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Editor's Note

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The Case of Pakistan
M. Farooq Arby, Tahir Mehmood and Hafeez ur Rehman
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Dr. Muhammad Saleem Mazhar
- Book Review
Naheed S. Goraya
- Documents

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Contents

Editor's Note	5
Articles	
Indian Designs to Change the Geography of Pakistan <i>Dr. Muhammad Jahangir Tamimi</i>	7-16
Balochistan: The Land and the People <i>Dr. Javed Haider Syed</i>	17-34
Operation Gibraltar and the 1965 War <i>Dr. Lubna Abid Ali</i>	35-57
Anti - Terrorism Act 1997: Undemocratic Attitude of a Democratic Government <i>Dr. Pervaiz Ahmad</i>	59-73
An Analytical Review of the Performance of SAARC <i>Dr. Muhammad Saleem Mazhar & Naheed S. Goraya</i>	75-86
Political Activities of Indian Women During Sultanate Period <i>Rukhsana Iftikhar</i>	87-94
An Analysis of Macroeconomic Linkages: The Case of Pakistan <i>M. Farooq Arby, Tahir Mehmood and Hafeez ur Rehman</i>	95-104
India's Policy Towards South Asia: June-December 2007 <i>Dr. Muhammad Saleem Mazhar</i>	105-109
Book Review <i>Naheed S. Goraya</i>	111-113
Documents	115-123

EDITOR'S NOTE

South Asian Studies is published biannually in January and July by the Centre for South Asian Studies, University of the Punjab, Lahore-Pakistan. It encourages the articles relating to the South Asian Affairs. We welcome contributions by academics, experts, administrators, policy makers and all other interested in promoting better understanding of the South Asian issues. Views expressed in *South Asian Studies* do not necessarily reflect the views of the Centre. Responsibility for the accuracy of facts and for the opinions expressed rests solely with authors.

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The research papers of about 5,000 - 6,000 words may be sent via e-mail or on a floppy disk by the above-mentioned dates.

The contributions via e-mail should be sent at the following address: director@csas.pu.edu.pk

Foot Notes.

Papers should include footnotes in Chicago Manual of Style. The cited books should be quoted by giving the name of the author(s), the title of the book, the place of publication, the name of the publisher, the year of publication and the relevant page number(s). For instance:

Waheed-uz-Zaman, *Towards Pakistan*, (Lahore: United Publishers Ltd., 1964), p. 58

The cited journal articles should be quoted by giving the author(s) name, the title of the article, the full title of the journal, the volume number, the month and year of publication, and the relevant page number (s). For instance:.

Agha Shahi, "Pakistan-India Relations and Superpower Politics," *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. X, No. 4 (Summer 1987, p. 41

The newspaper articles should follow format of journal articles, but listing of pages is not essential. However, for reference to a news item from a newspaper, only the name of the newspaper and the date would be mentioned. For instance:

Ahmad Hasan Dani, "Recent Political Developments in Central Asia," *The Muslim*, (Islamabad), 9 April 1993

The Nation, (Lahore) 5 December 2002

While citing an Internet source, direct the readers as closely as possible to the information being cited and it would be preferred if the date of retrieval of the relevant article or news item is also mentioned.

Nasim Zehra, "Pakistan-Iran Relations: Compulsions and Conditions for a Strategic Relationship," ISSI, (24 January 2003).

http://www.issi.org.pk/journal/2003_files/no_1/article/a.htm

In case of reference to a source already cited in full form, *ibid* (for reference to source immediately preceding) and *op. cit* (for a source already cited but not immediately preceding), should be used. For instance:

Shahid Javed Burki, Pakistan: *A Nation in the Making*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1986)

Ibid, p. 305.

Burki, *op. cit*, p.298.

Writing Style

All abbreviations must be given in full at their first use, for example, Non Aligned Movement (NAM). Also write per cent, not % or percent.

Short and crisp sentences are advised.

Use British spellings.

Write numbers in words till number nine and then in numerals (e.g. Two, three, 10,11).

Dates should be written as 7 October 2002.

INDIAN DESIGNS TO CHANGE THE GEOGRAPHY OF PAKISTAN

Dr. Muhammad Jahangir Tamimi

Abstract

Indian leaders never accepted the creation of Pakistan. So since the emergence of Pakistan on August 14, 1947, the Indian Leaders started unending efforts against the existence of Pakistan. This anti-Pakistan policy has been going on to compose Pakistan-India relations in to a bitter course of history. Nehru family has played very crucial role in vanquishing Pakistan. During the Indira Gandhi government, India played a central role in disintegration of Pakistan. Nehru family is proud of it. It takes it as a great achievement. Rahul Gandhi, the descendant of Nehru family, calculating the services of his family for India, has proudly pointed out the disintegration of eastern wing of Pakistan and also claimed for more such attainments in future to suppress Pakistan.

Introduction

Over the time, the contemptible designs to wipe out Pakistan became the focal point of Indian policy. The Indian policy of open aggression against Pakistan has led both neighbours to a antagonistic state of affairs that engaged the both nations in a number of limited and open wars and ultimately resulted in the disintegration of East Pakistan in 1971. As Nehru family has played the pivotal role in the Indian policy to subjugate Pakistan in the past, thus the present generation of that family, inheriting anti-Pakistan sentiments, certainly feels proud over the bifurcation of Pakistan during the Indira Gandhi government.

Rahul Gandhi, the grand son of Indira Gandhi, who has entered Indian politics and taken responsibility as the General Secretary of Indian Congress, determines to continue the anti-Pakistan policy. He said in a speech during election campaign in UP (Uttar Pradesh) on April 15, 2007: “When our family makes a bull’s eye, they do achieve it at every cost. Besides independence to make Bangladesh is also the output of Gandhi (Indira Gandhi) family”¹

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This declaration is not being made for the first time. Indira Gandhi made numerous statements regarding the victorious announcement on East Pakistan's debacle. She said once in the Parliament: "Today we have indemnified the history of thousand years and have immersed the Two-Nation Theory in the Bay of Bengal."²

Now it has become an open secret that India exploited the crisis in East Pakistan. Much before this crisis, India sowed the seeds of hatred in the young generation of East Pakistan. On the basis of linguistic differences, Agartala Conspiracy was wrapped and Mukti Bahni guerillas infiltrated in the East Pakistan and undertook terrorist activities and finally India launched an open attack on Pakistan. On the other hand, India defamed Pakistan on international level and painted it as a rogue state. Indo-Soviet Union Friendship Treaty played an important role in furthering India's designs against Pakistan. It is very clear that the focal point of Indian aggressive designs, disposition and diplomacy to bring Pakistan face to face with destabilization.

Anti-Pakistan Policy

Thus Pakistan has always remained as a core factor in Indian foreign policy. The historic provision of which is Hindu prejudice of thousand years and which was considered as the interpretation of dividing India's independence movement. Then the obstacles were put in the way of establishment of Pakistan in the name and philosophy of united nationality. Nevertheless, when Pakistan came into being, it was hurdled with the problems of the division of assets, refugees and hence the national areas of Pakistan were forced to be turned into the Occupied Kashmir. Then by hatching the political plots with Awami League, after the Hindu traders, teachers and leaders of trade unions through a disgraced aggression, India took an active part in making Bangladesh and this is an open announcement on the part of Rahul Gandhi. This is a fact that this statement of Rahul is not only a description of Indira Gandhi, her family or All India Congress's General Secretary but the reflection of a collective Indian psyche. It is the fact that since the inception of Pakistan, Indian leadership had a very hostile approach towards Pakistan. This vindictive approach of India is an extemporization masterpiece on her part. The sixty years of Indian history is the evidence of the fact that either there may be the Congress rule or BJP or any other coalition government or some strong government, the focus of Indian establishment and her national policy is to destabilize and

weaken Pakistan. Although in size, Pakistan is much smaller as compared to India, yet it has a greater influence on India due to her geo-strategic position. Pakistan, of course stands in face to face in balance of power with India. It is a known fact to every one that Indian trickery has been trying to further weaken Pakistan through conspiracies, terrorism and diplomatic hostile venture.

Centuries ago, Muslims had a stable central government in South Asian continent. They had an effective and prominent legacy of a firm culture. Such traditions are a part of Medieval India or Muslim period which is expanded over thousand years. It has entangled the history and geography of modern State of India. This is the reason of decline of Muslim rule in 1857 in India that ultimately left various problems which even today both the countries have to suffer. Even today, the sixty years have passed to the existence of India, despite the secular tendencies, the democratic experience and hatred of Hindus to their Muslim fellow citizens is existing. Accordingly this hatred against Muslims has been turned into a brutal scene of massacre of Muslims. According to one estimate, about one twenty four thousands events of massacres have taken place.

In fact the Hindu belligerents want to push Muslims into educational, economic and social duck. It is evident from the official report of Justice(R) Rajendhar Sachar, December 2007 report: "It has its historic reasons which are infact the historic bigotries. It very clearly depicts the manners of Hindu majority which can be called, the persistent conduct of the masses."

The efficiency of Nehru family regarding the evil efforts to wipe out the Muslims from Indian geography has been revealed time by time. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru as the first Prime Minister of India put a lock on the historic Babri Mosque (Ayodhya) in 1958 and idols were put there. Rajiv Gandhi, father of Rahul Gandhi, encouraged the process of preparing the arrangement of worship at the Babri Mosque. It was the government of Prime Minister P.V. Narsima Rao, on whose benediction, BJP and workers of R.S.S. demolished the historic Babri Mosque on December 2, 1992. This is the Indian conduct with Muslims that has dwelled BJP, the champion of Hindutu, and Congress, the heir of Congress. A renowned daily Pakistani newspaper, Nawa-e-Waqt, very rightly reviewed the anti-Mislim policy of India:

It has been an old dream of Indian leadership besides the prejudice Hindu family to wipe out

Pakistan. They are fastly treading towards their mission. But we have been that much ignorant about the conspiracies of our shrewd enemy that we do not even bother about the protection of our solidarity. We even today aspire for having good relations with India through discussions and trade and of course CBMs are a part of it. India is the advantageous beneficial of it. India takes it as our weakness and is getting an unlawful benefit. To a greater extent, India is involved in the subversion and terrorism taking place in Balochistan....On the contrary, the blunder we made in East Pakistan debacle, not only that we did not learn any lesson out of that but we are again also determined to repeat that.

In a Indian Muslim periodical, Seh-Roza Daawat, Fikr-o-Nazar, gives detail of news under title of 'Remarks of a Young Leader.'³ On April 14, Rahul Gandh while addressing to an electoral procession in UP, said:

When my family takes up the gauntlet, it fulfills it. It may either be the matter of getting freedom for the country, to divide Pakistan into two parts; or to take the country into 21st century. Even though it is not a new revelation to divide Pakistan into two parts. On the behalf of India, the political opposition parties have taken notice to it in their own separate ways. BJP was of the opinion why Gandhi family alone is taking the credit to subvert Pakistan.

The reaction of the Communist Party and Smajwadi Party intimated that the Congress was raising the unnecessary problems in order to win the elections in U.P but might be no one has told the critiques that it was absolutely a negative thinking. The bottom line was that this young leader of Congress had spoken after the heart of a greater class. Indira Gandhi was given congratulations on this performance by her opponents. Atul Bihari Vajpayi had given her title as, "**Durga Devi.**"⁴ Nevertheless, the present Indian Prime Minister, heading the Congress led coalition Government, Dr. Manmohan Singh has also shown an enticing statement. In Andhara

Pardesh, while talking to Sahara TV during an electoral venture, Dr. Manmohan Singh said:

Indian Prime Minister, Dr. Mnamohan Singh has said that the statement which Rahul Gandhi , the son of Sonia Gandhi has given about the efficiency of Nehru family in dividing Pakistan into two parts in 1971,that is purely a personal statements. Talking to Sahara Tv in Uttar Pardesh, the Indian Prime Minister said that such statements have nothing to do with Indian government. Nevertheless, the Indian people should know about this fact that Rahul Gandhi is the future of India.⁵

Further speeches of Rahul Gandhi during the electoral ventures in Uttar Pardesh have been reported by NNI and SANA News Agency. Rahul Gandhi has claimed that “his family has fixed those preferences for future and those shall be fulfilled at all costs.” Rahul Gandhi was taking parts in the electoral venture of the Congress candidate, parveen Singh Arun in Brayli Cantt. In the same way, in a Road show speech, he said if Gandhi family was ruling in 1992, and then the incident of Babri Mosque would not have taken place.⁶

In this regard, the statement of Interior Minister of India was worth-reading by which one shall not feel intricacy in understanding the point of view of Congress and ruling UP’s Government in India. ANN reported from Lucknow:

Indian Interior Minister Hari Parkash Jaswal has defended the statement made by Rahul Gandhi about the role of Gandhi family in dividing Pakistan and considers him justified. Indian Minister states that in 1971, hundred of refugees from India entered East Pakistan. The then Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi filed an appeal to the International fraternity to solve this problem. Nevertheless, when no solution came out, while taking into consideration, the sentiments of the people of East Pakistan, then Indira Gandhi adopted the war strategy .⁷

It was not a matter of timely problem and affair of 1971. The stage was set according to the perusal and plots of Indian designs , war front, diplomatic front and the liaison of East Pakistan, conspiracies and those of P.N.Haskar and Murli Dhar which helped in giving as air by Pakistani Army leadership through her ineptitude. In order to know about the malignity of Mrs. Indira Gandhi about Pakistan, her speech at Aligarh (U.P) on November 1, 1971 is more than enough. She says:

My father Jawahar Lal Nehru was a great leader of independence. He was everything to me. He was my affectionate father, a teacher and also a mentor. All this is alright but Indian history and his party Indian National Congress shall never forgive him on his dreadful transgression. That crime is that he accepted the decision of dividing India, under the pressure of late Soorgbashi Patel(Hindu Mahasbha) who bifurcated India into two parts. I have to say this with great sorrow because he was my father but more than it is the reason that he was the favourite leader of all the Indians. Today I am disclosing this fact that more than being a daughter to him, I am an Indian Prime Minister. If I would not say this, even then the present and coming generations shall keep on saying the same. They will not forgive this crime of Pandat Jawahar Lal Nehru, the Indian National Congress and this nation.⁸

This is a public address made one year earlier than the venture of making Bangladesh and its completion took place. It is no wonder to say that the echo of this address of thirty six years ago is the dust of Rahul Gandhi's mob and this is the opinion of the intelligent and cultured circle for which they also say that:

Indira Gandhi made Pakistan divided but what cost country had to pay for that, it is rarely bothered by people. Billions were spent on war. With this not only Pakistan but all the big and small countries became wary. A larger part of country's income is spent on defense which is increasing year by year. Due to 1971's debacle, there is an inclination of separation in different

parts of the country. The separatist movements started flourishing; the regional political parties were established and strengthened. The tragic thing is that even today the negative mentality prevails despite this fact and this is the consequence of the politics of timely interest and factious patriotism.

The essence of Pakistan is the psychological and historical commotion of Indian leadership and is the informer of the historic ebb and flow relations of Pakistan and India. The experience and destructive conduct of centuries has revealed this fact that when Hindu nation becomes unable to merge any other nation, country and people except itself; then it starts efforts to efface it. It is the provision of the Indian history to keep itself busy in waging a war on the neighboring country, to remain armed all the time and to make conspiracies and sabotaging.

India's Long Cherished wish to Change the Geography of Pakistan

The Long-awaited aspiration of India to diminish Pakistan is still there even after sixty years of independence. The ex-Indian Foreign Minister, Natwar Singh said in a BBC program, "Hard Talk" on June 8, 2004: "We have not announced such a thing that we do not desired to have any sort of change in borders." Answering to a question, he said.

We changed the map of the Sub-Continent in 1971 also. Now the stage has come again and we shall see if people and government make their sincere efforts, then the Kashmir issue can be resolved. Nevertheless, the core issue before us is the atomic one which has been focused in our agenda.

Nawa-e-Waqt has rightly presented an analysis on the statement of ex-Indian Foreign Minister Natwar Singh:

The foreign minister of India and follower of Indira Gandhi, Natwar Singh have started teaching us the lesson to change the map of the Sub-Continent like 1971. It is apparent that instead of making discussions fruitful and relations to be wholesome, India wants to

make Pakistan realize that if she does not restraint to claim Kashmir as core issue then again the circumstances may lead towards a situation like that of 1971. While keeping in view the political activities of India in Afghanistan, opening of the counsellates on an extensive level and strategic partners of America and Israel, it is not thus difficult to comprehend the latent meaning of Natwar Sing's statement.¹⁰

This is the foundation stone around which the pendulum of Indian foreign policy revolves, the is not only about Pakistan but also to attain the impartial or unintentional objectives. While the hostility with Pakistan is the basis of Indian foreign policy and basic factor too. Dr. Manmohan Singh, Indian Prime Minister in a ceremony of lying the foundation stone of Nehru Bhoon (Adjacent to Foreign Minister's Offices of South Block, New Delhi) Said :

The non-aligned opinion of country's first Prime Minister, Pandat Jawahar Lal Nehru, is based on this principle that we are not partial to any party nor we are against any one. We are only attached with our values and national interest.¹¹

India's Military exercises and Pakistan

During the past eight years, India has been making war practices with about six countries. The last war practices were made by India in the Occupied Kashmir on Pakistani borders. While the latest war practices were being started on the border areas of Sindh and Punjab near Pakistani border. It is worth remembered that few years ago, India has made war practices in Rajhistan. According to the Nawa-e-Waqt:

India will make war practices near Pakistani border which shall start in Rajhistan near Thar Desert from March 15, 2008. Indian land and air forces will take part in it. In, "Wakhan Shakti " exercises, the mirage plane, Mikhoi-T 90-tank and advanced U.A.E long range multi-barrel search rocket launchers and modern communicative and detective weapon shall be demonstrated.¹²

Conclusion

Rahul Gandhi has mentioned about his family's role in making Bangladesh in his political legacy the roots of which have been fixed within the existence of Pakistan in 1947. All India Congress has never accepted Pakistan with bliss. Thus she has become crazy to unite India and Pakistan or to seize Pakistan to such an extent that its historical reasoning is its historical bigotry. Not only this but the address of Mrs. Indira Gandhi in Ali Garh in November 1971 is the turgo-man of this point of view which is part of the people of Indian society owing to the division of the Sub-Continent. If one is to comprehend this mentality of All Indian Congress, then the words of that resolution of All India Congress Committee must be read attentively which accepted the division of India with reservation that "Once the sentimental storm will be lessened, then no supporter of the two-nation theory will be seen." Similarly Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru said in an interview, given to the author of, "Danger in Kashmir", Joseph Corbel: "A time will come when Pakistan will have contiguity with India" and the same has been said by the famous Nationalist Leader, Mulana Abul Kalam Azad. He expressed it at the occasion of the All India Congress Committee's resolution: "The hearts of the people have not been divided. I am sure that this partition will be proved transitory."

This is the hatred approach of Indian leaders against Pakistan which had been called, "Bang-e-Dabal" by Indira Gandhi in her address to the people in Calcutta before the aggression made by army in East Pakistan. India has nowhere accepted the essence of Pakistan. Indian leaders have always the conviction that the creation of Pakistan was an erroneous step and Pakistani nation has no right to live and then on East Pakistan's debacle her victorious statement: "Today we have taken revenge of our one thousand years and have immersed the two-nation theory into Bay of Bengal."¹³

Atal Bihari Vajpayee has called Indira Gandhi, "Durga Devi" for stating this. Thus mentioning of his family's sacrifice for India, in the democratic and secular show of India, the crown prince of ancestral democracy and 'Future' of India, Rahul Gandhi, is in fact the glory of his political and national hereditary. It is noticeable that this pride has the national motive and objective to annihilate and ruin Pakistan and this is the bottom-line of this study.

Notes & References

1. *Express*, Lahore, April 16, 2007.
2. *Nawa-e-Waqt*, Lahore , April 17, 2007.
3. *Nawa-e-Waqt*, Lahore, April 17,2007
4. *Seh-Roza Daawat*, Delhi, *Fikr-o-Nazar*, April 23, 2007
5. *Nawa-e-Waqt*, Lahore, April 16, 2007
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7. *Nawa-e-Waqt*, April 20,2007
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9. *Seh-Roza Daawat*, Delhi, April 25, 2007
10. *Nawa-e-Waqt*, June 12,2004
11. *Seh-Roza Daawat*, April 25, 2007
12. *Nawa-e-Waqt*, March6, 2008
13. *The Daily Telegraph*, London, November 30, 1971

BALUCHISTAN: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

Dr. Javed Haider Syed

Abstract

Dealing with topic, the paper has kept in view the opinions of the indigenous as well as the foreign writers, since most of the developments in the Baloch society and politics did happen during the previous one and a quarter century i.e., the British period and onwards. Moreover, in the absence of any industry or urban culture, it was important to look at the natural resources and their exploitation. We have avoided using strong statements about the characteristics of the people but have included what especially the British felt about them in order to see how far these perceptions informed their policies.

This paper introduces the various features of the Baloch society, such as area, demography, geographical settings, climate, ethnicity and tribal structure in order to situate the political developments in Balochistan in that perspective where the above-mentioned features interacted not only with the various stages of its development but also were perceived with mixed feelings by the British. The idea is not to make any political statement on the basis of these characteristics but simply to see how they interact with the political developments. Similarly, the brief description of its history is not meant to compress a long history of this area but to highlight only those aspects of its history that remained active during the British administration with particular reference to the way Balochistan acted as a buffer state between the British Empire and its perceived and real rivals i.e., the French, the Russians, the Turks and the Germans.

Introduction

In the historical context of south Asia, Balochistan's size, sparsely populated area, and a long coastal line make it a unique place in strategic and political terms. Being the western part of the British Empire in India, it played a crucial role in international politics, especially throughout the colonial period and onwards. The contours of this role were largely shaped by its proximity to the so-called threat states and the ethnic composition of its people.

Presently, Balochistan is the largest province of Pakistan in terms of territory. Its total area is about 347,188 square kilometers, and its population, the 1901 census showed to be around 811,000. In 1931, the population was 869,000. The population was reduced to 858,000 by 1941. However, the 1951 census showed that the population had registered an increase of 36.01 percent. It now stood at 1,167,000. In larger part, it was due to the increase in the area of the province after the creation of Pakistan and the merger of former princely states, including Kalat. Its recent population, according to the census conducted in the year 1998 is 6,511,000.¹

The Greek historian, Herodotus, commonly known as the "father of history", is reported to have visited Balochistan in order to collect information about the wars between the Greeks and the Iranians. His description of its physical features has been amazingly corroborated by the later geographers. He divides Balochistan into three distinct parts: 1) Aracosia; consisting of Kandahar and Quetta region, 2) Drangiana; comprising Helmund, Seistan and Chagai, and 3) Gedrosia; including Mekran Coast.² However, because of similar geographical and ethnic features in areas around Balochistan, different scholars have determined its exact boundaries according to their respective political and sociological interests. R.N. Frye, for example, considers Balochistan in terms of ethnic features, "it occupies the south eastern part of the Iranian plateau from the Kirman desert east of Bam and Bashagrid to the western borders of Sind and the Punjab."³ An Iranian scholar views Balochistan as the "eastern expansion of the great Iranian plateau."⁴

According to British official sources, Balochistan's borders, stretched from the Gomal River in the north east to the Arabian Sea in the south and from the borders of Iran and Afghanistan in the west and northwest to the Sulaiman Mountains and the Kirthar Hills in the east, inclusive of the region of southeastern Iran.⁵

Balochistan has its natural boundaries, on the west, Balochistan shares 520 miles of border with Iran. In the north, it is bounded by 720 miles with Afghanistan. On the south, its territory touches the waters of the Arabian Sea with a coastline of 472 miles (which was 600 miles long during the early British period)⁶. On the east, the Sulaiman Ranges separate it from the Iranian part, while in the north, Toba Kakar, and in the west, Chagai hills separate it from Afghanistan and Iran.⁷

In terms of topography, Balochistan consists of the Upper Highlands, the Lower Highlands, the Plains and the Deserts. The Upper Highlands are locally known as Khorasan, and they constitute the central and northeastern parts of Balochistan. The Lower Highlands are distinguished by steps of the Sulaiman Range in the east and the Pub and Kirthar Range in the south. While the Ranges of Mekran, Kharan and Chagai stand on the west, the northwestern part of Balochistan consists of the deserts, which are distinguished by black gravel sand and are called the Kharan desert.⁸ Some experts consider it as an extension of Iranian Seistan and *Dasht-i-Loot*. The plains in the valleys are as inlets on the coastal areas. The major plains comprise of Kachhi, Las Bela and river Dasht valleys, in addition to the Quetta valley and the plateau of Kalat.⁹

Balochistan has many rivers but because of very low rainfall, they do not flow round the year. In fact, many of them simply remind the visitors of water flowing at some stage in the past. The largest river of Balochistan is the Hingol. It flows southward and empties itself in the Arabian Sea. Mekran coastal areas have the Dasht, the Nal, the Porali, the Mashkhel and the Hub rivers. The northeastern Highlands have the Zhob and the Gomal rivers. Pishin Lora flows in the west of Quetta and further in the south is the Nari river. If we look at the volumes of water and timing of its flow in the rivers, they appear to be seasonal water channels rather than rivers in the literal sense of the word. Consequently, one of the most visible features of Balochistan is the scarcity of water resources and its impact is shown not only on human consumption but also on the agricultural, industrial and socio-economic life of the people.

Walter Fairservis has looked at Balochistan from the perspective of its water channels. In his view, Balochistan could be divided naturally into four broad regions:

The northeast running from the Gomal river Valley in a great loop, south and west to include the Zhob, Pishin and Anambar river system of the districts of Zhob and Loralai and the well-watered Quetta Valley; the flat plain of Kachhi, lying in the cou-de-sac between the Bugti hills in the east and the central Brahvi range on the west. Central Baluchistan, the old Kalat state of the districts of

Sarawan and Jhalawan, which lies essentially in that system of north-south trending ranges that includes the Kirthar on the west of the southern Indus river Valley; and the district of Las Bela, including the valleys of the southern Porali river and the Hab river and including the hill country west to the Hingol river drainage. To these divisions can be added to the great coastal country known as the Mekran, which is really an entity of itself, the Mashkhel basin and finally the Chagai Hill country.¹⁰

The coastline of Balochistan provides a spectacular view. Though it is barren, one is struck with watercourses intercepting its arid clay plains. It has four natural ports, Sonmiani, Pasni, Jiwani and Gwadar.¹¹ The waters of the Arabian Sea wash this coastal strip. The climate is hot, humid in summers, and moderate in winters.¹²

This remarkable variety in the landscape of Balochistan is also reflected in climate, which can be hot, humid, temperate and cold, depending on the time and place. The greater part of Balochistan has a sub-tropical continental climate. In the Upper Highlands, the winters are severe, the temperature falling many degrees below freezing point, whereas the summers are temperate.

The valleys of Balochistan have temperature variation according to their altitude, soil structure, vegetation, proximity to lakes, and direction of winds. The valleys of Quetta, Zhob and Ziarat are usually cold with chances of fog, rain, and snow in winters, and the people of adjacent hot areas consider them good summer resorts. The valleys of Kalat and Khuzdar in Lower Highlands also fall in the same category along with Panjgur in the Upper Coastal Region, which, also provide good summer resorts.¹³

The plains and deserts become extremely hot during summers and the temperature occasionally exceeds fifty degree centigrade. Noshki in the north, Sibi and Dhadar in the middle, and Turbat in the Coastal region are considered to be among the hottest inhabited places on the earth. A famous proverb reflects the extensive heat of both the places: "If you have shaped Sibi and Dhadar as hot as they are: O God! What was the need of Hell?"¹⁴

Unlike the rest of the country, Balochistan is not covered by the Monsoon rains. Average rainfall is only two to three inches per year and it rains mostly during winter. However, some areas in the Lower Highlands and the coastal areas receive rain mainly in the summer.¹⁵ Such extreme temperatures, paucity of rainfall, strong winds and soil erosion are not conducive to the growth of natural vegetation. But, nonetheless, the Upper Highlands are blessed with some dry hill forests and the area of Las Bela in the Lower Highland shows some river rainforests. Valleys and oasis show lush patches of green where a variety of fruits and vegetables grow.¹⁶

The ethnic composition of Balochistan reveals three main groups, with distinct languages and cultural backgrounds: the Baloch, the Brahui and the Pashtoon. It is difficult to document the origins and the movement of the population during the past centuries because the earlier period is wrapped in legends and mysteries. However, an attempt will be made to show the general trends about the ethnic and linguistic diversity of Balochistan. An effort will also be made to delineate the interaction of the three main components of the population of Balochistan.

It has been estimated that there are about five hundred tribes and sub-tribes in Balochistan¹⁷, which, together, make up the social, economic and political profile of Balochistan. However, for the purposes of present study, while recognizing the distinction of Brahuism and Pashtoism, we would apply the term Baloch to all the inhabitants of Balochistan who either migrated to this area or were assimilated with the passage of time in the culture of the Baloch people.¹⁸

Like all tribal societies, the Baloch also represent ethnic identity, patron-client relationship and participation in common blood feuds, and admission to kinship within the tribes. The structure of Balochi language also shows the impact of racial amalgamation of many people. Even today, along with Balochi and Brahui, Pashto, Persian, Saraiki and Sindhi languages are spoken in Balochistan. Balochi is dominant language of ten out of twenty three districts of the province. Brahui is dominant in Kalat district only. Pashto is the language of majority in nine districts. Sindhi language is mostly spoken in two districts.¹⁹

The ethnic composition of this area was highlighted for the first time in the Census of 1931. This Census also shows how its ethnic composition has undergone changes during the different phases of history.²⁰ During the pre-British period, movements in and out of Balochistan were mostly voluntary or activated by the usual 'push' and 'pull' factors indicated generally by the sociologists. However, the British brought in people from the other areas of the subcontinent for administrative as well as professional jobs such as engineers for the construction of railroads and soldiers for the cantonments, which added new ethnic and linguistic groups to the profile of Balochistan. To work on new projects, i.e., railroads and telegraph, skilled labour was imported to the area. These activities converted some areas of Balochistan into multi-lingual entities, where in addition to Balochi, Brahui, and Pashto, Persian, Punjabi, Saraiki, and Urdu were also spoken.²¹ In addition to these languages, the elite and the educated classes adopted English.

A fascinating aspect, which continues to influence generation of the people of Balochistan, is the way they look at their distant past. Like most other societies of the region, the Baloch trace their origins back to those times, which cannot be determined scientifically. However, it will be useful to see how the people of Balochistan view themselves. True to their nomadic origin, the word Baloch is said to mean, "Wanderer." Braho is supposed to be a corrupt form of the word, Ibrahim, (the Prophet), hence the Brahuis consider themselves as descendants of Braho. Another version of the word Brahui is linked to its construction; it is composed of two words, *Ba* and *Rohi*, meaning "people of the hills." In addition, since the word *Uch* means desert and *Ba* people, therefore, Baloch means "people of the desert." Still another view holds that Barohi or Brahui may mean "people of the mountains."²²

The history of the Baloch people is also wrapped in legends and facts. There is a historical evidence of some Baloch settlements as early as the seventh century A.D. in the south east of Iran, particularly in the area of Kirman but it seems that their migrations to modern Balochistan in significant numbers occurred in the second millennium. Some scholars have accepted the Baloch claim that their ancestors came from Aleppo, in modern Syria, at the time of the ninth century Arab conquest.²³

Apparently, the Mongol invasions and large-scale destruction in Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan led to frequent Baloch migrations into the present Balochistan, which, because of its difficult terrain provided security to various tribes. Therefore, we see that by the fourteenth century A.D. the Baloch people appear in big numbers in their present homeland, coming in contact with the Pashtoons, Punjabis, Sindhis and some Dravidian groups, which occupied the Jhallawan hills at the eastern edge of Balochistan.²⁴

However, before we proceed any further, it will be interesting to see how the Baloch were perceived by the western scholars. According to Robert Wirsing, "The Baluch are an ancient people, with a history going back over two thousand years. Much of that history is clouded over with uncertainty, and controversy exists about many aspects of it."²⁵ In fact, various conflicting theories about their original homeland led Sir Denys Bray to conclude, "The Baluch are Syrian because of their names, Arabs because of their own claim, Turco-Iranian because of their head measurements, Mongolians because of their tribal names, Sumerians because of their ancient pottery found in the country."²⁶ Of course, some western scholars, relying on the information from phonological and etymological sources, have traced their history to the north-west Iran adjacent to the southern coast of the Caspian Sea.²⁷

Being in closest proximity to nature, a Baloch appears to Ibbetson, "frank and open in his manners and without servility fairly to his words temperate and enduring and looking upon courage as the highest virtue."²⁸ Their pastoral background coupled with the harsh environment makes them excellent horsemen. According to one perceptive observer, "the Biloch is an expert rider, horse racing is his national amusement; and the Biloch breed of horses is celebrated throughout northern India."²⁹

We would not like to get involved in this debate about the origins of the Baloch people, but it will suffice to examine here how the conditions of Balochistan shaped their socio-economic interests and political institutions over a period of time. According to Ibn Khaldun, climate, environment, and natural resources shape the character of the people. In his profile of nomadic societies, Ibn Khaldun enumerates different characteristics that people adopt in order to survive in specific areas.³⁰ The Baloch also fall in the same category.

The terrain of Balochistan is not friendly to urban settlements and the scarcity of food and other resources provide a constant challenge to the people, which definitely show their imprint on the character of the people. Apart from hunting and search for green pastures, another striking phenomenon of the people of Balochistan is raiding and plundering, which makes every Baloch a warrior. In the old times, it was stated that a Baloch could be identified by sword, knife and shield and some tradition would go to the extent of saying, "Baluch is a thief by tradition and descent, for he says, God will not favour a Baluch who does not steal and rob, and the Baluch who steals secures heaven to seven generations of his ancestors."³¹

The advent of the British in Balochistan brought them face to face with these people and they could not help praise their courage, bravery and endurance. Lambrick, the biographer of John Jacob, wrote: "the Baluch is indeed well fitted by constitution and physique to perform such feats of endurance. No race in the world can endure without water for such long hours under a burning sun."³² The British recognized that their soldiers were no match for the Baloch in the open field. According to Eastwick, "from the first it was clear that no ordinary soldier could match the Baluch in hardness though constant frustration tended to produce among the troops an equal ferocity."³³ The Baloch themselves were well conscious of their strengths and weaknesses. In the words of a Baloch:

Survival has been the paramount factor in shaping the character of these people. The dimension of his character is raiding the enemy's camp, vengeance, jealousy and pride. But at the same time he is also kind, benevolent, generous, hospitable, sympathetic sincere, honest and tolerant.³⁴

Brahui is another important ethnic group in Balochistan and they constitute about twenty-five percent of the total population of this province. Fred Scholz suggests that they are a group separate from the Baloch, being part of the Dravidian family.³⁵ However, according to many indigenous analysts, in spite of a separate language, the Brahuys and Baloch are essentially belonging to same racial stock.³⁶ The main areas of Brahui concentration are from Bolan Pass through the Bolan Hills to the coastal area of Ras Mari on the Arabian Sea.³⁷ Like the Baloch, they are also nomadic and fairly similar in character particularly in chivalry and straight

forwardness. The British, however, most probably because of their 'divide and rule' policy, projected them of different ethnic origins.

If we look at the literature produced during the British period, there is a clear emphasis on the differences between various ethnic groups of Balochistan. More than unity it was the diversity and differentiation that helped the British prolong their rule. Haitu Ram, a native officer and assistant to Robert Sandeman, for example, insists that Brahuys were superior to the Baluch. He observes that: "Although Brahuys are Baloch but there is a difference in their language and dress, and they are superior to the latter. Their way of living and other traditions are quite different to each other."³⁸ Since the Brahuys constituted the ruling class of the confederacy of Balochistan, this view was, to some extent, accepted by the Baloch also. For example some Baloch adopted the Brahui names i.e., Bangulzais who are actually Baloch but call themselves Brahui.³⁹

Having said that, it is important to mention that in some areas there are indeed notable differences between these two communities. Haitu Ram is right to some extent in emphasizing that the "Brahuys are more open in establishing matrimonial relations with non-Brahui tribes whereas the Baloch marry within their clans and tribes; the Brahuys breed cattle and sell milk and butter whereas the Baloch do not consider these activities honourable."⁴⁰ This openness of the Brahuys is perhaps a manifestation of their political position as well as their being comparatively more settled. However, it must be pointed out that such characteristics indicate the state of economic activities rather than ethnic dimensions.

The real or false divide between the Balochis and the Brahuys becomes meaningless if the economic or political interests of these communities do not collide. The academic relevance of their distinct ethnic qualities is confined mostly to ethnologists and philologists. But it is true of any area in the world where various groups compete for the acquisition of limited resources or seek outside help to overcome the other. Such views are almost invariably expressed not only between people involved in the struggle but also the outsiders. One can also observe that, in addition to economic considerations, the competition did exist between the two main communities in political arena. After the British advent, we will see how these two communities vacillated between joining against the foreign power and seeking patronage from them. This is where one has to be

careful in exaggerating the divide or undermining it. Such characteristics are exhibited even in homogenous societies.

The Pashtoons of Balochistan also have their tribal and clannish system but the institution of 'Jirga' and their relative urbanization have made them more "democratic" than the other tribes of Balochistan. According to 1931 Census, the Pashtoons constituted the second largest group in population. They speak Pashto but often with a different dialect, twenty-five percent inhabitants of Balochistan speak what is called "Kanadahari" Pashto.⁴¹ Their advent in Balochistan is commonly considered an overflow from the adjoining areas of Afghanistan and the Northern West Frontier Province of Pakistan. "They are more mobile, more open to new ideas, and are mostly engaged in trade, commerce, and transportation. They are more prosperous and less aggressive than their fellow tribesmen of Afghanistan and the North West Frontier of Pakistan."⁴²

Some negative judgments on the behaviour of the Pashtoons by the British administrators need to be taken in the context of their political encounters and difficulties rather than a true reflection of their character. For example, Robert Sandeman's remarks about Pathan and Baloch that "Both are warlike, revengeful, predatory, but while Afghan is bigoted and priest-ridden, the Baloch pays scant respect to the Syed or Maulvi,"⁴³ should be viewed in terms of his political problems with the Pashtoons. That this was a deliberate policy of the British to divide the Pashtoon and the Baloch is also evident in the writings of the British administrators of Balochistan. Edward Oliver, for example, would say, "The Baluch has less of God in his head and less of the devil in his nature. The Afghan is a dangerous fanatic while the Baluch prefers to have his prayers said for him. The Pathan is radical, obeys no one but Jirga."⁴⁴ In differentiating their respective habits, he continues that "

The one attacks his enemy from in front, the other from behind, the one is bound by his promises, the other by his interest; in short, the Baluch is less turbulent, less treacherous, less blood thirsty, and less fanatical than the Pathan, he has less of God in his creed and less of devil in his nature."⁴⁵

Later scholars have accepted most of these comments, which were politically motivated and betrayed administrative biases, uncritically and without much empirical evidence. But, then, one's

task is not to pass any moral judgment or to provide character sketches of the rulers and the ruled but simply to highlight perceptions of the British administrators, whose written works constitute most of the source material on Balochistan and dominate the discourse on the history of this area.

While looking at social and economic dynamics of politics in Balochistan, one has to keep in mind that the Baloch are indeed a tribal people but not nomadic in the true sense of the word. Nomadism is based on constant mobility of the people involving not only their herds and flocks but also homes and other property. This feature is now quite rare in Balochistan because change of dwelling place of a whole tribe does not take place.⁴⁶ In other words, the people are more settled, though not quite exposed to the pressures and incentives of urban settlements.

In this context, the role of tribal chief is quite important in understanding the political organization of the tribes. The head of a Baloch tribe is called *Tumandar* or *Sardar* who is assisted by heads of different clans of the tribe who are called *Mukadams*. They also act as a council of war and most of these offices are hereditary. Similarly, the head of different sections of each clan is headed by *Wadera* whose office is also hereditary. This could be considered the third important position and is usually solemnized by placing a turban on the head of the *Wadera* as a mark of respect and status. Like the *Tumandar*, a *Wadera* is also assisted by *Mukadams* of sub-sections. Major tribes where this system is prevalent are: Bugti, Buledi, Chandias, Dombki, Gishkori, Jatoi, Lashari, Magsi, Marri and Rind.⁴⁷ The Baloch tribal system is not only hereditary but also closed in the sense that it does not admit any interference from outside. Bugtis and Khetrans for example, even persuaded the British government to give an undertaking as early as 1878 "not to interfere with the internal affairs of Balochistan (of these two Baluch tribes), unless disturbance took place."⁴⁸ The Bugti and Marri tribes are considered to be more independent as compared to other Baloch tribes.

As stated earlier, the tribal structure of Balochistan is dominated by the *Tumandar*. He is like an absolute administrator and if any tax or revenue has to be collected, it is left to him. So far as the internal administration of the tribe is concerned, heads of various clans, sections and sub-sections assist the chief. He is empowered to levy tax on flocks of sheep and goats. He also

receives a share of the fines in criminal litigation. It is amazing to see that *Tumandar's* status combines almost all-possible dimensions of life. In many ways, he is like a mini monarch covering political, social, economic and even religious authority. Indeed, one of the chief characteristics of the Baloch tribes, to use Ibn Khaldun's expression, is *Aasbia*, i.e., "the people feel strongly bonded like child is bonded to mother, towards the chief of their tribe."⁴⁹

This bonding has played a very important role in the social development of Balochistan as well as in the Baloch Diaspora throughout the Indian sub-continent. Social affiliation begins at the family and tribal levels. In the times of alien threat, this circle is widened. The people of Balochistan have shown that if the group feelings are properly utilized, these scattered tribes could act as empire builders also. However, the presence of Baloch tribes in adjoining areas of Balochistan and else where in strong positions is a testimony to the fact that the Baloch had come to these regions as conquerors but, as is the case with such tribal formations, they could neither hold these areas for a long time nor could channel the *Aasbia* into a national consciousness and cohesiveness. The result was that their presence as a collective entity was of much shorter duration than their feuds among themselves which were regularly exploited by the outsiders⁵⁰. In the words of a Baloch scholar:

The Baluch rigid tribalism, marked with inter-tribal, inter-clannish and inter-family feuds, pride and jealousies on the one hand, and alien intervention on the other hand succeeded in paving the way for the complete dismemberment of the whole race, and the fatal result has been that majority of the Baluch territories and tribes submitted unwillingly to the intrigues and viles of diverse alien families of diverse blood, who in the course of time became their hereditary masters.⁵¹

After this brief introduction of Baloch tribal system, it will be pertinent to point out the prominent features of the structure of the Pashtoon tribes, the other major ethnic group in Balochistan. Though overall social philosophy is quite similar, yet, Baloch and Pahtoons both in structure and group feelings, the two are very different from each other. The tribes are divided into groups, which are further divided into such multiple sub-divisions that one is lost in the maze

of lineages and affiliations. Nonetheless, four features are distinguishable and are in common use. In general terms, the word *Qaum* is used for the main tribe. The *Qaum* consists of *Khels* and *Zais* which represent both the clan (in general terms conveying a sense of common lineage and common loyalty) and groups whose members live in close proximity and hold common land.⁵² The next level consists of the clients who demonstrate their solidarity through their affiliation with a tribe but belong to a different ethnic or linguistic group. They are known as *Mindun* or *Hamsaya* (neighbour). Unlike other members of the tribe, they could be considered as the farthest extension of the tribal system. In other words, it is more open and much more dynamic in terms of social relations than their counterparts are.

Another chief characteristic of the Pashtoon tribal system is that it is not organized around the personality of a common leader, as is the case with the Baloch or Brahui tribe. The leader in the Pashtoon tribe is elected and this process begins at the smallest component of a tribe. In this sense, a Pashtoon tribe appears to be more democratic where each constituent group matters than the Baloch tribe where the leadership is mostly hereditary. The main Pashtoon tribes in Balochistan are, Durranis, Jogazais, Kakars, Kansis, Panezais, Pannis, Tarins, Zarghuns, etc.⁵³

As discussed earlier, the British viewed the Baloch and the Pashtoon as belonging to two conflicting tribal systems. In actuality, they share more characteristics. For example, in many Baloch tribes, the *Tumandars* /*Sardars* were also elected by the elders of the tribes. It was not hereditary in strict sense of the word but stayed within the same tribe. This election was to be confirmed by the Khan of Kalat who was the chief of the confederacy of different Balochi and Brahui tribes. This confirmation was more or less a formality because the chiefs, subsequently, did not obey the Khan except in external matters or when they felt the need to seek his intervention or to seek his confirmation to death sentence and to provide their quota of troops when called upon. What has been more fascinating to know is the fact that even the Khan was elected by the chiefs though the choice was restricted only to the members of Ahmadzai family.⁵⁴ This system was quite strict in the sense that every body knew his strength and limitation.

Balochistan's tribal system worked, more or less, like a confederacy under the Khan of Kalat. This relationship between the Khan and the Sardars was not reflective of the political strength of Kalat but was based on the pledges of mutual respect and security. Being a small and mostly a barren state, the Khan had to seek the loyalties of the chiefs of the tribes in the neighbourhood of Kalat. These chiefs were given fiefs in Kalat, who, in turn, pledged their support to the Khan, in terms of furnishing troops in specified numbers. Thus, this relationship which was more or less voluntary, converted independent tribes into quasi-feudal vassal of the Khan.⁵⁵ Any territory conquered by the troops raised by the chiefs of the affiliated tribes, belonged to the Khan and was conquered in his name.

In addition to this relationship with the minor tribes, the Khan of Kalat had more intimate relations with two prominent Baloch tribes. This can be traced to the times of Mir Naseer Khan I (1749-94). During his period, there were two great provinces of Sarawan and Jhalawan, meaning the Highlands and the Lowlands, respectively. The area of the Sarawan was under the hereditary leadership of the Raisani tribe and the Jhalawan under the Zahri tribe. The two chiefs enjoyed more respect and authority in the affairs of the state than any other chief. They occupied chairs in the *Darbar*. The Raisanis sat on the right side and the Zahri on the left of the Khan, and they were consulted in all deliberations about the state even though it was believed that their authority was consultative and not executive.⁵⁶

Apart from these consultative hereditary offices, there was another hereditary office of Vizier or Prime Minister, which was believed to be of Hindu origin due to their hereditary loyalty towards the ruling Khans. But since long had been occupied by a Muslim family which, was known for its loyalty to the Khans. The Khan was almost supreme and absolute (except the consultative control of the two supreme chiefs of Sarawan and Jhalawan and the Vizier) and could make peace or war on behalf of the state. All the tribal levies were at his disposal and he could use any or all the levies for war or the maintenance of peace. He could make treaties with foreign powers, which were binding on the state. But if these treaties damaged the interests of any chief, he could claim compensation.⁵⁷

In this relationship between the Khan and the tribes, there is no way of knowing whether the Sardars had some say in the

decisions about external affairs or whether they gave their opinion, directly or indirectly, through the Raisani or Zahri chiefs. In internal affairs, while the Khan had power to make general laws. The implementation of these laws, however, was not his sole prerogative but depended on the cooperation and participation of the tribal chiefs. The only exception was that the approval of the Khan was sought before awarding the death sentence to criminals, his arbitration was needed in disputes between chiefs, and his consent was required in the boundary disputes within Kalat itself and the conquered or annexed territories. The Khan administered through his *naibs* and lieutenants. However, this system underwent drastic changes after the advent of the British, and later on after their departure.

Conclusion;

In this paper, we have attempted to situate the Baloch society in their natural environments. The populated areas appear like oases in the desert with vast stretches of land either uninhabited or infrequently visited by the moving columns of caravans or fortune hunters in past. The paucity of resources stands out as the most predominant factor in shaping the social, economic, and political formations of these people. We have also dealt with the tribal structures of the three main ethnic groups highlighting their similarities as well as differences. In addition, an attempt has been made to show the relationship between the different tribes and the traditional Khan of the confederacy, which appears to be based on patron-client relationship but, in fact, shows the accommodation and adjustments on both sides. Because of their geographical location, the Baloch had been often victims of aggression. However, brief periods of unity amongst them demonstrate their will and resolve to fight for their rights and freedom. Since most of the written material on Balochistan was produced by foreigners, especially the British, it led to subjective judgments about its ethnic and social institutions. However, these views were incorporated into subsequent studies. Even the most serious authors used them. These studies led to further reinforcement of the biases and value- judgments. This situation, indeed, presents a serious challenge to the historians in sifting the polemics from the real and objective situation of Balochistan.

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The countries immediately contiguous to Baluchistan are on the east the British Indian province of Sind and that portion of the Panjab frontier called the Lower Derajat; on the north Afghanistan; on the west Persia, while on the south the Arabian Sea washes the coast for nearly 600 miles. It proves how 128 miles long coastal area was gifted by the British to another state to befriend it.
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36. Nasser Brohi, *Studies in Brahui*, pp. 7-12. In fact, the whole confusion was caused by the English writers, particularly Sir Denys Bray, who deliberately tried to create this distinction among the people in Balochistan to weaken the opposition to the colonial rule. No wonder Pakistani authors of modern times such as Ahmad Abdullah, Justice Khuda Bakhsh Marri, Gul Khan Naseer and Mir Ahmad Yar Khan did not agree with the notion that the Brahuies were Dravidians. They insisted that the Brahuies were essentially Baluch. In fact, in their estimate the Brahuies were the first to initiate Baloch immigration into Baluchistan and adjoining provinces of Pakistan. See Bray, *The Life History of a Brahui*, Karachi, 1977; Ahmad Abdullah, *The Historical Background of Pakistan and its People*, Karachi, 1973; Justice

Khuda Bakhsh Marri, *Searchlight on Baluchis and Baluchistan*, Karachi, 1974; Gul Khan Naseer, *Tarikh-i-Baluchistan*, Quetta, 1979; and Mir Ahmad Yar Khan, *Inside Baluchistan*, Karachi, 1975. However a very important scientific evidence was related to the author during an interview by M. Ayub Kakar, Lecturer in Biological Sciences, University of Balochistan, Quetta, on July, 29, 2007, that during a recent DNA Study by Canadian Scientists the Pahtoons were found to be of Aryan origin, the Baloch were of Arab origin and that the Brahuis were of Dravidian stock. If the further studies proved this, then the whole past theories and claims would be revised rather reversed.

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OPERATION GIBRALTAR AND THE 1965 WAR

Dr. Lubna Abid Ali

Abstract

The bulk of literature written about 1965 India – Pakistan war abounds in controversies, misconceptions and contradictions about the genesis, conduct and final outcome of the war. This study gives a critical analysis of the genesis of Operation Gibraltar and provides some rational and plausible explanations of the phenomena agitating the mind of public in general and students of Pakistan’s politics in particular.

There are five questions central to this study. Was ‘Operation Gibraltar’ President Ayub’s own decision or else, did he become a victim of some conspiracy hatched by foreign office and GHQ? Though General Mohammad Musa and General Akhter Hussain Malik, Commander 12 Division had both conveyed President Ayub Khan the prospects of India starting a full scale war against Pakistan including time and space calculations. Second question deals with the issue of GHQ feeding stories of imaginary victories against fictitious foes prior to 1965 in the Kargil sector. Third question critically examines the cause of halting Operation Gibraltar and the change of command from General Akhter Hussain Malik to General Yahya Khan. Next question deals with the issue of much publicized version of India achieving a total surprise in attack on Lahore on 6 September 1965. The truth of course lies somewhere between the two extreme contentions. Finally, the study explores that was the decision to accept ceasefire based on political or military considerations.

President Ayub’s perceived acquiescence to the foreign powers completed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto the then Foreign Minister to ask the president to disassociate him from the Tashkent parleys, Ayub then refused to accept his resignation. Altaf Gouhar comments over the drifts between Ayub and Bhutto that, “when Ayub was relating how Shastri” kept saying that he was answerable to the people Bhutto interrupted him and said quite sharply but you too are answerable to the people. You don’t have a heavenly mandate”.¹

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Thus by the end of 1960's one of the central issues was the nature of relationship between empirical task of a reorientation of Pakistan's foreign policy and mobilization of means and ends for its implementation. Thus, was the rulership in Pakistan at that time willing to undertake policy revisionism? Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's pleadings as Foreign Minister remained unheeded. He mentioned it as a personal fact that "witnessing a drift in Pakistan's policy and finding fruitless my expositions of bilateralism, I resigned as Foreign Minister in 1966".² Had Ayub accepted the advice of his Foreign Minister could it be possible for him to be a national hero. Notwithstanding controversies, Bhutto transformed the government and people into an organic whole by launching his 'People's Party in December 1967'.

From Operation Gibraltar to the 1965 War

Various references are available with regard to the Ayub government's involvement in initiating the Operation Gibraltar. Altaf Gauhar says: The study deals with a critical analysis of the Operation Gibraltar and the 1965 war. We shall be addressing the major controversies that revolve around the genesis, conduct and the final outcome of the 1965 Indo – Pak War. The then Government of Ayub Khan was fully alive to the burning issue of Kashmir and wanted to settle it as soon as possible as in clear from this statement of Altaf Gauhar:

In 1964 Ayub authorized the Foreign Office to prepare a plan in consultation with GHQ to defreeze the Kashmir issue. A secret Kashmir Cell (called the Kashmir Publicity Committee) consisting of the secretaries of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Director, Intelligence Bureau, Chief of General Staff and the Director of Military Operations was set up to keep Kashmir situation under constant review.³

Similarly former Pakistani General Gul Hassan further argues: President had ordered GHQ to prepare two plans; one to encourage sabotage activities across the ceasefire line and the other to provide all out support for guerrillas to be inducted into Kashmir. The responsibility for preparing two plans was

assigned by GHQ to 12 Division, which had its headquarters in Murree.⁴

This version had been contradicted by General Mohammad Musa. He had describes the situation from a different angle. He writes in his book- ‘My Version: ’

Here I would like to point out that the committee formed to discuss the strategy for reviving the Kashmir issue was commonly known as “The Kashmir Cell” and never “The Kashmir Publicity Committee”. The President, the Director of Intelligence Bureau, Central Secretaries of Defence and Information were all aware of the deliberations and the plan of Operation Gibraltar was disclosed by GHQ only to those who were directly concerned with its implementation after the President’s approval.⁵

Thus, Musa’s account negates Gauhar’s account of a publicity committee and General Gul Hassan’s version. He comprehensively delineates the modus operandi of the Kashmir Cell, which had no terms of reference, nor a proper agenda for neither discussions nor the power to make any decision. Regarding the two plans, General Mohammad Musa confirms superior authority of GHQ. He refers to the meeting in which Aziz Ahmed represented the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Mohammad Musa and the Chief of the General Staff represented the GHQ to discuss the two plans for Operation Gibraltar. According to Mohammad Musa Military supported the latter plan. He says:

We conducted operations under his (Field Marshal Ayub Khan) political direction, were professionally responsible to him in his capacity as supreme commander had no direct link with the Foreign Minister.⁶

However, the participants in the meeting did not accept it. Probably because of the ‘favourable’ outcome of the Rann of Kutch encounter, the GHQ was asked to go ahead with it.⁷

After the Government finally decided that the plan to conduct deep raids inside Indian-held Kashmir should be implemented, General Mohammad Musa in his capacity as Commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces directed Major General Akhtar Hussain Malik to prepare a draft plan for the operation code-named “Gibraltar” in consultation with GHQ. General Muhammad Musa writes:

To ensure that the President knew our views, I sent him a note...in which I gave summary of the points... (as we firmly believed that we should not stick out our necks too far and precipitate any action in Kashmir that might lead to a general war)... . This note is an important war document and must be on record in the Government Department concerned. I hope that it will be made available at least to the writers of the official history of the war, if and when it is compiled.⁸

This version of General Mohammad Musa is further endorsed and substantiated by Amjad Ali Khan Chaudhary. After the 1965 war, when Amjad Ali Khan Chaudhary and General Akhtar Hussain Malik were together in Staff College, Quetta, Amjad Ali Khan Chaudhary asked Akhtar Malik whether he had considered all possible repercussion of this move. The latter told him that he had already presented a detailed appreciation of the whole matter to Field Marshal Ayub Khan in his operation room in Murree. General Malik also told that in the Murree briefing, he had clearly pointed out that the counter-measures contemplated by him to discourage the Indians from embarking upon further offensive moves in Kashmir could lead to the prospects of India starting a full scale war against Pakistan. Amjad Ali Khan Chaudhary claimed that Malik had told him that the detailed appreciation included time and space calculations of possible Indian counter-moves.⁹

Altaf Gauhar endorses the narration of Amjad Ali Khan Chaudhary’s talk with Akhtar Malik about the meeting in Murree and thus Ayub himself took the initiative to give the final shape to the Operation Gibraltar:

Ayub went to Murree on 13 May 1965 to examine the plan that had been prepared by General Akhtar Malik, General Officer Commanding of 12

Division... (Gen. Malik explained the details of 'Operation Gibraltar' on a sand table. General Musa and some other senior officers were present at the briefing, which went on for an hour. Towards the end, Ayub put his finger on Akhnur an important town of great strategic value and asked: "But why don't you go for the jugular"? That would require a lot more men and money, replied General Malik. After some discussion, Ayub sanctioned additional funds and told the Commander-in-Chief to provide the necessary manpower. The assault on Akhnur was later given the code name 'Grand Slam'.¹⁰

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the then Foreign Minister, wrote a letter to Ayub before the operation Gibraltar was approved. He advised Ayub about the Indian position at that time. He held the opinion that India would not risk a general war of unlimited duration for annihilation of Pakistan. In his view, Pakistan enjoyed a relative superiority in terms of quality and equipment.¹¹ Bhutto also outlined possible alternative for Pakistan:

To react now boldly and courageously in self defence or allow the initiative to move irrevocably to India, who would then proceed to launch her final attack for the liquidation of Pakistan subsequently at a place and time of her own choosing.... This is our of decision and may God guide us on the right path.¹²

Even before the launching of the Operation Gibraltar, the hostilities had started in the Azad Kashmir sector between India and Pakistan much earlier, around the first week of August 1965. The official historians of Pakistan for the 1965 war, General Shaukat Reza noted that from 15th August onwards the daily intelligence situation reports regularly indicated that the Indian Army had started its operational build-up against West Pakistan.¹³ According to these details, on 7 August 1965, Indian artillery shelled villages Chanir and Koel near Awan in Gujrat. Even the tone of Indian broadcasts indicated that in the case of renewed hostilities the war would not necessarily be restricted to the Kashmir sector alone. The 12 Division, which consisted of 25 battalions, was responsible for the

defence of a large front extending to 400 miles. This comprised an extremely mountainous terrain.

Azad Kashmir units were considered a bottom priority in scales and quality of weapons. The 12 Division was commanded by Akhtar Hussain Malik. In order to safeguard the border villages against hostile shelling, Malik ordered sector four to capture Laleal and Red Hill early on 16 August 1965. On the morning of that day, 14 AK renewed attack and captured Red Hill without resistance. After this, the first action was to destroy the army supply base at Dewa. The bombardment started at 0745 hours on 15 August. Vast material damage was inflicted and Dewa, the Indian supply base was set on fire.¹⁴

The next target of the Pakistani command was the destruction of Beri Pattan Bridge; a vital point on the main line of communication of the Indian occupation forces in this sector. Due to poor visibility, the engagement lasted for approximately five hours before the bridge collapsed. It was a fine demonstration of the superb technical skills of the Pakistani gunnery. However, on 24 August, a platoon posted at Dana disintegrated under heavy shelling from the Indian side. From 25 August onwards the Indian army shelled Pakistani posts of Kuru Laila Majnum. These posts were of immense strategic values because they overlooked the Indian military road to Srinagar in the Kargil sector. On 26 August, Pakistan lost point 7229, Pir Sahaba and Budil.¹⁵ Thus the war in the Kargil sector had started:

The first preliminary move that led to open hostilities occurred in Kargil on 16 August, when an Indian battalion moved over the ceasefire line near Kargil in the north and occupied three important international features.... After a pause an Indian brigade starting on the 27th and making a wide pincer movement moved into a 'bulge' in the ceasefire line of Pakistani Srinagar one-group moving south from Uri and other north from Poonch.¹⁶

The Indian offensive in the Kargil sector in order to capture the posts on Pakistan side of the ceasefire line was confirmed by report of the then Secretary General of the United Nations and it was further endorsed by President Ayub's telegram to the UN Secretary General on 6 September 1965:

On 15 August Indian forces crossed the ceasefire line to take over 3 UN-occupied posts near Kargil.... On 23 August shelled Awan Sharif....killing 25 persons. On 24 August occupied 2 posts in Tithwal sector on Pakistan side of ceasefire line.... 1 September took Haji Pir Pass. In response to this grave situation created by the Indian armed forces and to forestall further aggression by them, the Azad Kashmir forces backed by the Pakistan Army were forced in the exercise of the inherent right of self-defence to cross the ceasefire line in the Bhimber Sector.¹⁷

This view had been confirmed by other writers on the 1965 war. Mohammad Musa and Sher Bahadur claimed that the Operation Grand Slam was set on course when 12 Division lost territory and there was the danger of Indian capturing Muzaffarabad. However, it would be interesting to compare it with the account of the official historian of the Pakistan Army Shaukat Raza, who wrote the following:

On 29 August 12 Division reported that the enemy was attempting to surround Ziarat and Pakistani troops were holding Nausehri. The battalion holding Nausehri was 5 Punjab. It moved from Lahore to Muzaffarabad in mid-August.... Lt. Col. S.A. Hassan went about organizing defence in a calm and unhurried manner. his confidence permeated and Nausehri was held.... at that critical stage it became evident; Pakistan did not take strong counter-action the Indians were likely to succeed in their mission and could threaten Mangla.¹⁸

Keeping in view the enemy strikes against Pakistan across the ceasefire line and the subsequent loss of Pakistani territory, there could have been three possible lines of action:

1. To go for a negotiated settlement of the Kashmir dispute on Indian terms, involving a ceasefire and loss of territory as well;

2. To initiate an all-out war while making an attack on India through Sialkot towards Samba;
3. To initiate an attack on Akhnur via the Chhamb sector. In case of Indian retaliation, troops should be left in Lahore and Sialkot to deal with such an eventuality.

While Indian army had already violated the international frontier and invaded the sacred soil of the country what could one expect from the armed forces of Pakistan to do other than what they did in this case? According to the details, preparations for the Grand Slam were completed by 30 August and the operation was launched on 31 August. It met with unexpectedly fierce resistance. It was grounded to a halt in one sector and in another sector its advance was inexplicably delayed.

However, the operation Grand Salm was launched on 1 September 1965, as a counter-move to the Indian offensive at several important points all along the ceasefire line in Azad Kashmir. Its aim was to capture Akhnur and seal the Munawar Gap to eliminate the threat to Pakistan from that direction. Preparation for opening fire for the battle of Chhamb started on 28th August. Gun positions were due under the cover of the dark at night and guns were camouflaged.

The enemy positions were unable to detect the preparations because Pakistani troops did not use vehicle lights during night and no activity was shown in day time.¹⁹ These details had been supported by the account of Indian General Officer Commanding in Chief, Headquarters Western Command, Lt. Gen. Harbakhsh Singh: "We must admit, however, reluctantly, that PAK scored one over us in keeping us guessing regarding the timing and area of her intended offensive even up to the eleventh hours. Our intelligence service had once again failed to penetrate the fog of war".²⁰ The Secretary General of the United Nations confirmed Pakistan's forceful thrust across the international border and stated that the Pakistani forces for the first time since 1949 crossed the ceasefire line in the Bhimber sector, seized Chhamb and Dewa and went up to Akhnur in a quick, successful drive.²¹

However, a close observation of the facts reveal an entirely different picture of the situation. As explained by Brigadier Amjad, in the following way:

Corps Artillery Command Post was established on the evening of 31 August in the gun area at Padhar. When we opened fire on 1 September complete

surprise was achieved. Chhamb was reached at 0830 hours. But for a hold up in the South, where the attacking troops got involved with the Indian post of Burejat instead of bypassing it as ordered by Major General Akhtar Hussain Malik, the battle would have been over by midday. The Indians were so stunned and bewildered that a company of Sikh Light Infantry waited in their post the whole day with white flags to be taken prisoners until they were rounded up by Major Babar, who landed his helicopter in the vicinity of this post by mistake.²²

General Harbakhsh Singh's account of the War-Dispatches for 1 September 1965 is similar to that of Pakistan's army:

A major enemy offensive with a regiment of PATTONS and one motor battalion broke in via Area PIR MAUNGAWALI NW 4565 along the general line GREEN RIDGE NW 4667-BRAMAL NWT 4767-DEWA NW 4968 on the MANDIALA. This combat group overwhelmed the two forward companies of 15 KUMAON and soon after the enemy armour came to within 500 yards of the Brigade Headquarters. The situation was grave and Headquarters 191 Infantry Brigade requested for an urgent air strike. The Air Force responded promptly, but did little damage to the enemy except imposing a caution – they took instead a heavy toll of our own forces all the artillery ammunition vehicles and one armour ammunition vehicle was destroyed, three AMX tanks and one armoured recovery vehicle were also damaged. By nightfall the enemy had succeeded in driving a wedge between MANDIALA and CHHAMB. A little latter, in the early hours of the night, they had pushed ten tanks across the MANAWARWALI TAWINR 5957. Simultaneously with this attack in the plain area, the enemy also made a thrust in the hill section of the CHHAMB sector and captured RED HILL and GREEN HILL Piquet's held by 4 Jammu and Kashmir Militia.²³

While recording the impression of 1st September 1965 encounter, Shauket Reza has narrated the heroic deeds of soldiers and one of them is indeed overwhelming

Major Reza Shah had to change tanks three times in the middle of battle (13 Punjab had been ordered to secure link Chak-Nawan-Chak Pandit, South of Chhamb. The battalion was supported by Charlie squadron command by Major Reza Shah). The squadron lost most of its tanks in engaging Chak Pandit. Reza Shah did not look back, or to his right or left. A few hundred yards short of Chak Pandit, his was the only running tank on the scene. Its luck ran out. At about 0900 hours an enemy recoilless rifle hit it in the side. The tank exploded. Every one was killed except the driver. His gallantry was recognized with a posthumous award of Sitara-e-Jurat. Reza Shah was a handsome officer in every measure.²⁴

At this time, Pakistan Air Force got involved in the conflict. The Indians further escalated the conflict by using for the first time their Air Force and Pakistan was obliged to do likewise. The involvement of Air Force was confirmed by the then Foreign Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in a telegram dated 6 September 1965 to the President of the UN Security Council. It stated:

... India decided to escalate the conflict by mounting air attacks against Pakistan forces on the same day (1st September), compelling the Pakistan Air Force to intervene. On 4th September, India carried the escalation a stage further. The Indian Air Force twice violated Pakistani territory in strength, escorted by MIG aircraft... It is a war of aggression by India against Pakistan and as such constitutes the gravest possible violation of the charter of the United Nations.²⁵

Despite the local disparity between the two sides, the performance of a handful of Pakistani troops operating in Kashmir speaks for their professionalism. Without going into the detail of the overall losses that India incurred in this clash, in the words General Harbakhsh Singh, who said that the loss of these artillery pieces

remains a blemish on the fair name of 161 Field Regiment as well as 10 Infantry Division.²⁶ There is sufficient evidence of the quality of professionalism and valour of the Pakistani forces at that time.

It is pertinent to understand the causes of halting Operation Gibraltar just before its launching on 2nd September and as to why was General Musa ordered to hand over command of the operation to General Yahya Khan? Why was General Akhtar Hussain Malik relieved of his command of the operation at such a critical juncture? What was the rationale of removing a successful commander from the battle front? A close examination of the chronology of events, which led to the Operation Gibraltar, reflects various misperceptions of Pakistani leaders about the ground situation in the occupied Kashmir. Major General Akhtar Hussain Malik, being the commander of the 12 Division, had the operational responsibility for Jammu and Kashmir. The only way to put an end to the constant harassment of the locals by the Indian occupation forces along the ceasefire line was to hit back and leave the Indians in no doubt that force will be met with force. The UN Secretary General's report on the Operation Gibraltar reveals that:

Major General Akhtar Malik decided to send a few patrols deep into Indian held Kashmir as a retaliation to frequent violation of ceasefire line by Indian patrols".²⁷ However, these patrols were not sent to provide a nucleus for the people of Kashmir to rally around and rise against the Indian occupation forces.

On the contrary, Pakistani high command did not make any attempt to establish contacts with political elements in the held Kashmir or even to arrive at any understanding with the political leaders before sending these patrols. An extract from the letter of the Commander United Nations Military Observation Group in Kashmir, General Nimmo to the Secretary General United Nations reinforces this position:

As you will note, the investigations, which often have to be carried out in extremely difficult circumstances and at varying length of time after the particular action has occurred, have in general not yet been able to verify, either through observation or direct evidence, the identity of those responsible for

the action and participating in it or whether and to what extent there had been in fact crossing of the ceasefire line.²⁸

Report of the Secretary General of the United Nations U-Thant on 3 September 1965 further endorsed that Pakistan Army had not prepared any solid ground to initiate any insurgency in the occupied Kashmir. An extract from his statement revealed the conclusion reached by General Nimmo on the basis of investigations by the UN observers. In most cases, the actual identity of those engaged in the armed attacks on the Indian side of the Line and their actual Crossing of it could not be verified.²⁹

The detrimental effects of the changes in the Operation Gibraltar were noticed in most of the research work done on the 1965 war. A question-answer study of the 1965 war was conducted by the Staff of the Defence Journal. It was based on a questionnaire circulated to a number of individuals concerned with the conduct of war in 1965 in one capacity or the other. On the question of revision of the plan, the study revealed that readjustment in the command structure weakened the primary role of the whole operation, which was to affect a deep thrust into enemy territory. Soon after 7 Division was sent to Chhamb and 1 Armored Division was diverted to secondary tasks.³⁰

The change in operational command on 2 September 1965 from Major General Akhtar Hussain Malik to Major General Mohammad Yahya Khan came as a surprise to those who took part in the Operation Grand Slam. Replacement of a successful commander in the midst of the battle indicates an unprofessional approach to the military problems and it would be difficult to find any precedent of this kind in the military history. The change had a far-reaching impact on the conduct of the war afterwards. The most crucial aspect of this impact was the loss of valuable time especially as the overall change in the operational command provided the retreating Indian groups with almost seventy two crucial hours to dig in while withdrawing.

According to the official history of the Indian artillery, the Pakistan army chose to rest after the victory of Chhamb which gave Indian troops opportunity to prepare their defence at Jaurian. General

Harbakhsh Singh also singled out the strategic importance of the time factor in his War-Dispatches of 2 September 1965. Therefore, had Pakistani troops started the advance on the evening of 1 September as planned by the Major General Akhtar Hussain Malik, it would not have been possible for the Indians to prepare another strong line of defence at Jaurian. In fact, it was the change in the timing of the command and in the overall concept of the operations, which limited its scope and frustrated the aim of the whole operation of capturing Akhnur.³¹ Brigadier Chaudhry, narrated the details of change in the operation in the following words:

On the afternoon of 1 September, after Chhamb had fallen and the mopping on operation was going on... I met Brigadier Azmat Hayat, Commander 10 Brigade, who was to lead the advance astride the main axis Chhamb-Akhnur. He told me that he would move his tactical headquarters in the evening to Padhar near my headquarter, which was on the main axis and we will start together in the morning.... In the meanwhile, Major Alam Afridi my GSO (General Staff Office, Laer Colonel) informed me on wireless that the C-in-C had come to Headquarter 25 Brigade and wished to see me. At about 1030 A.M., while I was driving towards 25 Brigade Headquarters, I saw Brigadier Azmat Hayat having a conference with his battalion commanders. While I asked him the reason for not meeting me at Munawar cross roads and why the advance had not started, he informed me that he had not received the code word "coca Cola" to start the operation and he had lost wireless contact with the Div. Commander.

He further states:

I was surprised to hear this because the Div. Commander had spoken to me on wireless a little earlier and had asked me to meet him at Moe. A few minutes later, Brigadier Zafar Commander 25 Brigade arrived in a helicopter and asked Brigadier Azmat Hayat to accompany him to his Headquarter to meet the Commander-in-Chief. I told Brigadier

Zafar that the C-in-C sent for me also and I would like to go with them in the second helicopter, which he had brought with him. Brigadier Zafar's answer was that I was not required and they took off in the two helicopters... Bitterly disappointed and completely at a loss of understand, why we were not moving on and what was happening at Headquarter 25 Brigade, I decided to drive to it.... As far as the command and control was concerned, it is true that it was rather scantily but by no means ineffective.³²

Later on, it was revealed that there had been a change of command and what was more disturbing there was a last minute change in the overall scope and operational strategy of the project Grand Slam. The change of command badly influenced the operation of Akhnur. Akhnur was within reach and considering the state of morale of the fighting soldiers and comparing the relative strength of the two forces, particularly in armour and artillery, General Yahya could have taken it without undue losses.

In this respect, the research of the Defence Journal Staff maintains that the political factors had an important bearing on the war.³³ The question of change of command ought to be studied in the light of political decisions. It would be inappropriate to analyze the operation only in strategic terms, as it might lead to confusion. A careful understanding of political decisions coupled with the strategic considerations is the only way to get a holistic view of the operation.

Analyzed from the political point of view, halting of Operation Gibraltar should be considered a diplomatic gain by India. From Pakistan's perspective, the operation failed to achieve its purpose. If the decision to halt attack on Akhnur was meant to avoid an all out war with India, it obviously failed to avoid it. In retrospect an analysis of the pace of events during the war could suggest that removal of General Akhtar Hussain Malik had become necessary for the political leadership as it would not have been easy to ask him to change the plan at the last moment.

Not only that the new commander General Yahya Khan was communicated the message that he should exercise restraint, as it was revealed subsequently, "... Later on..." Brigadier A.A.K. Chaudhry says, "...when Yahya Khan visited Staff College Quetta as

Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan Army, I ventured to ask him why he did not take Akhnur. His reply was short and crisp. All he said was “you know, I was told not to do so”.³⁴ Finally, India launched a full scale attack on Lahore on 6 September 1965 by surprise, initiating a two pronged attack by IV corps along Harike, simultaneously focusing on Burki axis on the one hand and Wagha-Batapur sector on the other. However, the attack was successfully halted by 10 Division on the far side of the BRB Canal. The Indian advance was stopped by just two infantry companies at Harike.

In the meanwhile 10 Division obtained the necessary time to take positions, which Indian, despite their numerical superiority over Pakistan, found it insurmountable till the end of the war. In an incredible feat of heroism Major Aziz Bhatti laid down his life near the bank of the canal in Burki region. The marching troops arrived in battlefield locations between 0330 and 0430 hours. The Indian army had infiltrated across the border around the same time. It seemed as if the moves of both sides were controlled by an impartial referee.³⁵ The Indians launched their main offensive in the Sialkot sector at Charwa on 8 September. Pakistan Army launched its counter-offensive at Kasur-Khem-Karan-Patti. And, the story of Pakistan Army’s professionalism at that time is marked by exemplary discipline and extra ordinary courage.

Indeed the Indians were baffled because of Pakistan Army’s combating capabilities. Referring to the clash in the Kasur sector, Mr. Chavan informed the Lok Sabha that, against Pakistan’s counter attacks with tanks, India had to withdraw from the forward positions. Chawinda was the scene of the biggest battle. It was described by the *Daily Telegraph* as, “one of the biggest tank battles since the desert campaign in the Second World War”.³⁶ Later Ayub Khan disclosed that 600 tanks were involved in the war on the Chawinda front along. *The Times of India* commented on the war front in the following words: “It is clear from the fury with which enemy (Pakistan) is fighting on all fronts that it has not been easy for the Indian Army to advance into Pakistan territory”. The paper also quoted the senior Indian Army officers as saying: “Let us not forget the Pakistan Army consists not of disorganized table, but of professional soldiers”.³⁷

The war had an electrifying effect on the whole nation. People were imbued with the spirit of “Ghazi” or “Shaheed” and willing to

give any sacrifice for the security and safety of their motherland. Such nationalistic and religious fervour is rarely witnessed in the history of the nations. The whole nation displayed extraordinary courage and unity. It is interesting to quote the *Economist* here: “Pakistan has taken the impact of its first experience of modern warfare with steady nerves. In Lahore one could clearly hear the pounding of guns...people are in an aggressive mood determined to die on their feet rather than live on their knees”.³⁸

The comparative war fighting capacity of India and Pakistan in 1965 War

	Arms	Pakistan	India
a)	Teeth Arm	352 PATTONS 308 Shermans 96 chaffeess	186 centurions 332 Shermans 90 AMX
	Total:	756	608
b)	Artillery	72 x 105 mm How 234 x 25 pr/105 mm How 126 x 155 mm How 72 x 25 pr/3.7” How Pot Lt Btys	66 x 3.7 How 450 x 25 pr 85 x 5.5”
	Total:	552	628
c)	Infantry	16 x Regular bdes 4 x Pok bdes (18 x Pol bns) 9000 RAZAKARS	35 x Infbades

Source: Lieut. General (Retired) Harbaksh Singh, *War Dispatches of Indo – Pakistan Conflict 1965*, New Delhi: Lancer International, 1991, p.7

When hostilities broke out between India and Pakistan, Pakistan sought help and assistance from its allies and friends. Asghar Khan left for Peking on the morning of 9 September 1965. China had shown considerable interest in Pakistan’s security, since the outbreak of her war with India in 1962. After Asghar Khan had delivered Ayub’s personal letter to Chau En Lai, the latter assured him that he would provide aircrafts and anti-aircraft weapons. Not only this, he also mentioned the dates when the aircrafts and weapons would be ready for collection. In Asghar Khan’s words: “Chou En Lai, added that it was important for them to know whether we really meant to fight until our political objectives were achieved, I said that I had no doubt that Pakistan would fight to the end”.³⁹

This response carried a positive spirit and was not merely a reassurance. After China, Asghar Khan left for Djakarta to deliver President Ayub's letter to President Sockorno. In this letter, Ayub expressed his desire for Indonesia to help Pakistan in its hour of need. "Your dire needs?" It is our dire need, "Sukarno replied. He assured that India's attack on Pakistan was like an attack on Indonesia and he was ready to give Pakistan all possible assistance. Indonesian leadership assured Pakistan of every possible assistance and also reminded Pakistan to be on its side in its own conflict with Malaysia. The gesture of extreme support was reinforced by Martadinata Indonesia Naval Commander-in-Chief, who spoke to Asghar Khan in the following kind words: "Don't you want us to take over the Adman Islands...an extension of Sumatra and are in any case between East Pakistan and Indonesia. What rights have the Indians to be there? The Indonesian Navy will immediately commence the patrols to the approaches to these Islands".⁴⁰

Martandinata materialized his promise with substantial military aid for Pakistan Navy. He ordered immediate transfer of two submarines and four OSSA missile boats to Pakistan. It was the time, when Indonesia was also facing Great Britain in the straits of Mulaca where British Task Force warships were facing Malaysia. The missile boats were of equal significance for Malaysia from the military point of view, as they were to Pakistan. It would therefore be remembered by the successive Pakistani generations that rendering missile boats at the service of Pakistan was an act of extreme sacrifice and courage on the part of Indonesia for Pakistan. After ensuring supply of necessary items from China and Indonesia, Asghar Khan visited Iran and Turkey.

Pakistan's plea for support met an enthusiastic response. Soon after, the Shah of Iran ordered the supply of certain military equipment to Pakistan. However, due to the holidays in Iran, there was the possibility of a delay in delivery. To counter the delay, Iranian government took extraordinary measures and the Shah issued instructions to all personnel connected with military programme to work day and night to keep the stores moving to fulfill Pakistan's entire need in explosives and ammunition until their own stocks were exhausted.⁴¹

Throughout the war, China remained the most important source of supply of weapons to Pakistan. The New York Times reported of an air shuttle service being operated daily for some time in the Indo – Pakistan war of 1965 between China and Pakistan carrying arms and equipment.⁴² China not only supported Pakistan with weapons, but she also mounted the diplomatic pressure against India. On 16 September 1965, the Chinese demanded the Indians to dismantle all their military works on the Chinese side of the China – Sikkim border within three days or be responsible for the consequences.⁴³ The Chinese ultimatum did certainly shake up Indian authorities.

It is interesting to look at the response of the United States in this regard. The USA was deeply embroiled in the Vietnamese war at that time and the prospects of involvement of China in the sub-continent was alarming to the USA in terms of the strategic consequences. It was an indirect negation of the objectives of the United States' policy towards South Asia. Goldberg, the US representative, addressed the Security Council on 18th September in these words:

While we are meeting indirect contradiction to our efforts, the Chinese communists are pursuing a course clearly designed to aggravate further the already grave situation. The world is thus confronted with an increased threat to peace, which can only be designed to increase tension and to complicate the peace making efforts of the United Nations, the Security Council and the Secretary General.⁴⁴

The interests of the United States and the Soviet Union were identical at the juncture, as both of them sought to withhold any possible Chinese influence in the subcontinent. These views were reflected in the address of George W. Ball, the United States' representative to the United Nations before the American Bar Association at Philadelphia on 6 August, 1969. He said: "... In 1965, when the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan again threatened world peace, it was primarily the parallel policies of the United States and the Soviet Union working both within and outside the United Nations that smothered the flames".⁴⁵ The United States pressure was conveyed to Field Marshal Ayub Khan on 6 September

1965, as the American Ambassador met President Ayub Khan and on no less than three occasions during the meeting, the Ambassador told the President that India had Pakistan by the throat.⁴⁶

Ayub Khan was not only under pressure from the United States. The British High Commissioner in Pakistan Morrice James was also making frequent appeals for a ceasefire. The British Prime Minister Harold Wilson had already issued a statement that if the Chinese were to intervene in the war, British and the United States would be bound to assist India.⁴⁷ However, much before the Chinese gave assurance to assist Pakistan on 9 September 1965, the United States Ambassador Walter P. McConoughy met Foreign Minister Bhutto at his residence to inform him about the Congressional decision to stop all military aid to Pakistan and India. Despite the apparent even-handed approach of the United States, India was not at a loss being a part of the treaty of friendship and mutual assistance with the Soviet Union. But it was of great consequences for Pakistan as it was solely dependent on the USA for its military hardware.

A meeting was held on 20 September at the President's Secretariat to consider the decision of accepting the ceasefire resolution. General Musa the Chief of the General Staff attended the meeting and urged the Government to delay the ceasefire for a few days, so that "the counter-attack planned by 1 Corps on the Sialkot front could go through...we were told that the President was under great pressure to stop fighting and as the deadline of the Chinese threat to India was expiring, not only India but also other friendly nations in particular the United Kingdom and the United States were very anxious that the war should come to an end."⁴⁸

Later on, the Indian High Command acknowledged that Pakistan attack into Indian Territory towards the GT Road or the Beas Bridge would have found Indian army in the helpless position of a commander paralysed into inaction for want of readily available reserves. According to General Harbakhsh Singh, "It was a nightmarish feeling even when considered in retrospect at this stage".⁴⁹

Similarly, Lieutenant General (Retd.) Habib Ullah Khan Khattak, in his critique of the 1965 war mentions: "... on the 5th/6th day of the war, the Indian Commander-in-Chief General Chaudhry

had twice ordered his GOC-in-Western Command. Lieutenant General Harbakhsh Singh to withdraw beyond Beas. General Sing in return said let the Pakistan Army a rude gesture and I will withdraw".⁵⁰ Pakistan never made the 'rude gesture' and thus failed to exploit the opportunity of hitting the enemy while it was retreating during the counter-attacks ranging from Kasur towards Khem-Karan. The significance of the moment was never fully realized and the opportunity was never fully utilized. Viewed from this perspective, the most important lesson of the 1965 Indo – Pakistan war is that, is the will of leadership and people to be the most critical factor despite the tremendous power of the explosive weapons.

A foreign correspondent, Louis Karrar who was himself present at the battlefield, gives an eye witness account of the whole situation. He writes:

We can defeat a nation, which plays hide and seek with death? I may or may not remember the Indo – Pakistan war, but I will never forget the smile full of the conducting army officer gave me. The smile told me how fearless and brave are the Pakistan young men. Playing with fire to these men from the Jawan to the General Officer Commanding was like children playing with marbles in the streets. I asked GOC, how is it that despite small numbers you are overpowering the Indians. He looked at me, smiled and said, "if courage, bravery and patriotism were purchasable commodities, the Indians could have got them along with American aid."⁵¹

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ANTI - TERRORISM ACT 1997: UNDEMOCRATIC ATTITUDE OF A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

Dr. Pervaiz Ahmad

Abstract

All the democratic and undemocratic regimes in Pakistan have been trying to curb the terrorist activities by enacting special laws and establishing special courts according to the prevailing circumstances. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's government committed itself to the idea of introducing parallel court structure of special courts to obtain speedy justice. The establishment of special courts under Anti-Terrorism Act, 1997 abolished the universal rule of equality before law- fundamental to any just and democratic society. The legislation demonstrates non-confidence of democratic leadership on democratic values. The act according to many of its critiques provided license to kill the innocent people by law enforcing agencies. The political and social activists in the country staged protest against the law as contrary to the fundamental rights. The judgment of Supreme Court in constitutional petition directed the government to soften the Act by amending certain sections to put the special courts under the control of judicial system already prevalent in Pakistan. The judgment stands prominent among the judgments of Supreme Court in guarding the fundamental rights.

Introduction

The basic objective of the article is to examine the anti terrorism act, 1997 promulgated during the second phase of Nawaz Sharif's government starting in 1997-99, when Nawaz Sharif's Muslim League was swept to power with a heavy mandate of two third majority. The mandate gave Nawaz Sharif a unique opportunity to bring about changes necessary to confront the growing menace of law and order problem. In fact since the days of Zia-ul-Haq, a military dictator, who ruled Pakistan for eleven years the law and order situation in Pakistan had been a source of irritant for all rulers.

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Therefore the civilian governments of both Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif tried in vain to contain the ever-deteriorating law and order situation in the country. Finally, Nawaz Sharif during his second tenure, with a heavy mandate took some stringent steps to halt the down side. The paper will examine in some detail the pros and cons of Nawaz Sharif's initiative. We should call it the irony of fate or a divine intervention that those who had enacted the terrorism law at one point in history were under trial under the same law.

In civilized and democratic societies, "No one's home can be broken into and searched by the police without a court order showing that there is a good cause for such a search"¹ The mid-night knock of the corrupt, inefficient and brutal police has no place in a democracy. Law and order situation in the whole country had been wrecked particularly since the 1988 and the necessity of iron hand was felt to crush these terrorist activities that were destroying the law and order of the country. Ethnic and religious clashes and killings had been common thing in different parts of the country during the period 1988-1997. The political workers; sectarian zealots, ethnic organizations and persons of local mafias were using their muscles to maintain their influence of fear and terror.² Curfews, Kidnappings for ransom, decoys and open display of arms had become the order of the day. Most probably it was one of the consequences of the Afghan war and reaction against dictatorship. To combat the state of lawlessness efficiently and effectively, Nawaz Government after detailed consultations with all relevant circles including political parties and parliamentarians decided to enact a special law (Anti-Terrorism Act) and establish special courts under this law. For the satisfaction of the nation and the justification of enacting of this law, government referred to the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act 1973, the prevention of terrorism (Temporary provisions) Act, 1974 and The Terrorist and disruptive activities (Prevention) Act, 1987(TADA, India).³ The menace of terrorism was not confined to Pakistan, other states are exposed to the menace of terrorism and they have enacted stringent laws to combat the terrorism which are mentioned above. Here it is however interesting to note that the decision of Nawaz Sharif on the issue of special law. In fact some other countries have been statutes more or less identical to our Anti-Terrorism Act. In spite of all these arguments, Pakistani citizens wanted to make out the democratic behavior from the rulers because Pakistan had faced the dictatorship

in different decades. Laws like Anti-Terrorism Act can shake the confidence of people on democracy, certainly it has shaken. For a critical evaluation of the anti-terrorism act, its history is briefly introduced.

Historical background of Special Courts in Pakistan

First time in the history of Pakistan, the special courts were established in 1975 by the democratic government of Z.A.Bhutto. Parliament passed the special law for the purpose of suppressing acts of sabotage, subversion and terrorism and to provide for speedy trial of offences committed in this connection before the special courts established under the act of suppression of terrorists activities (special courts) act, 1975. The establishment of special courts was against the norms of democratic culture, whereas that government claimed itself to be the first popular democratic government of Pakistan (Awami government). A popular democratic government was searching for solution of terrorist activities in the lap of undemocratic acts. The acts of popular leader and his government reflected his undemocratic attitude. No doubt, Bhutto was the most popular in the history of Pakistan since the death of Quaid-e-Azam, the founder of the nation, but he used the tactics of undemocratic culture in the guise of democracy. Under this law, federal government was empowered to constitute the special courts for the whole or any part of the Pakistan and appoint the judges for these courts.⁴ It was against the justice that the appointment of the judges of special courts was vested with the federal government rather than the High court and Supreme Court. It was the first step of a democratic government towards the establishment of authoritarian rule and establishment of parallel judicial hierarchy. High court within whose jurisdiction the sentence has been passed by the special court was provided as forum of appeal to the convict.⁵ The special courts established under act of XV of 1975 continued till the imposition of Martial Law in 1977.

Establishment of Special Courts in Junejo's Government (1987)

After nine years of Martial Law, civilian set up was restored under the formula of sharing the power rather than transfer of power. During these years due to the activities of Afghan war and suspension of fundamental rights the civil government was facing

the problems of terrorist activities and law and order situation also. Under the mixture of democracy and dictatorship, Junejo government in 1987 passed the act in the public interest to provide for the establishment of special courts for speedy trial for certain offences “which, in the opinion of the government, is gruesome, brutal and sensational in character or shocking to public morality or had led to public outrage or created panic or an atmosphere of fear or anxiety amongst the public or a section thereof.”⁶ The act was enforced to the whole of Pakistan for the specified period provided that it was extended by the parliament. The appointments of judges of special courts were empowered to the Governor of the province that showed the non-confidence on the judiciary. According to the section 4(2) of the act, “the judges to be appointed by the Governor in consultation with the Chief Justice of the high court, who is, or has been, a Judge of High Court, or is a Session Judge who is qualified for appointment as a judge of a high court.”⁷ In this act the power of appointment was given to the provincial Governor but with the consultation of high court chief justice. The appointments were the discretion of Governor because he was not bound of Chief Justice’s consultation. Again like the 1975 act, government created the parallel judicial hierarchy. The act provided the two opportunities of appeal, high court and Supreme Court against the decisions of special courts. Supreme court was highest court of appeal. The creation of special courts was the negation of the rule of law and fundamental rights and the disbelief on the democratic belief/thoughts.

Introduction of 12th Amendment in the Constitution of 1973 for the establishment of Special Courts

To overcome the spread of violence and terrorist activities, Government of Nawaz Sharif decided to create special courts for the trial of heinous offences on the lines of special courts established in 1975. Parliament introduced 12th amendment in the constitution for this purpose in 1991. The amendment added article 212-B to the constitution for the establishment of special courts for three years. This act provided constitutional cover to these special courts. “In order to ensure speedy trial of cases of persons accused of such heinous offences specified by law as are referred to them by the federal government, or an authority or person authorized by it, in view of their gruesome, brutal and sensational in character or

shocking to public morality, the federal government may by law constitute as many courts as it may consider necessary.”⁸ Federal government like the previous acts of special courts kept the power of appointment of judges in its hands while only consultation with Chief Justice was declared necessary but did not make the government bound of this consultation. It means that the government by passed the traditional judiciary and the word consultation was used for fraudulent temptation to satisfy the masses. The federal government was empowered to appoint judges of special courts with the consultation of the Chief Justice of the concerned High court, a person, who is, or has been, or is qualified for appointment as, a judge of a high court. A person other than a judge of High Court can be appointed on the same terms and conditions. It was a positive step of the act that the manner of removal of special court judges was prescribed as same as the judges of High Courts. A period of thirty days was fixed to decide the cases both for the special court and supreme appellate court. To hear the appeals against the sentences of a special court, the federal government constituted the Supreme Appellate Court that consisted of

“(a) a Chairman, being a judge of the Supreme Court to be nominated by the federal government after consultation with the Chief Justice of Pakistan; and

(b) two judges of the high courts to be nominated by the federal government after consultation with the Chief Justice of the high court concerned.”⁹ It was temporary arrangement to control the terrorist activities, thus it became ineffective after a period of three years in July 1994. It was beyond the logic that the act by passed the traditional judicial system, which had no objective other than strengthening the personal authority and unlimited power on the judicial affairs. “The 12th amendment created a hierarchy of courts parallel to the constitutional hierarchy consisting of the high courts and the Supreme Court. A special court under this amendment was not subordinate to the High Court and Supreme Court. The Supreme Appellate Court was an anomalous court ranking somewhere in between the High Courts and the Supreme Court.”¹⁰

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif addressed to the nation on 6th November 1991 and said that the special courts established in pursuance of the 12th amendment have started providing quick justice. He cleared that special courts are functioning in accordance with the principles of law and justice and the allegations leveled by the opponents that these courts would be used for political

vengeance have proved, like other accusations of theirs, as unfounded.¹¹

Introduction of Anti-Terrorism Act 1997 for the establishment of Special Courts

Ethnic terrorism in Karachi, for years and spread of religious violence in Punjab, Kidnappings for ransom, decoities and open display of arms had become the order of the day in different parts of the country. The above disease of terrorism had kept all the democratic governments preoccupied with the law and order situation. Due to the deteriorated situation of law and order, the economic activities of the country were touching its worst level. The Prime Minister viewed that peace and economic development were interlinked, and restlessness in the society hampered the economic activity, causing hunger, poverty, ignorance, diseases, and backwardness.¹² For these heinous reasons, Prime Minister convinced after consultation with his cabinet members and high officials that for combating terrorism with an effective and efficient method, the enactment of special law, obviously, current situation demands the presence of iron hand to suppress the terrorist activities for restoring the confidence of the people and restoring the healthy economic activities. Prime Minister after consultations with cabinet and government officials announced the introduction of Anti-Terrorist Act. Prime Minister and Chief Justice of Pakistan discussed the idea but could not reach on conclusion for the set up of special courts. Later on in a meeting, “The Prime Minister said that courts should help the government to weed out crime from the society. The government wanted to eliminate terrorism.” The Chief Justice on this occasion said, “The number of judges was to be increased for early dispensation of justice.”¹³

Controversy between the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and the Chief Justice of Pakistan on the issue of Anti-Terrorism Act

Even, the Pakistan Law Commission in its meeting opposed the idea of setting up of special courts for curbing terrorism.¹⁴ The meeting of the committee of chief justices was held in which the ways of early disposal of heinous crimes cases under the suppression of terrorists activities act, 1975 with some amendments was considered. The committee opposed in advance, the special law and

special courts for speedy trials on the pattern of those that were provided under the 12th amendment. The committee suggested that the High Courts would nominate additional session judges through an administrative order to deal with heinous crimes cases only and there was no need for setting up special courts under a parallel judicial system because the people had full confidence in the existing judicial system.¹⁵ The code of conduct of the judges forbids them entering into any controversy and any kind of dialogue with other constitutional institutions. Though the judges do not speak but their decisions speak. On the issue of Anti-Terrorist act, once again both persons hold discussion in the presence of Majeed Nizami, Editor-in-Chief of daily Nawa-I-Waqt in Lahore and the matter was solved amicably in this meeting.¹⁶ Prime Minister Nawaz agreed with the Chief Justice but he changed his mind later. "This brought the judiciary and the executive on a collision course."¹⁷ The meeting was seen by historians as a black satin/spot on our political and constitutional history that the Prime Minister and Chief Justice were concluding the agreement on the future legislation, though, it is the pure jurisdiction of legislature who is sovereign body and responsible to the people. In this way judiciary was transgressing into the legislative and executive organ of the state whereas the constitution has defined their orbits of influence clearly. Judiciary was criticized severely during debate on the 5th amendment bill in the National Assembly by the treasury benches particularly by the Prime Minister Zalfuqar Ali Bhutto himself. He declared in the National Assembly on 4th September 1976:

The judiciary cannot become a parallel executive by wholesale misapplication, misrepresentation and misinterpretation of the laws. This must be very clearly understood... and anyone who does not understand it does so at his own peril... each organ must remain in its sphere of influence and in its own orbit. It cannot transgress into the executive function, into the executive organ. It has been necessary to introduce Fifth Amendment as a result of the transgressing by the judiciary of its functions into the executive branch."¹⁸

The language of Prime Minister Zalfuqar Ali Bhutto in National Assembly was very insulting towards the judiciary. He

faced the aftereffects of this humiliating tone after the imposition of Martial Law in 1977, during the proceeding of murder case registered against him during his own regime.¹⁹ Federal Education minister, Mr. Abdul Hafiz Pirzada said, "The judiciary had been trying to encroach upon the functions of the legislature and the executive. If the judges were not happy with their positions, then they should quit their office and contest elections to occupy seats in the parliament."²⁰ Chief Justice Sajjad Shah mentioned the compromise and chief justice Lahore High Court made a statement for the newspapers on behalf of the chief justice of Pakistan that the government had been told not to set-up special courts, but to rely on the existing judicial system, as the forum of parallel judicial system had always been used for victimization of political opponents.²¹

It is right to say that the confrontation began between the judiciary and executive on the issue of the introduction of Anti-Terrorist Act in 1997 for combating the terrorist activities in the country. In later months, it was converted into the clash of two personalities. All was happened because both constitutional functionaries (Prime Minister, Chief Justice) have adopted sticky attitude for satisfaction of their false egos rather than the interest of nation. The question was that on what grounds Chief Justice of Pakistan raised the roar on this law. Although, court's duty is to interpret the laws while not to make laws, it is the duty of the legislature who was doing its function. For this purpose, Nawaz government in its second term legislated the new law, Anti-Terrorists Act, 1997. The Anti-Terrorist Act was passed by the parliament on 13th august 1997. The Anti-Terrorist law was a gift from the government to the people of Pakistan on the eve of golden jubilee celebrations. "The National Assembly looked like a fish market during the entire proceedings in spite of the presence of the leader of the house, and repeated calls for order made by the speaker of the house."²² Members of Mujhar Quami Movement (MQM) remained absent and the PPP staged a walk out after mounting, the bill is against fundamental rights. Nawaz government used its two third majority stick and got passed the act. The law provided special courts for trial of terrorist activities with appeal to an appellate tribunal other than high court and forum of Supreme Court as a final; court of appeal was excluded. Parliamentary opposition and Aitzaz Ahsan, leader of the opposition in the senate, declared that this black law might be used for political victimization, add to the miseries of

innocent people and a deathblow to the existing judicial system.²³ The act was the charismatic dilemma of two third majority of Nawaz government, which exposed the love of Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) and its leadership with democracy. "Government sowed the seeds of enmity with superior judiciary by passing the act for establishment of special courts. It reflects the dictatorial nature of the regime."²⁴ General Jehangir Karamat supported the new law and said that new law was the first step in the right direction and it might bring peace and stability.²⁵ Qazi Hussain Ahmad (Ameer Jamat Islami) said that this kind of black law had no precedent even in the colonial era of British rule.²⁶

Shahbaz Sharif, a brother of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was more touchy for the establishment of special courts than other provincial governments. The Anti-Terrorists Act provided special courts for trial with appeal to an appellate tribunal consisting of High Court Judges other than High Court. High Court was not the forum of appeal, so the further appeal would not lie before the Supreme Court. Thus, under the Anti Terrorists law, the Supreme Court and High Court were excluded from the due process. The judges of the special courts were to be appointed by the federal government and did not enjoy security of tenure.²⁷ The mode of appointments opened the ways for pressurizing and interfering in the judiciary.

According to the act, the civil and armed forces could open the fire on a person likely to commit a terrorist act and if it was done fallaciously then the security forces were exempted from any liability if the action was taken in good sense,²⁸ confession made admissible before the police officer, admission to entering a house without search warrant, the law provided special tribunal for appeal other than the high court against the decision of Special Court while the highest court of appeal in the country, supreme court was excluded that meant the establishment of parallel judicial system without the administrative control of the existing judiciary.²⁹ This act (Anti- terrorist act) brought the judiciary and the executive on a collision course. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and his government were committed to establish a parallel court structure of Special Courts for accommodating the members of Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) and their relatives as special courts judges. On the other hand, Chief Justice stressed to achieve the objective through traditional judicial system, which was time-tested system. However, the government could obtain the objective of dispensation of cheap and fastest justice to the masses at their doorsteps under the

supervision of existing judiciary rather than the establishment of Special courts under the direct supervision of federal government. It was clear that the special court judges would function under the pressure of appointing authority in the absence of constitutional guarantees as enjoyed by the traditional judiciary. In a nutshell it was a right step towards combating of terrorist activities but their decision to establish parallel hierarchy of courts by ignoring traditional judicial system was beyond the logic. Government's blame was acceptable to some extent in this regard that the slow and traditional process of existing courts is responsible for the different kind of terrorist activities. But the objective must have been achieved within the constitutional/traditional system of judiciary.

Anti-Terrorism Act challenged before the Lahore High Court

The Anti-Terrorism Act was challenged in the Lahore High Court as violative of fundamental rights and a license to kill for the law enforcing agencies by a number of petitioners. A full bench of the Lahore High Court upheld the Anti-Terrorism Act as valid by a majority of four to one. There was difference of opinion among the learned members of bench but the majority view held that the ATA was completely enacted. However, it was also held by the majority view that certain provisions of the ATA required to be amended in the order to validate the same, namely sections 14,16,19(10) 26,31.³⁰

Anti-Terrorism Act challenged through constitutional petition before the Supreme Court

A number of constitutional petitions were filed against the Anti Terrorism Act in 1997. Mr. Mehram Ali and others filed the constitutional petition before the Supreme Court challenging the judgment of Lahore High Court and Anti Terrorism Act in 1998. It is important perhaps logical that government had felt the sentiments of the public, reaction of opposition parties and resistance of Chief Justice of Pakistan, thus government expressed his desire through Attorney General that they are ready to amend the provisions of the Anti-Terrorist law that are inconsistent with the fundamental rights of the constitution in conformity with the recommendations made by the supreme court. Government seems to be a nervous rather helpless due to the opposite views of Chief Justice of Pakistan against Anti-Terrorist Act and special courts. It may be fear or

helplessness of government to resist in achieving its goal. It was positive step of the government towards the establishment of rule of law and honoring the highest court of the country by accepting his supervision. The critics should have taken this step in positive sense but they saw it as a retreat of government. Now the ball was in the court of Supreme Court and all the eyes had been fixed on the coming judgment of the Supreme Court. In its judgment, the Supreme Court took a pragmatic view of the prevailing situation and directed the government to amend the Anti-terrorist Act in the light of its observation.³¹

Decision of Supreme Court

A five-member bench of the Supreme Court in its decision invalidated the twelve sections (5(2)(I), 10, 14,19(10)(b), 24,25,26,27.28,30,35 and 37) provisions of the act and brought special courts at par with ordinary courts working within the existing judicial system. It was the right decision at the right time and in the right direction, which escaped the innocent people and opposition from the misuse of Anti-Terrorist law.³² “Supreme Court observed that section 14 of the act which provides for composition and appointment of presiding officers of special courts does not provide the security of the tenure of the judges there under. The security of tenure of judges is a sun qua non for independence of judiciary. The framers of the above provision of the constitution were mindful of the fact that in the absence of security of tenure no judge can function impartially and independently.”³³ This was the basic dispute of government and opposite forces, which was solved by the Supreme Court. The government made the amendments in the act in terms of the Supreme Court judgment. “The effect of this was that the special courts under the act came under the administrative and judicial control and supervision of High Courts like the other subordinate courts of the country. The presiding officers of the said courts also came under the administrative and judicial control of the high courts for all purposes. The draconian provisions of the act were eliminated.”³⁴

The bench unanimously held that the powers of law enforcing agencies (power of the police to enter houses and search these without warrants, trial in absentia, confessions before police officers) should be amended justice ably as the existing system is providing security to the fundamental rights of people. On the other

words the police and army can be a terror for the public having authority to life and death, in this way a further terror was began rather to finish the old. The bench also directed the government to make suitable amendments in the Anti Terrorist Act to vest the appellate power in a High Court instead of an appellate tribunal. That the law would be administrated within the normal judicial system and Supreme Court would be the final court of appeal. It is better for the government to choose the normal way rather than to adopt parallel hierarchy of courts because the government officials/politicians should not forget that it might be possible that they have to face these courts in future as Nawaz Sharif had to face the Anti-Terrorist Court in kidnapping/hijacking of plane case. In its judgment, the Supreme Court took a pragmatic view of the prevailing situation and directed the government to amend the Anti-terrorist Act in the light of his observation.

What a misfortune for the founder of the Anti-Terrorism Act that he had to appear as accused in the special court on the charges of attempt of murder, treason, hijacking, and kidnapping which were set up by him. Nawaz Sharif's son demanded that the case against his father should be tried in a civil court and not in a special court under special law. "The judgment was acclaimed as a good verdict, whereby the judiciary established that judicial power could be shared only by the courts and tribunals which could fall within the framework of the constitution."³⁵

Conclusion:

It is very unusual in this civilized age that a democratic government has established separate courts for the management of law and order situation. Though the nation was facing security and economic problems but laws like Anti Terrorism Act were not proper solution. The democratic government should find solution to national problems within the boundaries of the constitution--the basic law of the land. It is due to this law that privacy of the society was in danger and the implementation of this uncivilized and undemocratic act was against the universally accepted rule, 'equality before law'. The citizens under a democracy submit to the law because they recognize that, however indirectly, they are submitting to themselves as to the makers of the law. Such laws are not thrust upon them and are in complete harmony with their ideas. When

laws are established by the people who then have to obey them, both law and democracy are served. This act of the government exposed its incompetence, lack of sense and direction and dedication to the nation. Government attempted to establish a parallel system of courts, not subject to judicial review, or administrative control of the superior courts. The hasty delivery of justice may carry injustice in disguise. The Supreme Court by its judgment saved the nation from the brutal act of a so-called democratic government. Supreme Court met in accordance to the constitution in deciding the petition against Anti-Terrorism Law and its judgment saved the nation from the establishment of a parallel court system as compared to a tested traditional judicial system. This kind of policies reflects the undemocratic behavior of a so-called democratic government. This was a great success of the democratic forces and a moral defeat for the so-called democratic government.

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AN ANALYTICAL REVIEW OF THE PERFORMANCE OF SAARC

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Abstract

Globalization today has revolutionized the world. South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation is the largest regional organization in the world representing the big portion of world population that approximately constitutes 25% of total population of the world. SAARC provides a platform to eight South Asian countries-Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Nepal, Srilanka, Maldives, Bhutan and Afghanistan in order to discuss the regional economic and cultural matters. The role of SAARC is unavoidable in bringing about a change in the South Asian region. The 14th SAARC Summit concluded with a commitment to promote tranquility and development in the region. Moreover the expansion of SAARC will make an extensive optimism as all the SAARC nations made consent to build up a partnership for working together towards an economic collaboration and regional prosperity.

Introduction

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was established when its Charter was formally adopted on December 8, 1985 with an agenda of advancement of regional nations in social, educational, economic and health sectors. SAARC was the brain child of the late President of Bangladesh, General Zia-ur-Rehman. His idea was to promote economic, technological, scientific, educational, cultural and social cooperation among all the South Asian Nations. Initially its paper work covered the eleven areas of cooperation, which were mainly, telecommunications, meteorology, transport, shipping, tourism, agricultural research, joint ventures, market promotion, scientific and technology cooperation, educational & technological cooperation and cultural cooperation. Although the formation of SAARC was considered as, 'a new era in South Asia.' However since its inception, SAARC has not made some remarkable result to achieve its basic agenda. However SAARC has emphasized to make South Asia as a free trade area for regional countries. An agreement called SAFTA¹ (South Asian Free

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Trade Area) was signed by SAARC members in January 2004 for this purpose. It was to be implemented by January 2006 but political irritants have hindered the progress on the execution of SAFTA.

The recent 14th SAARC Summit was held in New Delhi on 3-4 April 2007. The main theme of 14th SAARC Summit was to deal with the regional cooperation and connectivity². Afghanistan formally took its seat as the eighth member of SAARC. The addition of Afghanistan to SAARC is a significant achievement of the organization for expanding its area of performance. Afghanistan can play a pivotal role as a bridge among the South Asia, Central and West Asia. Afghanistan's adherence to SAARC family will certainly be helpful to explore the North-South transit routes for the nations. Nevertheless, the five countries like People's Republic of China, Japan, Republic of Korea, the United States of America and the European Union and Iran also participated as observers in SAARC summit. All of them made consent to build a partnership for working together towards an economic cooperation, regional prosperity and a better life for the people of South Asia by eradicating poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance that are formidable challenges falling in this region.

The main theme of the 14th SAARC Summit was to deal with the regional cooperation. The representatives of all the South Asian nations emphasized to make this forum more practical for a collective progress and prosperity of the region. With this determination, the regional cooperation in the fields of economy and trade was considered important. Nevertheless, in order to curtail these challenges, an effective plan was underlined for the interests of the region. At the end of the Summit, a 30 point declaration was made. The 14TH Summit was successful in a sense that:

1. To make grouping, "relevant" to South Asian people, Pakistani Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz came up with a roadmap with five, "mile stones" aimed at promoting, "genuine peace"; developing mutual trust, reinforcing the principle of peaceful co-existence, building "interdependencies", and having a level playing field for "a truly effective regional division of labor and production". The road map has the potential of exploring the solutions to the perennial problems plaguing the organization³.
2. The establishment of a South Asian University in India was announced. It will definitely prove a thin end of the wedge. It will play a role of connectivity of ideas of South Asian youth

that would build the future of the region. It will act as a nursery for a revitalized South Asian identity.

3. Establishment of SAARC Food Bank was another positive step made so that the member countries might be provided with food security.
4. Member states decided for successful implementation of SAFTA.
5. All SAARC Countries will make agreements for the security and promotion of investment.
6. To make custom related issues easier.
7. Making of a road-map for the establishment of South Asian Custom Union⁴ and South Asian Economic Union⁵.
8. All the member countries will work jointly to curb and root out poverty, terrorism, crimes, injustice and will join hands for the development of the region.
9. Transportation of different things will be made easier.
10. An independent commission will be established for lessening the poverty in the region.
11. The transport system will be made advanced.
12. SAARC Development Fund will be established. It will play a vital role in the eradication of poverty in the region
13. An agreement was made to operationalize the SAARC Attribution Council.
14. SAARC Museum for textiles and handicrafts will be set up.
15. National and Regional Telecom Infrastructure will be upgraded.
16. A scholarship scheme will be initiated for South Asian students.
17. The year 2008 was declared, “The Year of Good Governance”.
18. Agreements were made on four issues to make progress in the next six months. These issues are:
 - Water including flood control
 - Energy
 - Food
 - Environment

All the eight countries of SAARC decided to work with international agencies to develop and implement viable cross-border regional projects in the above four factors.

19. As terrorism is a threat to the peace and security in the region, thus a call was made to combat terrorism that dogs all

its member states. The target killings were condemned. It was an important point under discussion that was raised that care should be taken to blur the lives between terrorism and struggle for fight of self-determination.

20. Decision was made to establish model villages in all states.
21. Steps were made to strengthen the cooperation on educational matters
22. Smooth market in the region was emphasized.
23. Initiation of a dialogue on wider economic issues such as Investment, services, Energy and Macro-Economic Policies.

The Failures of SAARC as A Regional Organization

Since its inception, SAARC has not shown remarkable performance. According to the Charter of SAARC⁶, the political issues among the countries of the region can not be raised. After twenty two years, SAARC is not still as consolidated forum. It yet seeks a solid ground to become a vibrant regional organization. The main cause behind the inactiveness of SAARC is the political and strategic divergences within the South Asian nations. So political differences have hindered the performance of the organization. As SAARC has not been empowered to address the political tricky issues of the region, things have become more complicated for the organization as compare to other regional organizations like European Union, Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN)⁷ because their member states have political and strategic harmony and they have been given an equal importance despite of their areas and resources.

SAARC has failed to achieve its aims. No solid action on ground has been seen in past twenty two years for economic, social and educational development of the region .It has not taken a consolidated form. It really needs a solid ground in order to become a dynamic regional organization. The idea behind the setting up of SAARC was in fact the realization among the member countries to make combined efforts in order to achieve the maximum welfare for the people. But practically the SAARC was held hostage to the bilateral issues⁸. An environment that has been vitiated by disputes and mistrust, have been the stumbling block in the success of SAARC. The main obstacles are political and economic in nature and it goes beyond saying that the political tensions among the member states do affect their relationship to a greater extent. These political problems are an insurmountable hurdle. It is an admitted fact that

there are huge and small disputes existing among the members of SAARC that impede the progress of SAARC. These disputes are likely to be:

- Kashmir Problem; It has made the relations cynical between India and Pakistan since 1947. It has led to three major wars of 1948, 1965 and 1971. The Kashmiris have been exercising for their rights of self-determination but it has made the situation perplexed. In July 2001, when Agra Summit was held, then a hope appeared but it was by no means allowed to reach at some sound climax.
- Nuclear Proliferation; Since 1980's, the nuclear issue has brought about a new source of tension in the region. Thus it imposes a very solemn threat to the peace and security of South Asia.
- Non-Cooperation; the power disparity between India and other countries of the region is weighing down the main ideas of SAARC. Following its hegemonic designs, Indian attitude has generated a climate of suspicion and mistrust among the neighbours of India. India's undue interference in the internal matters of other neighboring countries has damaged the spirit of SAARC agenda. The unresolved disputes among the member states are a great hurdle in the working of SAARC. For instance the Kashmir issue is the bone of contention between India and Pakistan as well as the issue has mared the regional security situation. Similarly India's rifts with Bangladesh over the division of the waters, and illegal cross-border migration of Bangladeshis into neighboring Indian states and control of coastal islands of Talpatty. India has constructed Farakka Barrage which has abridged the normal flow of Ganges water into Bangladesh. India's differences with Sri Lanka over Tamil issue. India has disputes with Nepal over border issues, smuggling and transit trade. Infact India wants to get hold over Nepalese trade and also the presence of large number of Indians in Southern Regions of Nepal causes sporadic hostility. All these things have created a situation of mistrust among the SAARC nations. Thus this situation leaves a wide margin between the promise of SAARC and its reality. As in the intra-regional trade among the countries of SAARC is only 5% of the region's total international trade. While some studies show that more than 60% of world trade at present is being generated through regional trading arrangements. Taking examples of other regional

organizations in this regard, it becomes evident that NAFTA⁹ has succeeded in enhancing the trade amongst the member countries to 37%, the European Union to 63% and the ASEAN members conduct 38% of their International trade amongst themselves¹⁰.

Concluding Remarks

Globalization today has changed the world map. In this new international global environment, the regional organizations have been successfully transforming the world into one family unit. Countries belonging to same region agitated against each other in the past, now have been united into one regional unit. European Union is the foremost example of it which is turning into an economic and political block.

South Asia today faces a fast-changing world. SAARC nations must realize the need of time to overcome the political challenges for the betterment of their region. SAARC must be moved now from confabulations and declarations into implementation.

SAARC is based on the idea of regional cooperation but cooperation among the regional states is not hindered by the political differences. Although efforts are being made on bilateral level among the regional countries to overcome those political disputes, yet there is no success so far. As there is lot of potentials for economic integration in South Asian region, so it is said that if the economic objectives are gained first, the political gains will follow automatically. But this is not practicable approach because political and strategic differences have created a climate of mistrust among the nations so joint efforts to exploit the regional economic resources are also becoming impossible. It is rightly said, that “Economic Cooperation and Free Trade Lie at the Heart of Successful Regionalism”

While reviewing ill performance of SAARC, it dawns upon mind that there is a certain need to bring about the structural changes in SAARC in order to make organization more functional. These steps can be as:

1. An amendment should be made in the charter of SAARC and it should be flexible enough so that the controversial issues among the regional countries are resolved on the platform of SAARC.

2. Like European Union, the barriers among the member countries over fast mobilization of South Asian people across the region should be removed.
3. The SAARC Countries must develop a common market like European and ASEAN Countries.
4. The tyranny of geography has been patent in such a way that almost all the other countries of South Asia are its neighbors. This factor carries greater importance in the tensions created by India in her neighbors. India must give up her hegemonic designs which are definitely causing discomfort among its neighbors.
5. If more countries are given the status of its member or observer, the SAARC will be transformed into an effective and practical regional organization. These expansion steps would definitely instill the dynamism in SAARC's mission and of course will open new vistas of relationship with the observer countries. Iran as an observer status can provide the region with, "East-West Connectivity". As South Asia seeks to enhance its trade with the Middle East and European Union by land and rail routes, Iran can play a vital role in this regard.
6. Pakistan is a developing country as compared to India. If India seeks concessions from West, thus Pakistan also has the right to expect concessions from India. As India has announced the custom-free entry for goods from small neighboring countries, it must lower the walls of tariff for Pakistan.
7. If India considers the offers made by Pakistani President Pervaiz Musharraf regarding the return of armies, free means of communication and conveyance of both the countries and proposal of self-governance, it will definitely remove the hurdles that are impeding in the way of other problems.
8. SAARC Secretariat must be made positively effective. It will not be possible to put the high sounding ideals into reality unless the physical structures and procedures of SAARC are revamped with a view to create an institutional capacity to accomplish the tasks that have been assigned to SAARC.
9. Such an environment of mutual interest should be created that terrorists incidents may not affect the measures based on trust in any case.
10. The bilateral issues must be resolved in a peaceful way through dialogues and negotiations. In this context, a great

responsibility lies in the attitude of India that she must show reverence for the independence of other countries of the region. For trade, India must provide the facilities to all the countries of South Asia including Pakistan under SAFTA and WTO¹¹.

11. A smooth implementation of SAFTA can demonstrate the omen of a sustainable growth. In SAFTA, there is a constructive springboard for deeper integration. It can lead South Asian region towards customs union and also towards an economic union. But to realize all that needs, SAFTA to be completely operational.
12. According to a study made by Australian Department of Foreign Affairs, If the International transaction is reduced to 5%,it would increase the aggregate GDP of Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum(APEC)¹² Countries by 0.9%.Thus a liberal approach be adopted towards opening up the respective economies. India is the largest economy in the South Asian region, having approximately 70% of the region's aggregate GDP¹³. Nevertheless, the trading policies followed by India will have the most discernable impact.
13. South Asia soon would be facing the shortage of energy, thus the members of SAARC Countries should move on an energy exchange with energy markets. The appropriate local technologies for harnessing the renewable energy for future cooperation should be promoted.
14. The terrorism should not only be condemned but the need of the hour is that its causes must be sought out and then a solution to curb it might find.
15. A free trade environment must be provided in the region. Liberal trade regimes are necessary for deeper economic integration.
16. As the year 2007 was designated the "SAARC Green Year", the efforts must be positively made to save the environment and minimize the threats faced to climatic change.
17. The world is now seized by the concept of finding bigger markets. Thus SAARC in this regard can facilitate the increased cross-border transactions of goods and in the process substantially increase the mobilization of capital, entrepreneurship, production and distribution activities in individual countries. This will boost income generation and increase the employment.

18. The development depends on harnessing the natural resources. There is plenty of natural and human resources in South Asia like:

- Afghanistan is gifted with the natural resources such as untapped oil, natural gas, minerals, metals and animal husbandry resources such as sheep and lamb wool in substantial quantities.
- Sri Lanka is known for rubber processing and tea.
- India has established itself in IT and E-Connectivity.
- Maldives is known for innovations in tourism.
- Pakistan is rich in cotton textiles and apparels.
- Nepal is well-known for its hydel resources and bio-diversity.
- The Grameen Bank concept of Bangladesh that has definitely made a difference in the lives of people.
- Bhutan is known for its hydel resources and is a model for the promotion.

The accurate utilization of these resources can definitely procure a profound rate of economic development and the region might become an economic power too.

19. A satisfactory political climate is mandatory to achieve the objectives of SAARC.
20. Tourism is one of the most lucrative trades but it has not been fully developed in South Asia. The year 2007 was named as the “South Asian Year of Tourism”. The governments must promote the Intra-region tourism.
21. Focused, result-oriented and time-bound projects should be initiated. It will surely bring about tangible benefits to the people of South Asia.
22. A commission of eminent persons from the SAARC Countries should be established that can propose reforms for SAARC which can be finally adopted by the Heads of the states and governments in their annual meetings. But all that certainly requires a sound political will which must be accompanied by sincere intentions. The civil society must be encouraged to interact and develop the habit of cooperative thinking. Thus in the next summit, it can be hoped that SAARC would take more steps to correct the socio-economic

imbalance, strengthen the political stability in the region and remove the stumbling block in the way of SAARC.

As South Asian region faces a difficult situation today. It has to face a lot of challenges as the world is changing fastly. Thus it is high time to analyze the successes and failures with factual position. The issues must now lead towards the practical implementation from simply Confidence Building Measures (CBMs). There should be transformation in attitudes and thoughts. As the world is heading towards regionalism, it has become more essential for SAARC to safeguard its economic interests through an imperative coordinated course. The things will be smooth when a climate of helpfulness is created. The SAARC must move from a declaratory phase to action and implementation. As positive expectations have a way that directs towards positive outcomes. The SAARC goals need to be oriented and pragmatic. The focus should be on the implementation of the decisions, translating the potential of SAARC into tangible terms. Otherwise, one must accept the reality as said by ex-Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz in this summit that SAARC would lose all meaning for its people if they did not find, 'dividends' from its existence.

Notes & References

1. SAPTA was signed during 7th SAARC summit and was envisaged primarily as the first step towards the transition to a South Asian Free Trade Area, i-e; SAFTA. The draft for SAFTA was approved in 1999 which was supposed to have been presented to the heads of the governments in the 11th summit in Katmandu. It allowed the member countries to import commodities from one another with 10% lower tariff than those imposed on items for Non-SAARC Countries.
2. *The Nation*, Lahore, April 3,2007
3. "Speech of Pakistani Prime Minister, Shaukat Aziz, on 3rd April ,2007 in the 14th SAARC Summit," published in *14th SAARC summit* , New Delhi, 3-4 April 2007, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India
4. To be created by 2015
5. To be created by 2020
6. The SAARC Charter was devised first at Delhi Conference of the Council of Foreign Ministers on 1st August, 1983 and was subsequently adopted at the first summit in Dhaka on 7-8 December, 1985. It is available on <http://www.saarc-sec.org/data/docs/charter.pdf>
7. A geo-political and economic organization of 10 countries located in South-East Asia , formed on 8th August,1967 in Bangkok.
8. Amanat Ali Choudhry, "SAARC Summit in Perspective," *The Nation*, April 11, 2007
9. The largest trade bloc of North America in the world in terms of combined GDP of its members. It came into effect on 1st January, 1994.Its member countries are Canada, Mexico and North America.
10. Jalil Ahmed, "SAARC: Challenges Ahead," *Dawn*, Lahore, April 3,2007
11. An international organization designed to supervise and liberalize the international trade. It came into being on 1st January, 1995, having 151 members and is the successor of General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.
12. The gross domestic product (GDP) is one of the primary indicators used to gauge the health of a country's economy. It represents the total dollar value of all goods and services,

produced over a specific time period. Usually GDP is expressed as a comparison to the previous quarter or year.

13. Founded in 1989, it is the premier forum, having 21 members of facilitating the economic growth, cooperation, trade and investment in the Asia-Pacific region. It is the only inter-governmental grouping in the world operating on the basis of non-binding commitments, open dialogue and equal respect for the views of all the participants.

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF INDIAN WOMEN DURING SULTANATE PERIOD

Rukhsana Iftikhar

Abstract

Men played a dominant role in the Indian politics. History of subcontinent rarely mentions the women who played active role in politics of the court. Social values were mainly hindering the women activeness in the politics. Raziya Sultan who was female sovereign during Sultanate period is unique example of the women who played role in politics. Beside her many other women showed their involvement in the court affairs. This article attempts to explore the political activities of women during the Sultanate period.

Role of Razia Sultan

Woman has emerged as an integral part of social structure. Her role in the various fields of life has contributed equally as their male counter part. As far as the matter of politics is concerned, history has presented various examples of woman, sagacity, her administrative skills and political maturity to managed the political crisis even in a very smooth way.

When Turks came to India in 1206, they brought their own heritage. Women had been given a respectable status in society. They took active part in politics.¹ Lichhavi Queen Kumara Devi ruled over the kingdom jointly with her husband, Chandra Gupta I, who founded Gupta dynasty about 320 A.D ². The names and edifices of both the Queen and King appeared on the coins. Prabhavati, daughter of Chandra gupta II Vikrama ditya (376-414 AD), ruled as regent on behalf of her minor son on the Vakataka dynasty of Decean³. These ladies ruled on the behalf of their husbands and sons. However it was for the first time during the Turkish rule that Lady Razia Sultan, on the basis of sheer competence, became ruler of Hindustan. It was the example of advancement of Turkish culture to give full consideration to the merits of an individual irrespective of her sex.⁴ Women were given equal status to men.

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The earliest reference of a lady who participated in political activities during Turkish rule is Khudavanda-i-Jahan Shah Turkan. She is the Turkish slave by origin who rose to the status of Chief Queen of Sultan Iltutmish (1210-1236). Although Sultan Iltutmish expressed his desire to nominate Razia as his successor but Shah Turkan was interested in nomination of her own son Ruknuddin Firoz Shah⁵.

During the life time of Sultan Iltutmish, Shah Turkan had gained political strength.⁶ She enjoyed influence in gracious Sultan's court.⁷ Immediately after the death of Sultan Iltutmish (1236) she manipulated to enthrone her indolent and loving son. Shah Turkan concentrated all powers in her own hands even she issued royal orders (Farman) by her name⁸. A younger son of Sultan Iltutmish Muizz-ud-Din was first blinded and put to death by the orders of this ambitious lady⁹.

Razia was the next hurdle in the ways of her authoritarianism. So Shah Turkan conspired against Razia. Razia tackled this abnoxious problem in a tricky ways and imprisoned her¹⁰. Turkish Empire had a glorious example of a Queen's government. The accession of Razia to the throne of Delhi in the year of 1236 A.D heralded a new era in the history of Sultan. It asserts the claim of a woman to the office which was earlier considered to be the monopoly of males. Razia was elevated to the throne solely because of her merits and talent¹¹.

It was in the midst of chaos and confusion that Razia asserted her claim for throne. She was cleverly exploited the general discontent against her mother's rule. Clad in red garment customary for revolution she showed herself to the assembly of Friday prayer and in the name of Sultan Iltutmish applied for help against the cruel rule of her brother and mother¹².

Poet historian Isami reveals that Razia entered into an agreement with the people. She was given a chance to prove her abilities and if she did not prove better than man, her head was to be struck off.¹³ Turkish nobility 'core of forties' gave taught resistance against the accession of Razia but she faced this situation courageously even before her accession Sultan Iltutmish judged her talent especially after his expedition of Gwalior (1231 A.D). She handled the administration of Delhi in absence of her father and acquitted herself very creditably¹⁴ during her reign she was successfully handled the problem of Lakhnavi, Lahore and Multan¹⁵.

After becoming sovereign of Hindustan, Raziya turned to bring some revolutionary changes as she started to wear Kaba and kulla instead of usual feminine dress. Isami criticized her in these words: "I have heard that she came out of purdah. She adopted vulgarity by rejecting pious virtue. She wore kaba and kulla and came out of the shelter of Purdah¹⁶"

She consolidated her Empire by taking bold administrative steps. The nobles who favoured Raziya were awarded by her. She appointed them the governors of the important provinces of Delhi sultanate. In her mind while appointing the governors, to avoid the concentration of the powers in the hands of particular section of nobility Raziya embarked upon the policy of enlisting and patronizing non-Turkish nobles, she could bank upon in the time of political crisis. Thus inclusion of non-Turkish nobles were used as one of the means to create a new force to serve her political ends. Jamil ud Din Yaqut, the Abyssinian slave, received a special consideration for being non Turkish he occupied the prestigious office of Amir I Akhur (the master of horse) which according to tradition was enjoyed by Turk nobles. This act of Raziya received great opposition at the hands of Turkish nobles who were being deprived off all privileges. So during the third year of her regime these nobles made a conspiracy against her¹⁷.

Yaqut advised, assisted and accompanied Raziya on the various occasions. Being a blind support of her mistress, he was quite close to her. Minhaj- us- Siraj and other contemporary historian speak nothing about the intimacy between the two while isami caste a slur upon their relationship¹⁸.

Either it was the scandal with Yaqut or the revolt of Altuniya (governor of Tabarhindah) of Raziya, s time) she faced all difficulties very courageously. She used all tacts to revive her as a Queen of Hindustan. Even the proposal of the marriage to Altuniya on the part of Razia seems to be completely a political move. But all her efforts to regain her lost powers proved futile¹⁹ because she was out of Delhi. In the month of September 1240 A.D Sultan Muizz-ud- Din Bahram shah (son of Sultan Iltutmish) led an army against Raziya and Altuniya. The forces of Raziya were defeated by royal army and both Raziya and Altuniya fell into the hands of Hindus in Kaithal (town in Karnal, district of Punjab) who put them to death on Oct. 13, 1240 A.D²⁰. Indeed Raziya was a talented lady as well as sharp politician. Minhaj says:

Raziya Sultan was a great monarch she was wise, generous, benefactor to her Kingdom, a

dispenser of justice, she was the leader of her army. She was endowed with all qualities benefiting a king but she was not born of the right sex.²¹

Being a woman of Intellectual aptitude she stood for encouragement of literary persons. During her rule (1236 – 1240) she patronized men of letters. Minhaj- us- Siraj (Author of Tabqat-i-Nasiri) was entrusted the task of supervision of Madarsia-i-Nasiriya which became a center of learning during Sultanate²².

Raziya being a female ruler has a great political significance in the history of Sultanate period. It is surprising that she did not find a place in the list of Sultans which was prepared by the orders of Sultan Firoz Shah Tughluq.²³ This omission by Sultan Firoz Shah is no way undermined her contribution in stabilizing Turkish Empire in India. Raziya stands as the only example of a woman who wielded sovereignty during Muslim rule in India²⁴.

Contributions of Malika-i- Jahan

Malika-i- Jahan, wife of Sultan Jalal- ud- Din Khalji and mother in law of Sultan Ala ud Din Khalji was another lady who had interest in the political affairs of Sultanate. As a wife, she enjoyed a complete influence over her husband²⁵. Malika-i- Jahan was responsible for creating problems and misunderstanding between her daughter and son in law Ala- ud- Din. Ala- ud- Din had secret relations with a mistress named Mahak. This could not be kept secret from his wife and mother in law. Malika-i- Jahan played a role to widen the gulf between husband and wife. At last Ala- uddin settled down in Deccan²⁶. After the death of Sultan Jalal- ud- din Khalji, she played a most treacherous role by lying aside the claim of Arkali Khan (her eldest son) who was in Multan at that time. She supported Qadir Khan against her own son and enthroned him by giving him the title of Rukuniddin Ibrahim²⁷. She concentrated all powers in her hands and particularly ruled in the name of her younger son. She heard petitions and issued decrees. She had also the sympathy of her eldest son. Ala- ud- din took the benefit of the foolishness of Malika-i- Jahan and snatched the throne of Delhi²⁸.

Ladies of Tughluq Dynasty

Two ladies of Tughluq dynasty interfered in the political matters. They were Makhdam Jahan mother of Sultan Muhammad

bin Tugluq and Khudanandzada, sister of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. The Sultan sought the advice of his mother not only in the management of royal household but also in important political issues²⁹. It was advice of Sultan Muhammad Bin Tugluq's mother that he solemnized the marriage his daughter with Shaikh Fatullah bin Shaikh Auhadudin Nagari (grand son of Sufi Baba Farid, in 1327 A.D) at Daultabad (Capital).³⁰ Makhduma-i- Jahan enjoyed considerable influence in political sphere. She received envoys and royal guests in the court. Amongst them one was Ibn – Battutah who had been received and entertained by her when he reached Delhi in 1334 A.D.³¹ Being a woman of charitable disposition, she maintained a number of hospices (Inns) for comfort of travelers³².

Sultan Muhammad bin Tunghluq's death (20th March 1351 A.D) plunged Delhi Sultanate into great confusion and chaos. It was further aggravated when deceased Sultan's eldest sister Khudavandzada intervened in this matter of succession. Being a woman of royal lineage, she put forward the claim of her own son Devar Malik against Firoz Shah³³. Though Firoz Shah succeeded with the efforts of the nobles but according to Afif, she had never abandoned the idea of placing her son upon the throne. She hatched a conspiracy of Firoz Shah's murder but he escaped and guilty confessed their crime before the King³⁴. Firoz Shah gave pardon to Khudanvandzada and fixed her annual allowance but he gave punishment to Devar Malik to visit the Sultan every month attired in robe and slippers.³⁵

Role of Lodi Dynasty

The ladies of Lodi dynasty were quite active in politics. Shams Katum, the Chief Queen of Bahlol Lodi was the main cause to reopen the war against Sharqi ruler of Jaunpur. She instigated the Sultan Bahlol lodi not to opt a ceasefire until unless her brother was released by the enemy³⁶.

Babi Ambha, the Hindu wife of Sultan Bhalol Lodi managed all circumstances in the favour of her own son Sikandar Lodi- Isa Khan, the nephew of Bahlol Lodi Challenged the accession of Sikandar (Nizam Khan) Lodi because he was born of a Hindu lady. Amba Bibi gathered the sympathies of nobles of Sultan's court and finally her son enthroned³⁷.

Ladies of Harem seems very active in political life of 15th century. Bibi Matto, widow of Sultan Shah Lodhi (uncle of Bahlul Lodhi) once defended the Delhi fort against the Army of Sultan

Mahmud Sharqi by a strange strategy. Bibi got Afghan women dressed in men clothes and posted them on the parapet.

The role of Harem in Delhi- Junpure relations can not be ignored in any assessment of political life of this period. In 1437 when Ibrahim Sharqi marched against Muhammad Shah of Delhi the later gave his daughter Bibi Raji in marriage to Ibrahim's son Mahmud. When Mahmud ascended the throne Raji played a role in political developments. Battle of Nerila in 1462 was instigated by her. She told her husband that if he did not lead the army against Delhi she would herself march against them as a head of army. In this battle Qutab Khan Lodhi, brother in law of Bahlul Lodhi was taken as a prisoner. Bahlul wife shams Khatoon sent a message to her husband that as long as Qutab Khan her brother was not taken out of prison, rest and sleep was unlawful for Sultan³⁸.

It was the legacy of Sultanate tradition which also followed by the competator (Mughals). Mughals ladies like Nur Jahan, Mumtaz Mahall and Jahanara Begum were quite influential in the political matters of Mughal state.

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AN ANALYSIS OF MACROECONOMIC LINKAGES: THE CASE OF PAKISTAN

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Abstract

The controversy over the likely linkages among money supply, prices, economic growth and exchange rate is well debated in the literature. Yet the subject remains open for further examination. This paper attempts to explore this linkage in the long run as well as in the short run for the economy of Pakistan. Co-integration and error correction techniques on quarterly data are employed for this purpose. Although a number of attempts have been made to investigate the linkages among money supply, prices, economic growth and exchange rate in Pakistan, the use of high frequency data in these analyses is missing. The data on all variables except output growth are taken from IFS CD-ROM. Kemal & Arby (2004) series of quarterly GDP is used for output growth. The results show the existence of two co-integrating equations among the four variables; a two-way causality has been found between money and output and one-way causality between all other pairs of the variables.

Introduction:

This paper aims to analyze the linkages among key macroeconomic variables, viz. money, output, prices and exchange rate in Pakistan both in the long-run and in the short-run. Such analysis has been done by a large number of economists both theoretically as well as empirically for almost all countries of the world. However, like many other debates in economics, no consensus has been achieved yet. Different views remained dominant in different periods depending on the influence of their proponents in the discipline of economics.

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Theoretically, the debate has been revolving around Keynesians and Monetarists views on the role of money for economic growth and behavior of prices; in empirical literature, Sim (1972) concludes on the basis of US post war data that money causes output. Feige and Pearce (1974), on the other hand, argue for the post war period that prices are, to a great degree, independent of variations in monetary aggregates. Lee and Li (1983) apply Granger causality test on Singapore data and find that money and income cause each other and money also exert pressure on prices without feedback. Ibrahim (1998) finds similar result for Malaysia. In case of India, Dutta and Gangadhar (2000) conclude that structural factors, in addition to monetary factors, play an important role in generating and sustaining the process of inflation and fluctuations in economic activity.

In case of Pakistan, a number of studies investigated this relationship [Jones and Khilji (1988), Khan and Siddiqui (1990), Abbas (1991), Husain and Mahmood (1998), Husain and Abbas (2000), and Mehmood and Arby (2005)]. The use of high frequency data (quarterly data) and the utilization of Kemal and Arby (2004) series of quarterly GDP have made this analysis different from others. This enables us to examine the responses of economic variables to each other within a year.

The study is organized as follows. Section II describes the data and explains the methodology of this empirical investigation. Section III presents the empirical results and final section concludes the study.

Data and Method:

For money supply, we have used M2 definition, consumer price index (CPI) is used for prices, exchange rate is rupees per dollar, and real GDP at factor cost is taken as a measure of output. Quarterly data from 1973q3 to 2004q4 for all the variables except GDP have been taken from IFS CD-ROM; quarterly real GDP is taken from Kemal and Arby (2004) extended up to 2004q4 on the basis of annual GDP growth rates during the last two years and five-year average of quarterly seasonal factors. All variables are seasonally adjusted through multiplicative moving-to-average method and are in log forms.

For testing the existence of long-run relationship we have used Johansen and Juselius (1990) test of co-integration, and for examining short-run causality, error correction models have been used. The co-integration test requires that the series should have the same order of integration, which has been determined on the basis of Augmented Dickey Fuller (1979) test of unit root. In order to undertake the ADF test, the following standard equation has been estimated for level and first difference of each of the series:

$$\Delta z_t = \alpha + \delta z_{t-1} + \pi \Delta z_{t-1} + \varepsilon_t \quad (1)$$

z_t is any one of the money supply (m), prices (p), exchange rate (e), and real output (y). The number of lag dependent has been selected on the basis of Akaike Information Criterion (AIC). The null hypothesis of the test is: $H_0: \delta=0$ (if true, it implies z_t has one unit root); τ statistic is used for testing significance of the null by comparing it with McKinnon (1991) values at 5% critical level.

After determining the order of integration of all the four series we applied test of co-integration. Co-integration is a statistical property that describes long-run behavior of economic time series. Formally if A_t and B_t are two integrated processes of the same order d , they are called co-integrated if their linear combination $\varepsilon_t = \alpha A_t + \beta B_t$ is integrated of order $d-b$, where b is any integer such that $d \geq b \geq 1$. The long-run relationship will be stationary if $\varepsilon_t \sim I(0)$.

There are number of tests available for co-integration. We have used Johansen's test on our series of m , p , e , and y (see Ericsson, 1992; Johansen, 1992 and Johansen and Juselius, 1990 for description of the test). The following system of vector auto-regression has been estimated by using maximum likelihood method:

$$\Delta Z_t = \Pi Z_{t-1} + \sum_{k=1}^k \Gamma_k \Delta Z_{t-k} + \mu + \Phi D_t + \quad (2)$$

Z is a vector of m , p , e , y ; D is a dummy variable representing the financial reforms of 1990s with $D_t = 1$ for the 1990q3 onward and 0 otherwise. We have determined the appropriate value of k starting with $k=1$ on the basis of minimum AIC value in unrestricted VAR. We have to investigate whether the coefficient matrix Π has information about long-run relationship among the four variables. As the Johansen's test goes on, the rank of the matrix Π gives the

existence and number of co-integrating relationships among the variables that is, in turn, determined by two likelihood statistics, viz. trace statistic and maximal eigenvalue statistic.

The co-integration test reveals the existence or absence of any long-run relationship between the variables; for short run relationship and the direction of causality, we have estimated the following error correction models:

$$\Delta z_t = \alpha E_{t-1} + \sum_{i=1}^I \delta_i \Delta m_{t-i} + \sum_{j=1}^J \varphi_j \Delta p_{t-j} + \sum_{k=1}^K \varphi_k \Delta e_{t-k} + \sum_{l=1}^L \varphi_l \Delta y_{t-l} + \mu + \Phi D_t + v_t \quad (3)$$

z_t is one of the four variables, viz. m_t , p_t , y_t , or e_t . E_{t-1} is linear relationship estimated by co-integrating equation; other terms have the same interpretation as before. Causality is determined by applying redundancy test on lags of alternative variables in each of the four error correction models.

Empirical Results:

The results of unit root test show that all variables are integrated of order one as reported in Table-1 which shows that all variables are non-stationary at level and stationary at first difference. As the order of integration is the same, the necessary condition of co-integration is fulfilled. The next step is to apply the test of co-integration for existence of long run relationship. The results of the co-integration test show that the four key macroeconomic variables move together in the long run and there are two co-integrating relationships among them.

Table 1: Augmented Dickey Fuller Test

	Lags	τ -statistic	McKinnon c.v. (5%)
M	10	-0.452058	-2.883930
Δm	3	-3.963713	-2.882910
P	4	-1.766782	-2.882910
Δp	5	-3.041535	-2.883239
Y	3	-0.787463	-2.883073
Δy	0	-32.16665	-2.882748
E	1	-1.186660	-2.882433
Δr	0	-7.286365	-2.882433

Table 2: Johansen's Co-integration Test #

Eigenvalue	Trace test statistic**	Critical Values	Hypothesized No. of Co-integrating Equations	
		5%	1%	
0.35	104.2	53.1	60.2	None *
0.20	48.1	34.9	41.1	At most 1 *
0.09	19.9	20.0	24.6	At most 2
0.06	7.9	9.2	13.0	At most 3

10 lags were used in VAR, at which AIC is minimum

* The results indicate two co-integrating equations

* Eigenvalue test (not reported) also shows the existence of two co-integrating equations.

The co-integrating equation normalized for p_t and e_t are given below; theoretical basis for the first equation can be traced from quantity theory of money and that for the second equation can be traced from monetary approach to exchange rate determination.

$$p_t = 0.43 + 0.61 m_t - 0.37 y_t$$

(0.36) (9.8) (-2.2) (4)

$$e_t = 3.76 + 0.95 m_t - 1.08 y_t$$

(0.9) (4.4) (1.8)

Although the equations cannot be interpreted as cause and effect sense, we can say that prices to money supply elasticity is 0.61, i.e., a 1% growth in money supply leads to 0.61% increase in prices; and prices to output elasticity is -0.37, i.e., a 1% growth in output leads to 0.37 percent reduction in prices. The second equation shows that long run elasticities of exchange rate to money supply and output are near unity.

In order to get causal relationship in the short run, we estimated error correction models (ECM). The results of causality on the basis of ECM are given in Table 3. With respect to money and output nexus, the results show that there exists bi-directional causality

between the two variables in the short run. This result is different from Mehmood and Arby (2005) who find uni-directional causality from money to output; as the methodologies of the two papers are the same, the only reason for different results appears to be the frequency of data. The results for the next pair of money and prices show a unidirectional causality from money to prices. In case of output and prices, output does not affect prices in the short run. Prices affect output, however. Output also does not affect exchange rate but is affected by it in the short run. It is interesting to note that exchange rate affects all the three macroeconomic variables, viz., money, output and prices in the short run but is affected by none of these; one implication of this result is that the exchange rate is independent of monetary policy.

Table 3: Causality among Macroeconomic Variables (ECM Based)

Hypothesis (H_0)	Chi-Square	Probability
OUTPUT does not cause MONEY	21.1	0.02
MONEY does not cause OUTPUT	21.7	0.02
MONEY does not cause PRICES	17.6	0.06
PRICES does not cause MONEY	15.5	0.11
OUTPUT does not cause PRICES	8.8	0.55
PRICES does not cause OUTPUT	25.7	0.00
OUTPUT does not cause EXCHANGE RATE	6.6	0.76
EXCHANGE RATE does not cause OUTPUT	61.6	0.00
MONEY does not cause EXCHANGE RATE	11.7	0.31
EXCHANGE RATE does not cause MONEY	22.6	0.01
PRICES does not cause EXCHANGE RATE	13.7	0.19
EXCHANGE RATE does not cause PRICES	46.2	0.00

Note: All variables are in first difference form thus representing growth rates.

As regard to speed of adjustment of macro-variables to long run equilibrium in case of short run deviations, the estimates of the parameters are given in Table 4.

Table 4: Adjustment Parameters of Error Correction Equations

EC Equation	Δp_t	Δe_t	Δy_t	Δm_t
E1 _{t-1}	-0.13 (-3.7)		-0.31 (-4.2)	-0.01 (-0.3)
E2 _{t-1}		-0.05 (-2.2)	-0.08 (-3.0)	0.05 (2.3)

Figures in parentheses are t-statistics

The results show that any short run disequilibrium in inflation from its long run path (co-integrated with money and output) is adjusted to the extent of 13 percent in a quarter and 43 percent in a year; the output adjusts quickly with a speed of 31 percent per quarter and 77 percent per year; money supply is the slowest to adjust with only 1 percent per quarter and 4 percent per year. In case of second relationship, the speed of adjustment of output is higher (8% per quarter. and 28% annual) than that of money supply and exchange rate.

Conclusion:

In this paper we have examined the long-run and short-run relationships among the four key macroeconomic variables, *viz.* money, output, prices and exchange rate using quarterly data for a period from 1973q3 to 2004q4. We have applied Johansen co-integration test for long-run relationship and noted two co-integrating equations in the set of variables. The existence and the direction of causality between the pair of variables have been investigated on the basis of error correction models; we have found bi-directional causality between money and output, uni-directional causality from money to prices, prices to output, and exchange rate to each of money, output and prices. The error correction models also provided us with the speed of adjustment of variables to their long-run equilibrium path in case of disequilibrium. It is found that the real variable, *i.e.*, output converges to its long run equilibrium path more quickly than nominal variables of prices, output and exchange rate; possible explanation to this result may be as follows:

the policy makers who have some control over money supply and exchange rate remain more measured to react to changed circumstances while the private sector engaged in production process can adjust quickly, however, when it comes to prices, the price stickiness prevails.

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INDIA'S POLICY TOWARDS SOUTH ASIA: June-December 2007

Dr. Muhammad Saleem Mazhar

India- Bangladesh Foreign Secretary Level Talks

The Foreign Secretaries of India and Bangladesh held two-day meeting in Dhaka on June 25-26, 2007. It resulted in reiteration of commitment of both sides to improve the relations by removing the long-standing problems such as “demarcating 6.5 Km borderland, combating cross-border terrorism, greater access for Bangladeshi goods in India” and improving the road-rail links. The Foreign Secretary of Bangladesh, Touhid Hossain and Indian Foreign Secretary Shivshankar Memon emphasized the need for enhanced security cooperation regarding the cross-border crimes. They also reiterated the commitment of both sides not to use their territories in any manner against the interests of each other. The both sides also agreed to start the Kolkata-Dhaka passenger train, giving an impetus to road-and- rail links to promote people to people contacts between the two countries.¹

Demilitarization in Jammu and Kashmir

Union Defence Minister of India A. K. Antony said that owing to persistent infiltration across the Line of Control (LOC) in Jammu and Kashmir, there was no possibility of cutting troop levels in Kashmir. He was speaking at a Defense Accounts function in New Delhi on June 26, 2007. He said: “The army is alert and always prepared to meet any eventuality. Any decision on demilitarization will be taken on the recommendations of the army.”²

Enhancement of Cultural Ties with Pakistan

Cultural Secretaries of India and Pakistan held two- day talk in Islamabad on June 28-29, 2007. Both officials discussed several options to enhance people to people contacts and accelerated bilateral cooperation in various fields including education, tourism, sports and arts. Talks between the Cultural Secretaries were part of

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fourth round of the India-Pakistan composite dialogue process. As cooperation in the field of education got special attention of meeting, the officials of both sides emphasized the need to explore the possibilities in this regard.³

Joint Security Measures with Nepal to Check the Cross-Border Crimes

A joint meeting of border security officials of India and Nepal was held on July 1, 2007 in Janakpur (Nepal) to assess the security situation in the border areas of both the countries. The officials discussed the cross-border smuggling and other crimes in the region. Both sides agreed to increase patrolling in the areas and accelerate the exchange of information about criminals and gangs which are operating in the border regions⁴.

Joint Measures with Pakistan to Curb Terrorism and Drug Trafficking

The Interior Secretaries of India and Pakistan held talks on terrorism and drug trafficking on July 3-4, 2007 in New Delhi. Both sides strongly condemned the terrorism and drug trafficking and agreed to enhance the cooperation for effective and constant steps to counter these problems. The talks also covered issues related to visa liberalization and consular facilities to the prisoners of both countries. Both sides agreed to enlarge the cooperation and information sharing structure between National Control Bureau of India and the Anti Narcotics Force of Pakistan in order to take sustained steps to control drug trafficking. Interior Secretaries also underlined the need to intensify the “interaction between Central Bureau of Investigation of India and the Federal Investigation Agency of Pakistan in the areas of human trafficking, illegal immigration and counterfeit currency.”⁵

Formula of United States of Jammu and Kashmir

Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh said that the Line of Control could turn into the “Line of Peace” one day. He stated that “I hope and believe that Jammu can one day become a symbol of Indo-Pakistan cooperation rather than of conflict.” Mr. Manmohan was speaking at the University of Jammu on July 15, 2007. He said that “borders can not be changed, but they can be made irrelevant. There

can be no question of divisions or partitions but the Line of Control can become a line of peace with a freer flow of ideas, goods, services and people.” In fact the Indian Prime Minister floated an idea of united Kashmir under the title of United States of Jammu and Kashmir. He said, “I believe it is possible to pursue the development of a United States of Jammu and Kashmir even while respecting and addressing the legitimate aspirations of the people of each of the three regions- Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh.” He further elaborated, “the natural resources of the state of Jammu and Kashmir could then be used for the benefit of its people. They need no longer points of contention or a source of conflict. We could, for example, use the land and water resources of the region jointly for the benefit of all the people living on both sides of the Line of Control.”⁶

Pakistan- India Joint Anti- Terror Mechanism

The second meeting of Additional Foreign Secretaries of India and Pakistan was held on October 22, 2007 in New Delhi. The one day meeting reviewed the follow-up steps on the information shared during the first meeting of the joint Anti-terror Mechanism held on March 6, 2007. The joint statement issued at the end of talks was that both countries had exchanged information on new incidents and expected to work together in future to identify the measures, exchange specific information and assist in investigations.⁷

Pakistan- India Dialogue on Nuclear CBMS

India and Pakistan on October 18, 2007 discussed the nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation along with reviewing the implementation of existing agreements on nuclear confidence building measures (CBMs). It was the fourth round of expert level dialogue that resulted in a joint statement agreeing over satisfactory “implementation of existing CBMs including hotline between the Foreign Secretaries of both countries, pre-notification of flight testing of ballistic missiles and reducing the risk of nuclear accidents.” The talks remained inconclusive to take further steps to promote nuclear CBMs. From Pakistani side, the Director General of the South Asian Desk, Aziz Ahmad Choudhry represented and HIS counterpart KC Singh led the Indian delegation. Pakistani delegation requested a nuclear restraint regime in South Asia but India rejected the contention. Indian stance was that its nuclear

arsenal did not target any south Asian country. India had rejected the idea of cessation on conducting further tests while Pakistan persisted to retain its “right to use nuclear weapons in exercise of its national sovereignty and extraordinary events that could jeopardize its security interests.”⁸

Border Talks with Pakistan

Bilateral talks were held between the authorities of Indian Border security Force (BSF) and Pakistan Rangers on December 12, 2007. The parleys covered the issues such as joint patrolling, illegal border crossings, repair of pillars on the border, fencing and smuggling of narcotics. The talks were by and large peaceful but both sides traded charges of smuggling illicit liquor and opiates, and illegal construction along the international border.⁹

Infiltration in to Jammu and Kashmir

The Indian Army Chief General, Deepak Kapoor stated that infiltration in Jammu and Kashmir had continued even as it feared attempts by Jihadis, who faced crackdown in Pakistan, to sneak into the state in the coming days in the wake of the political turmoil in the neighboring country. He said, “the possibility of Jihadis and fundamentals from Pakistan coming into this side is not ruled out. Till time, the passes have been opened in Jammu and Kashmir and the infiltration has been on too. Now when those passes are closing down due to snow, there is a possibility that influx bids are shifted to the areas like south of Pir Panjal, where there is not much snow.” He was speaking in a seminar in Delhi on December 13, 2007.¹⁰

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BOOK REVIEW

UNITED STATES POLICY ON TERRORISM

Naheed S. Goraya

The book under review has been written by Ahmad Ejaz. In five beautifully portrayed chapters of his book, the writer tries to elucidate that terrorism is not a new observable fact for the United States. It has long been engraved in its history. The book starts with pointing out the rise of 'Renegade Nazis' in Germany and how the communist forces lived out the Nazi's mode of terror to create an international environment. The writer tells about shifting turns of terrorism in four different phases of history:

1. Before Cold War
2. During Cold War
3. Post Cold War
4. Post9/11

During the Cold War era, the United States has been endeavoring to cope with the Soviets regarding dealing with the terrorism. With the passage of time, it became a vital part of the US policy. Gradually the United States felt the need of building up a counter-terrorism system

Here the writer also explains the NSDD-30, Reagan administration's National Security Decision Directive which clearly declared to fight the international terrorism campaign. In the words of Reagan, "Let terrorists beware that when the rules of international behavior are violated, our policy will be one of swift and effective retribution.....We hear it is said that we live in an era of limit to our powers. Well let it also be understood there are limits to our patience." The writer then epitomizes with mentioning the Delta Force that was employed to save the American hostages in an operation in Iran and Libya. After that NSDD-138, to "shift policy focus from passive to active defense measures and to require that resources be reprogrammed and/or obtained to support that policy focus" and NSDD-207 were developed too.

With the end of the Cold War, a new image of Islamic International Terrorism came out on the world scene. It was the time when Soviets had been shattered. Soviets had a heavy defeat by the Afghans who fought with them on the name of jihad. Thus the post

Cold War period was reckoned by them. Islamic militants rose on the world scene. Al-Qaeda was formed under the leadership of Osama Bin Laden who pronounced jihad against America or anti-Muslims. This rise of Islamic extremism finely tuned the US concern on terrorism. All this helped the US to incorporate the counter-terrorism efforts to the US International policy agenda. The Clinton Administration restructured Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in order to combat terrorism. Talking about the 21st century, the writer of the book narrates a new form of terrorism. The events of 9/11 shuddered the whole world along with US. It brought a new wave of terror. It was considered a show of aggression on US military and economic supremacy. In due course, the US policy tilted towards the war against terrorism. It became the agenda of US National Security Strategy. On November 7, 2001, the US attacked Afghanistan with a much vindictive approach. The US President Bush vowed to fight against terrorists, “across the world and across the years” .UN Security Council fully backed and supported the US-led army’s coalition. The Security Council Resolution 1377 adopted on November, 12,2001 declares that, “acts of international terrorism constitute one of the most serious threats to international peace and security in the twenty-first century. Acts of international terrorism constitute a challenge to all states and to all of humanity”.

European Union also fully supported the military operations led by US on Afghanistan. Furthermore, NATO officially operationalized the Article 5 on October 2, 2001 for the first time in its history. Secretary General declared to execute the Article 5 of the treaty which provides that an attack on one or more members of NATO is considered an attack on all of them.

The writer here superbly mentions the role of Pakistan. In the beginning, there was a misperception that the ant-terrorism campaign launched by US was directed against Muslims and Islam but it became clear when Bush gave the statement that “Islam is peace. These acts of violence against innocents violate the fundamental tenets of the Islamic faith.” Although it created a reactionary situation in Pakistan, yet it took a U-turn and became an ally in the war. ‘Get Osama’ had become the primary aim of US policy of Afghanistan. Bush remarked that we are “at war with a new and different kind of enemy.” He further said, “The Taliban must act and act immediately. They will hand over the terrorists or

they will share in their fate.” Bush warned that the demands “are not open to negotiation or discussion.”

An executive order was released by Bush on September 24, 2001 that froze all the belongings of terrorist organizations and individuals who supported them. Taliban surrendered by November 9, 2001 and a transitional government was installed. Although Afghan war was considered finished yet according to the statement of Bush: “Afghanistan is just the beginning on the war against terror. There are other terrorists who threaten America and our friends, and there are other nations willing to sponsor them. We will not be secured as a nation until all of these threats are defeated. Across the world and across the years, we will fight these evil ones, and we will one.”

Then the writer traces that America hit Iraq as US took Iraqi’s occupation on Kuwait in August 1990 as a vivid example of international terrorism. Thus the allied forces of US launched, ‘Operation Iraqi Freedom’ and Saddam Hussain was thrown out from power. The author reveals the Bush Doctrine. According to which the US wants to have a unipolar world system in which its supremacy should not be confronted. It wants to reconstruct the global power structure. It has adopted a state-centric strategy that empowers it to intrude in any matter where it considers it essential. According to him, “All nations should know America will do what is necessary to ensure our nation’s security...I will not stand by as peril draws closer and closer. The US will not permit the world’s most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world’s most destructive weapons.” The Bush Doctrine has given a ruthless to the foreign policy of America.

The writer is of the conclusion that international terrorism has today become a global issue. He is of the view that war on terror is infact a war against thinking. According to him the ultimate success of power diplomacy rests on public diplomacy. It makes one remember about the English philosopher, Thomas Hbbes who in 1651 described human life in the following words, “No arts, no letters, no society; which is worst of all, continual fear and danger of violent deaths, and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and slots.”

Isn’t this social and political milieu we are living in today? Violence never solves a problem, it rather creates the problem that it intends or pretends to solve. The book is good attempt to explain the US counter-terrorism efforts in an integrated way with their causes and accomplishments. Overall it is a worth-read book.

DOCUMENTS

DECLARATION OF 14TH SAARC SUMMIT

The President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, His Excellency Mr. Hamid Karzai; the Chief Advisor of the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, His Excellency Dr. Fakhruddin Ahmed; the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Bhutan, His Excellency Lyonpo Khandu Wangchuk; the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, His Excellency Dr. Manmohan Singh; the President of the Republic of Maldives, His Excellency Mr. Maumoon Abdul Gayoom; the Prime Minister of Nepal, Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Girija Prasad Koirala; the Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, His Excellency Mr. Shaukat Aziz; and the President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, His Excellency Mr. Mahinda Rajapaksa, met at the fourteenth summit meeting of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) held in New Delhi, India on April 3-4, 2007.

The Heads of the State or Government welcomed the entry of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan into SAARC. This was a historic moment as Afghanistan assumed its right place as a valued member of the SAARC fraternity.

The Heads of State or Government reiterated their commitment to the principles and objectives enshrined in the SAARC Charter. With the welfare of the Peoples of South Asia uppermost in their mind, they agreed to build a partnership for prosperity and work towards shared economic cooperation, regional prosperity, a better life for the people of South Asia, and equitable distribution of benefits and opportunities of integration among the peoples and the nations.

The Heads of State or Government recognized the importance of connectivity in fulfilling these objectives. It was vital to first have better connectivity within South Asia and then with the rest of the world. They agreed to improve intra-regional connectivity, particularly physical, economic and people-to-people connectivity. They agreed to the vision of a South Asian community, where there was a smooth flow of goods, services, peoples, technologies, knowledge, capital, culture and ideas in the region.

The SAARC Car Rally, in the run-up to the Fourteenth SAARC Summit, had vividly symbolized this connectivity.

The Heads of State or Government recognized that the remarkable growth of the economies of SAARC countries has opened new opportunities to pursue the fight against poverty with firm resolve. They called for deepening of pro-poor orientation of growth process, including through enhancing investment in human capital and infrastructure, increasing budgetary allocations for relevant sectors and improved delivery of services. They reiterated their commitment towards project-based cooperation to strengthen collective efforts in the region.

The Heads of the State or Government acknowledged that there is a wide range of homegrown best practices and innovative solutions for transforming the lives of the peoples in South Asia. They decided to earmark one rural community as SAARC Village in each member state to showcase these models to innovative models of development in order to further replicate these across the region.

The Heads of State or Government recognized that the implementation of the social charter needs focused attention and directed the National Coordination Committees (NCCs) to formulate concrete programmes and projects to complement national implementation efforts. They underscored that civil society organizations have a vital role to play in driving forward the implementation of the social charter and directed the NCCs to mobilize civil society organizations to achieve this end.

The heads of State or Government appreciated the Independent South Asian Commission on Poverty Alleviation (ISACPA) for its elaboration of the SAARC Development Goals (SDGs), which reflects the regional determination to make faster progress towards attaining the Millennium Development Goals(MDGs). They agreed that the national plans for poverty alleviation should appropriately mirror the regional consensus reached in the form of the SDGs and the plan of Action on Poverty Alleviation. Deciding that resource mobilization for achieving the SDGs would remain a high priority in the Decade of Poverty Alleviation, the leaders directed translation of the highest regional level political commitment into action for creating opportunities for

productive employment and greater access to resources for the poor that are essential for them to enhance their livelihood and realize their potentials. They entrusted the Two-tier Mechanism on poverty Alleviation to monitor the progress and fine-tune the approaches towards pro-poor growth process.

The Heads of State or Government recognized the full benefits of an integrated multimodal transport system in the region. They emphasized that this would not be realized unless physical infrastructure and matters relating to customs clearance and other facilitation measures, including multimodal transport operations, were addressed comprehensively. They called for an extension of the SAARC Regional Multimodal Transport Study (SRMTS) to include Afghanistan as well. They also called for early implementation of the recommendations contained in the study in a phased manner. In this context, the Heads of State or Government directed the Inter-Governmental Group on Transport to identify and develop sub-regional and regional projects based on the prioritized recommendations of the SAARC Regional Multimodal Transport Study (SRMTS) and to develop appropriate regional agreements. They noted the offer of India to hold the Meeting of SAARC Ministers of Transport in New Delhi in 2007. They also directed that pilot projects for improving connectivity be identified and implemented through mutual consultations among the Member States.

The Heads of State or Government emphasized that in its third decade of existence, there was an urgent need to move SAARC from declaratory to implementation phase. They directed that the focus of SAARC should be on implementing collaborative projects that are concrete and effective. The SAARC Development Fund (SDF) is an important pillar that would bring concrete benefits to the people of the region. They directed that the SDF be made operational at the earliest. They agreed that the resources for SDF would be mobilized both from within and outside the region. They stressed the importance of decision making and working of the SDF being consistent with SAARC Charter. They called for early identification and implementation of regional and sub-regional projects under the SDF.

The Heads of States or Governments recognized the region's rapidly increasing energy demands for meeting the developmental needs of SAARC countries. They also acknowledged the need of

expediting development of conventional sources of energy in sustainable manner and for strengthening renewable energy development such as in hydropower, bio-fuel, solar and wind. They welcomed the organizing of the first ever South Asia Energy Dialogue in March 2007 in Delhi. They called for early implementation of the recommendations of the Second SAARC Energy Minister's Meeting to enhance regional cooperation.

The Heads of State or Government reiterated their deep concern at the continued degradation of environment and reaffirmed the need to further strengthen cooperation towards protection and conservation of the environment as a priority area. In this regard, while noting the progress in the implementation of the SAARC Plan of Action on Environment, they called for concerted efforts to implement various initiatives under the Plan in a timely manner.

The Heads of State or Government expressed satisfaction at the launching of 2007 as the 'Year of Green South Asia'. They reiterated that collaboration in addressing the problem of arsenic contamination of groundwater, desertification and melting of glaciers and assistance to affected peoples should be deepened. They expressed deep concern over global climate change and the consequent rise in sea level and its impact on the lives and livelihoods in the region. They emphasized the need for assessing and managing its risks and impacts. They called for adaptation of initiative and programmes; cooperation in early forecasting, warning and monitoring; and sharing of knowledge on consequences of climate change for pursuing a climate resilient development in South Asia. They agreed to commission a team of regional experts to identify collective actions in this regard.

The Heads of State or Government stressed the need for closer regional cooperation in the field of information and communication technology. They noted with appreciation the establishment of a collaborative health care project involving a regional telemedicine-network. They directed that steps be taken to extend it to other ICT enabled fields such as education. They agreed to take steps to facilitate rationalization of telecom tariff on a reciprocal basis. They also agreed that national and regional telecom infrastructure should be upgraded to boost people-to-people connectivity in the region.

The Heads of State or Government noted with satisfaction timely ratification of SAFTA Agreement by all member countries. They stressed the need for ensuring effective market access through smooth implementation of trade liberalization Programme and directed the SAFTA bodies to review the progress on a regular basis. They emphasized that SAFTA should be implemented in letter and spirit. Successful implementation of SAFTA will catalyze other areas of regional economic cooperation. They stressed that to realize its full potential, SAFTA should integrate trade in services. They called for a finalization of an Agreement in the services sector at the earliest. They also directed that the Agreement on Investment Promotion and protection be finalized.

The Heads of State or Government underlined the importance of implementing trade facilitation measures, especially standardization of basic customs nomenclature, documentation and clearing procedures. They directed that a comprehensive agreement on harmonizing customs procedures be finalized. They also noted that harmonization of technical and Phyto-sanitary standards and their implementation in trade-friendly manners is important in boosting intra-regional trade. They appreciated the establishment of the SAARC Standards Coordination Board that would function as a precursor to the SAARC Regional Standards Body.

The Heads of State or Government complimented the SAARC Finance Ministers for finalizing the framework of cooperation on financial issues in the region. They expressed satisfaction at the work of the Inter-Governmental Expert Group on Financial Issues.

The Head of state or government emphasized the need to develop, at an early date, a roadmap for a South Asian Customs Union and a South Asian Economic Union in a planned and phased manner.

The Heads of State or Government noted the cultural and social ties among the SAARC countries, based on common history and geography, and reiterated that the future of peoples of South Asia is interlinked. They stressed the importance of people-to-people contact as a key constituent in regional connectivity. They

acknowledge the importance of intra-regional tourism and increased exchanges, particularly among the youth, civil society, and parliamentarians. They launched the SAARC Agenda for Culture and directed that annual SAARC Festivals for cultural exchange be institutional. They agreed to take measures to charge nationals of SAARC Member States fees for entry into archeological and heritage sites as applicable to their own nationals. They also directed that an enlarged SAARC Scholarship Scheme in ICT and related areas be instituted. They welcomed the offer of Bangladesh to host the First SAARC Youth Camp in 2007.

The Heads of State or Government decided to establish the South Asian Universities in India. They welcomed the signing of the Intergovernmental Agreement establishing the University. They further directed that the Intergovernmental Steering Committee be set up at the earliest to complete its tasks relating to the Charter, bye laws, rules and regulations, curriculum development, business plans and other issues. They also decided to strengthen cooperation and dialogue on educational matters through development of exchange between academics, experts, policymakers, students and teachers. They called for inter-institutional cooperation, partnerships, and other regional initiatives in the field of education.

The Heads of State or Government acknowledged that women's full participation in all spheres of society, including participation in the decision-making process are fundamental for the achievement of equality and development. They noted that many sections of women and children continue to be in disadvantaged positions and lack equal opportunities for economic and social development. They emphasized that women's empowerment should be a major objective of regional cooperation. Regional projects should focus on addressing issues relating to women and children.

The Heads of State or Government stressed the need to collectively overcome the challenges of poverty, disease, natural disasters and terrorism. They confirmed that countries of South Asia must work together to deal with these challenges in order to secure the region's collective prosperity.

The Heads of State or Government acknowledged that countries of South Asia face challenges of food insecurity and

malnutrition. In order to manage emergencies caused by natural and manmade calamities and food shortage, they welcomed the signing of the Intergovernmental Agreement establishing the SAARC Food Bank with the participation of all the SAARC countries. The Food Bank will supplement national efforts to provide food security to the people of the region.

The Heads of States or Government noted the challenges confronted by the countries of South Asia in ensuring food and nutritional security as well as in maintaining vibrant rural economy for agricultural development. They underscored the need for enhancing productivity and real wage in rural sectors, and for creating adequate non-form employment to sustain the progress made in reducing poverty. Noting the constant decline in land availability and biodiversity, depleting soil and natural resources, lowering ground water levels, shrinking farm holdings as well as low and stagnating productivity, they recognized the imperative of reducing the wide gap between yields at the research and the farm level. They stressed, in particular, that South Asian agriculture must benefit from collaborative efforts within and among SAARC Countries in developing, an effective agriculture research, extension and farmers' linkages, and exchange of farm technology.

The Heads of States or Government underlined that terrorism is a threat to peace and security in the region. They condemned the targeted killings of civilians and terrorist violence, in all its forms and manifestations, wherever and against whomsoever committed. The Heads of States or Government affirmed that terrorism violates the principles of the Charters of the United Nations and SAARC and is a clear and present threat to International peace and security. They reaffirmed their commitment to implement all international conventions relating to combating terrorism, to which SAARC Member States were respectively parties, as well as SAARC Regional Convention on suppression of terrorism and additional protocol to the SAARC Regional Convention dealing with the prevention and suppression of financing of terrorism. While urging continuous efforts to combat terrorism, the Heads of States or Government also called for urgent conclusion of a Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism.

The Heads of States or Government agreed to work on the modalities to implement the provisions of the existing SAARC Conventions to combat terrorism, narcotics and psychotropic substances, trafficking in women and children and other transnational crimes. They expressed their commitment to take every possible measure to prevent and suppress, in particular, financing of terrorist acts by criminalizing the provision, acquisition and collection of funds for such acts, including through front organizations and also to counter illicit trafficking of narcotic drugs, trafficking in persons and illicit arms. They reiterated the need for law enforcement authorities of member states to enhance cooperation in the prevention, suppression and prosecution of offences under these instruments. They noted the initiative of India to prepare a draft of SAARC Convention on mutual assistance in criminal matters and welcomed the offer of Sri Lanka to hold a meeting of legal advisors to examine the idea of a draft convention, before the second meeting of SAARC Interior/Home Ministers scheduled to be held in October 2007 in India. They also directed them to ensure regular follow-up and implementation of the decision taken.

The Heads of States or Government recognized that corruption was a serious issue of serious concern and agreed to exchange information on national experience in combating corruption to effectively address this problem.

The Heads of States or Government reaffirmed their commitment to a rule-based multilateral trading system. They recalled that the Doha Round was premised on the centrality of development. They directed the Commerce Ministers to work closely to co-ordinate their positions to ensure that the centrality of the development dimension in all areas of negotiations for creating new opportunities and economic growth for developing countries was fully realized. They called upon all members of WTO to show commitment for a successful conclusion of the Doha Round.

The Heads of States or Government welcomed the People's Republic of China, Japan, European Union, Republic of Korea and the United States of America, to be associated as Observers to SAARC. The region would benefit from these external linkages and help its economic integration with the international community. The

Heads of States or Government also welcomed the Islamic Republic of Iran to be associated as Observer to SAARC.

The Heads of States or Government welcomed with appreciation the offer of the Maldives to host the 15th Summit Meeting of the Heads of States or Government of the South Asian Association for the Regional Cooperation (SAARC).