	3,556	926	26
Male	1,382	734	39
Female	1,703	198	12
<b>Age-group 13-14</b>			
Both sexes	2,244	335	15
Male	1,178	268	23
Female	1,066	67	7

Source : Report on priority programmes for Children and Women of Punjab, July, 1980.

Moreover to mark the end of 1,400 years of *Hijra* and to celebrate the advent of 15th century of Islamic calendar, it was considered proper to launch a vigorous drive to intensity education. This decision was taken early in 1980 and over half a dozen districts were selected for this purpose. A great deal of favour was seen among the people and many individuals came forward to set up institutions even of higher education and to contribute money for the construction of schools and colleges.

The Punjab is also making a determined effort to contribute to the achievement of quantitative targets set by the Fifth Five-Year Plan and the National Educational Policy. During the current Plan period, it has been decided to open 13,000 new primary schools in the rural areas of the country. Of these about 6,000 primary schools will be opened in the Punjab. In the first two years of the Plan period, more than 2,000 primary schools have already been opened and it was planned to open 926 primary schools in 1980-81, 1,250 in 1981-82 and 1,250 in 1982-83. In addition to opening new schools, some 17,000 primary schools in the country are to be reconstructed and improved. One of the reasons for the low enrolment and drop out is said to be inadequate buildings or no buildings. In Punjab at the moment there are 34,000 primary schools and nearly 66 per cent of these have shanty structures or no buildings at all. Every year buildings are being added to about 350 existing schools but due to the addition of about 1,000 new schools every year the backlog is adding up. The Provincial Education Department has initiated a 3-year development programme for providing buildings to 2,250 existing primary schools, besides adding 2,000 rooms in the existing schools (one room with each school). But these efforts, when viewed against the background of the prevailing situation and the rate of population increase appear to be a drop in the ocean. Effective alternative methods of support to educational programmes will be needed in future. It is out of this dire imperative that the experiment of re-vitalizing Islamic education for the benefit of universal primary education has grown.

## IV

THE ROLE OF MOSQUE SCHOOLS IN UNIVERSALIZING  
PRIMARY EDUCATION

## Earlier Attempts : The Maktab Scheme of Bahawalpur

It is not for the first time that the educationists in Pakistan have thought of making use of the mosque to promote the cause of education. One earlier experiment to revive the time-honoured function of the mosque as a seat of learning was conducted in the former State of Bahawalpur in 1953. This was a Prince State under British India which subsequently acceded to Pakistan and now forms part of the Province of the Punjab. The Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan (Part III, Directive Principles of State Policy, Article 25) makes a specific mention about the mosque as a seat of learning. Under the heading 'Promotion of Islamic Principles' it is stated that :

1. Steps shall be taken to enable the Muslims of Pakistan individually and collectively to order their lives in accordance with the Holy Quran and Sunnah.
2. The State shall endeavour in respect of the Muslims of Pakistan :
  - (a) to provide facilities whereby they may be enabled to understand the meaning of life according to the Holy Quran and Sunnah.
  - (b) to make the teaching of the Holy Quran compulsory.
  - (c) to promote unity and the observance of Islamic moral standards.
  - (d) to secure the proper organization for *Zakat*, *Waqfs* and Mosques.
3. To bridge the gulf between the 'religious' and mandane ways of teaching and to popularize the (Religion, Reading,

Writing, Arithmetic) as the fundamentals of our Basic Education.

4. To evolve the Islamic pattern of life in its natural surroundings and give the students Islamic traits of character developed in a mosque because the strength of Islam has not been the sword or army nearly so much as the mosque and school.
5. To make the mosque a community centre for social, moral and economical betterment of the rural life by encouraging the villagers to set up Maktab, libraries, health clinics, rural clubs and social uplift societies on a co-operative basis.

In the light of these guiding principles, in the three districts of Bahawalpur, Bahawalnagar and Rahimyar Khan, the former State Government had decided to revive the traditional pattern and make mosques seats of learning to combat the rampant illiteracy. The scheme was given the name of Maktab Scheme. Detailed rules were framed for the opening and the supervision of these Maktab. These Maktab were opened mainly in villages where there were no schools and co-educational institutions, for boys and girls, for the first five classes. But separate Maktab could be opened for girls if an educated woman was available in the village and was willing to teach. In order to run these Maktab, village or Mohallah committees were formed which included the senior person of the village Patwari (lowest official of the Revenue Department in the village) or the Municipal Commissioner of the Mohallah and the Headmaster of the neighbouring village or Mohallah. These committees were given the name of 'Taleemi Committees.' According to a paper published by Ghulam-e-Shabbir Bokhari, "Maktab Scheme is a successful step towards mass education," this experiment in the new Bahawalpur Division of the Punjab yielded encouraging results. In the first 15 months about 60 thousand boys and girls of school-going age got admission into Maktab. These Maktab were given some amount by the Government as grant-in-aid while major expenditure

was borne by the 'Taleemi Committees.' They collected funds called *Marjidana* for financing Maktabas which were established in mosques. The Government, took up the responsibility of supervising 1,000 Maktabas and arranged in-service training for the 'Moallim Imams' as they were called.

The Maktab scheme started in the Bahawalpur Division was extended to other parts of the then West Pakistan in 1966-67 on the following lines :

- (i) The scheme should be started in villages without schools only.
- (ii) The scheme should supplement and not supplant the existing facilities of primary education.
- (iii) The Union Council should be put into the overall control of the mosque schools in its jurisdiction. The salary of the Imam-Teachers should be fixed by the Union Council according to qualification in each case.
- (iv) The mosque school should provide only first and second primary classes. However, the third primary class may be added where the teacher has necessary qualifications.
- (v) The decision to provide the third primary class should be taken by the Deputy Commissioner on the recommendation of the Education Officers.
- (vi) The District Inspector of schools should provide the overall supervision of the institution.
- (vii) When after passing out a student applied for regular admission to the nearby school, the Headmaster of the school may give an admission test to the applicant.
- (viii) The mosque school should be given grant-in-aid keeping in view the total enrolment and the number of students graduating.
- (ix) The mosque school should follow the same syllabi as prescribed for the regular primary schools.

- (x) The mosque school should admit both boys and girls. In villages this practice is already in vogue.
- (xi) The scheme may be introduced as a pilot project. . . .

On the dissolution of the Province of West Pakistan and re-creation of the old Province of the Punjab since 1972, the scheme continued functioning in the districts as mentioned above. Details are, however, not available about the increase or decrease in enrolment or the success of these Maktabs, nor has there been an evaluation record about their functioning. The main point that emerges is that the number of these Maktabs did not show any increase. This could be ascribed to the indifference of the educationists, who favoured the formal institutions, or lack of supervision by the civil service. Even for the formal schools there has been ineffective supervision because of the inadequacy of the staff. Moreover, as a result of re-organisation, the supervisory or inspection staff was assigned certain administrative functions as well. Obviously due to this increase or work, lesser number of staff and dislocation of records, the Maktab scheme became dormant. After the enforcement of the New Education Policy in 1978 the programme has again been highlighted. Until now these Maktabs had been functioning as single-teacher schools with a 'Moallim Imam.' But in view of the recommendations in the Education Policy, they are now to be converted into two-teacher schools by providing additional posts of teachers.

#### **The Role of the Mosque Schools under the New Education Policy**

As part of the New Education Policy, it has been decided to open 5,000 Mosque schools throughout the country during the current Plan period. The Province of Punjab has been allocated 2,000 Mosque schools to be set up during this period. The Government has recognised that the mosque has traditionally been a centre of learning in Muslim society and that educational institutions established in the mosque used to be owned and supervised by the community itself in the past. In most of the mosques even now children of both sexes go to study the Holy Quran and Islamiyat.



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