

SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES

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Articles

- Fatima Jinnah: Greatest Feminist of South Asia
Prof. Dr. Sadiq Ali Gill
- America and the Challenges of Multiculturalism
Dr. Azra Asghar Ali
- Constitutional Development in Pakistan 1947-97: A Brief Review
Kausar Parveen
- Education Under the Mughals: Persian, Sanskrit
Azra Waqar
- Dynamics of Urban Development in Bangladesh: A Study
Dr. MD. Shairul Mashreque Hossain Kabir
- Balochistan Under Bhutto: Center-Province Relations (1971 - 1977)
Samina Awan
- Role of Sindh Police to Increase the Dacoit Problem in Rural Sindh (1984-94)
Dr. Imdad Hussain Sahito
- Economic Integration Among Muslim Countries
Dr. Rashid A. Naeem
- All India Muslim League and Indian National Congress Reapproachment: A Case Study of Lucknow Pact 1916
Iqtidar Karamat Cheema
- Book Review
S. Ali Abbas

July 2003

SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES

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- | | | |
|---------------------------------------------|-----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Prof. Dr. Sadiq Ali Gill | 1 | Fatima Jinnah: Greatest Feminist of South Asia |
| Dr. Azra Asghar Ali | 13 | America and the Challenges of Multiculturalism |
| Kausar Parveen | 25 | Constitutional Development in Pakistan 1947-97 : A Brief Review |
| Azra Waqar | 49 | Education Under the Mughals: Persian, Sanskrit |
| Dr. MD. Shairul Mashreque Hossaien Kabir | 79 | Dynamics of Urban Development in Bangladesh: A Study |
| Samina Awan | 97 | Balochistan Under Bhutto: Center-Province Relations (1971-1977) |
| Dr. Imdad Hussain Sahito | 111 | Role of Sindh Police to Increase the Dacoit Problem in Rural Sindh (1984-94) |
| Dr. Rashid A. Naeem | 137 | Economic Integration Among Muslim Countries |
| Iqtidar Karamat Cheema | 159 | All India Muslim League and Indian National Congress Reapproachment: A Case Study of Lucknow Pact 1916 |
| S Ali Abbas | 169 | Book Review |

Fatima Jinnah: Greatest Feminist of South Asia

PROF. DR. SADIQ ALI GILL

Fatima Jinnah gave Muslim women a sense of personal identity alongwith an awareness of their true status in society. This pioneering role of Fatima Jinnah reflects both sensitive understanding of her own culture and the requirements of her time coupled with her vision which helped and encouraged a large number of women who learned to appreciate and understand their identity. She had no time for traditionalists who deemed much of her reformative efforts impious. She did not like religious extremism and did not want to persecute any of the countrymen for their religious believes.

It is in the midst of these perspectives of change and transformation that we have to understand the personality of Fatima Jinnah in order to fully appreciate the socio-cultural reformation advocated by her in a highly tradition-bound Muslim society in South Asia.

Fatima Jinnah stood for democratic norms and principles, human rights, freedom of press, supremacy of law and alleviation of women etc. To accomplish all this she took inspiration from her brother Mohammad Ali Jinnah the Quaid-i-Azam of South Asian Muslims and Father of Pakistani nation. Her life-long close association with Jinnah and political apprenticeship under the Quaid-i-Azam equipped her to become the mother of the nation. Having imbibed the motions of liberalism, individualism and humanism from her brother, she became a person who could be looked upon to undertake the arduous and very demanding process of nation-building.

Her liberal attitude in life was probably derived from her brother

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who played an enormous role in building her personality as a liberal, modernist and enlightened person, who cherished progressive trends throughout her life. Unlike the stiff aristocratic attitude of the grandees of the day, the Jinnah's were much more friendly, genial and considerate towards the common people. The brief biography of Fatima Jinnah highlights the links between this well loved mother of the Pakistani nation, with which she so closely identified herself.

Despite her having absorbed much from her brother's thought and shared socio-political concerns, she never found herself lured into the glamour of power politics. She rarely left Jinnah's side and became his hostess the day she moved into Jinnah's residence. Throughout Jinnah's life, Fatima Jinnah remained a tower of strength and stability for her brother.

Fatima Jinnah, the sixth of eight brothers and sisters, was born on 31 July 1893. After the death of her parents, when she was eight, she went to live in Bombay with her brother, Mohammad Ali Jinnah who was eighteen years her senior. And since then young Fatima's upbringing and education became Jinnah's responsibility. He treated and nourished her just as his own daughter and gave her a very impressive education at the British schools. While education for girls was not considered a priority in those days, she received her education at the British schools. Her graduation as a qualified dental surgeon from Calcutta University, made her the first Muslim woman to enter the ranks of dental surgeons.

In 1919, the year she got her diploma in dentistry, Jinnah set-up a dental clinic at Bombay. However, in 1929 Jinnah's wife died and Fatima preferred to abandon her practice and move into her brother's residence to provide him with the comforts of home. Thus she became a tower of strength to her brother.

The year 1929 was a landmark in the history of Jinnah's political life mainly because of Fatima's decision to provide her brother the congenial atmosphere and environment at home that made his efforts to safeguard the future of billions of South Asian Muslims, who were living under the double slavery of Hindus and British. This decision gave her relationship with Jinnah a new colouring, her commitment to her

brother's mission. From this year onward, she unceasingly helped Jinnah with deep and active resolve for making Jinnah's mission a success. She comforted his heart more than anybody else in the family. There was hardly any important event in the personal as well as public life where she did not accompany him. Starting with the Round Table Conference in 1930, she was visible at almost every session of the All India Muslim League. After the Round Table Conferences, she stayed with Jinnah for a couple of more years in England. On their return to India in 1935, when Jinnah started reorganizing Muslim League, she joined him in his political efforts wholeheartedly by making extensive efforts to organize Muslim women in favour of Muslim League.

The dream of an independent nation-state for millions of South Asian Muslims was converted into reality, on 14 August 1947, by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, unquestionably the twentieth century's most dominant figure in Muslim politics. The desire to establish a social, economic and political environment in the piece of land of their own was yet to materialise. The strains of the fight for Pakistan had taken its toll of Jinnah. On 11 September 1948, the Father of the Nation died of tuberculosis at the age of 72 and the 53-year-old sister of his became the Mother Dowager (as her understanding of the life and thought of Quaid-i-Azam described her) who slowly but steadily delved deep into the public life after the Quaid's death. Even though, at times, she contemplated forever remaining out of the public spotlight. But she was persuaded by the need for sagacious person to contribute, in Jinnah's absence, to the process of nation-building. Thus she became convinced that her commitment to her brother's mission had assigned her a role to be played and that the Quaid would not have wanted her to remain in seclusion. This realization and consciousness of her role in a newly born nation-state earned her the title of Madar-e-Millat and she undertook engagements initially within the city of Karachi, and soon after a jet-setting life, touring various cities of Pakistan in order to guide the nation. With her extraordinary abilities she worked tirelessly to bring happiness to other people's lives. And her exemplary vitality and warmth was returned by all she met. She became a legend during her own lifetime, famed for her remarkable abilities and achievements.

Therefore it would be wrong to assume that she kept a low-key profile during Jinnah's life. In fact she did not have any interest in politics. Whatever politics she involved in during the struggle for Pakistan was to meet the requirements of the Pakistan movement. But after the death of the Quaid she worked, in the shadow of the Quaid's thought, to facilitate Pakistan, the most precious result of her brother's struggle to stand firm on sound footings. Therefore, after the death of the Father of the Nation, the mantle of leadership fell on Fatima, the Mother of the Nation.

WOMEN EMANCIPATION

Fatima Jinnah is remembered by everyone she met for her warmth and genuine interest in their situation and difficulties. She threw herself into the social work in a very personal way spending countless hours in finding ways and means to alleviate women's status in society. Her preoccupations were social welfare, eradication of the traditional strains and stresses unduly imposed on women. Her effect on Muslim women was crucial because she helped them more than anyone. Perhaps she never believed in being known as a feminist or may be she was in no sense a feminist, but she firmly believed in women as ability to do everything.

She vehemently opposed the stereotyped conservative and orthodox attitude towards women and began working for the social emancipation and welfare of women, and encouraged the establishment of industrial schools, and colleges and other organizations. She was the founder of the Fatima Jinnah Women's Medical College, Lahore.

Fatima Jinnah, quite conscious of women issues, emerged as a symbol of modernity in social norms. She idealized women as individuals who had duties and rights in society exactly as men. The traditionally indoctrinated "virtue" of obedience and submissiveness did not mean that women were inferior in society. She believed that this could be made possible by affirmative action, which was the constant theme of her speeches.

WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN SOCIETY

She made women realize that the records of human history prove that women have never "failed to play a dazzling role besides their men-folk, at times, leading and inspiring them" then why should there be any frustration and discontent when the nation has "achieved its highest goal (of Pakistan) under the dynamic leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam."ⁱ That is the reason why she congratulated women for forming the Pakistan Women's National Guard. She impressed on them that "joining the Women's National Guards is one of the best ways by which women can play a role of importance in building Pakistan."ⁱⁱ She further stated that:

"Women who represented half of the population of the country could change the destiny of the nation if they put their heart and soul in the development and reconstruction work. And they must play their part if they really wanted Pakistan to be a first rate power in the world. She wanted the women to know their right place so that they may develop a sense of duty."ⁱⁱⁱ

In brief, a desire was keenly felt for giving women a separate identity in the society. She said:

"Just as the co-operation of a man and a woman guarantees the welfare and progress of a child, so also in the larger spheres, their co-operation can help to expedite the progress and prosperity of the people and the country. You have an example before you as to what part the women played in the struggle for the freedom of our country. They created a new life and spirit in the movement and we realized our goal. Now in the building up of Pakistan, I am sure, you will play your part equally well."^{iv}

She further encouraged women by giving examples from their recent past, concerning their illustrious work towards the birth of Pakistan. She said:

"In that hour of trial the women of Pakistan played their part and contributed their full share by working day and night for the relief of the sick and the wounded, finding the parents of children who

got separated in the massacre, getting food and clothes for the refugees and arranging accommodation for them.”^v

In the same vein she asked them to come forward and contribute their share in the work of reconstructing and building of Pakistani nation. It will not be an easy task; She advised because:

You will have to undergo many inconveniences and will have to make many sacrifices.

“To bear them with patience because it is worthwhile going through these difficulties, as this generation will go down into history as the pioneers, who laid down the foundations of this country.”^{vi}

Being strongly convinced of women’s potential she invited more and more women for handling the various affairs of the society. She did not want the Pakistani women to endorse the view that:

“The women of Pakistan were different and did not contribute their proper share in the building of the state.”^{vii}

She encouraged them by making them realize that:

“Women can do a great deal in the social and economic uplift of the country.”^{viii}

She was quite convinced of the fact that without proper understanding of the situation the urge to contribute to the development of state and society would remain a pious wish, she asked the women of Pakistan to know that:

“This could happen only if they acquired knowledge and put it into practice. Knowledge would make them conscious, strong, self-respecting, confident, dutiful and broad-minded. It would further help them to discard old retrogressive customs and usages and lead a pure, simple and truly Islamic life.”^{ix}

Fatima Jinnah's sound understanding of Islamic faith and Muslim history had convinced her that the main reasons for women discrimination was a clear deviation from Islamic principles. She did not see any incompatibility between Islam and modernity. In her opinion, Islam already possessed all the elements of modernization. She said:

"The Holy Prophet gave a high place to women. Indeed it is a matter of the great pride that the first person to be a follower of the Prophet was a woman. She kindled the light that has been kept burning by crores of people all over the globe. In those dark days before the Prophet, women did not enjoy right of any kind, but with the advent of Islam women secured a respectable place, along with the right of inheritance.... Islam was the foremost religion to have given woman a high place of prestige and power."

Therefore, in view of the inherited glorious cultural heritage, she urged women to rediscover their faith in its pristine simplicity and dynamism and use it as panacea for the eradication of their social, moral and cultural inadequacies. She informed them that so many un-Islamic customs had crept in Muslim society which should be done away with. To facilitate this process of elimination she advised women to:

"Follow the true Islamic culture and traditions which are simple and dignified. You can help to revive those traditions which you were made to forget without your realising that you were gradually giving them up.... In this sphere, it is the duty of women to inculcate in their children at their tender age the true value of Islamic culture and the teaching of Islam."

EDUCATION

The basic theme of her speeches was to demonstrate the importance of education for mother as they were responsible for the training of their children. Education would make girls aware of their unique role to be played by them in the society.

She believed that if the mother did not understand the society around her, she might not be able to fulfil her role effectively. She knew

it quite well that merely sending women to educational institutions will not create an environment conducive to bringing them into the forefront of society. The real purpose of women educational movement is to make women assert themselves as role models. It was for this reason that she stressed in her speeches and correspondence that the curriculum and the syllabi of the educational institutions should be progressive and good enough to train your girls as future carriers of the mix created between modernism and traditionalism. Also, it was to be equal to that offered to boys it should be designed in a way that the girls should be enabled to use their intellect for the purpose of the advancement of their society. Otherwise the girls would contribute to the forces of retrogressivism and status quo. Women can only contribute to progress if they graduate with the mission to play the role of spreading enlightened ideas and creating a consciousness especially within their families in appreciating the capabilities of womenfolk. Men should also be made to realize through their behavior and through sharing the responsibilities in a way that men are convinced that women are capable of in handling issues which men think that they alone are capable of. That is the reason why she believed that:

“In the case of girls, inculcation of correct behavior and right values becomes doubly important, for they have it in them to bring up a whole new generation. Rightly has it been said: ‘if you educate a man you educate one individual, if you educate a woman, you educate a whole family. Moreover in every society it is the woman who is the custodian of the best social and cultural tradition of a community. It is she who maintains the home as the real pivot of all national activity, progress and prosperity.’”^{xii}

Therefore, she advised women to receive knowledge of various arts and sciences, specifically with the aim to build their character necessary to play “their roles as daughters, wives, mothers and individuals, sharing the rights and responsibilities of the citizenship of free State.”^{xiii} She believed that:

“No one is better fitted for this task than the educated woman, because she goes in for education not so much from the utilitarian

point of view as for the enlightenment and education it affords".....^{xiv}

She further stated:

"The woman by common consent is the custodian of a sacred trust, namely the best elements in the spiritual and cultural heritage of the nation. To be able to discharge this trust women have to be fully qualified and equipped for the task of home-making, according to the cherished values and concepts of the nation.

"You the women have in your hands to make or mar a whole generation. If you respect your cultural heritage and nurture it with the light and knowledge, your culture will blossom into a living organism which will satisfy all your inward urges, provide fruitful channel to your creative impulses and win you a proud place in the comity of nations."^{xv}

WOMEN AS ECONOMIC PARTNERS

Fatima Jinnah advised women to be helpful in enhancing the family's means of livelihood by working in various sections of life. Which will also help the process of nation-building. Besides all this, she (women) will acquire a sense of dignity and economic identity.

Muslim women are generally brought up to be helpless and dependent on the male members of the family, who sometimes have to support large family, which becomes an economic burden on the shoulder of one man.

The essence of Fatima Jinnah's movement was that women must come forward and work for themselves as their participation shall help in the social advancement of the society.

WOMEN AS NATION BUILDERS

Fatima Jinnah advised women to enroll as members of Pakistan Muslim League in great numbers so that the issues related to them are no more ignored. At the same time she warned women not be:

"swept away by new slogans and leaders who had a doubtful past. Do not fritter away your time and energy in encouraging or participating in mushroom parties and organisations. Strengthen the Muslim League from within and give all your help and do your utmost for its solidarity. Let me end by saying that with faith, unity and discipline there is nothing that you cannot achieve and the salvation of our country and nation lies in that."^{xvi}

There have been many women in the past surrounding Fatima Jinnah, whom she encouraged and provided an opportunity of playing important political roles.

WOMEN'S POLITICAL ROLE

In 1929, she attended Round Table Conferences in London with her brother, and they remained in England for four years. On their return from England in 1934, Fatima Jinnah joined the efforts to revitalize All India Muslim League. She led the AIML Women's Committee after its formation in 1938. Undertaking extensive tours of various cities of India. She succeeded in founding various Committees of Students Federation and its branches.

The year after the birth of Pakistan, Jinnah died and she went into retirement. Her reemergence as public figure began when in 1954 she started a campaign for Pakistan Muslim League.

By early 1960s she was seen as an outspoken critic of regime she had supported a little earlier. Relations between Fatima Jinnah and the ruling elite had begun amicably, but deteriorated over the years as their agendas clashed. By 1964 they were serious enemies. She was persuaded to stand against Ayub Khan in the Presidential election, as candidate for COP (1964-65). Ayub Khan won the election. It was not her defeat, but it

was the victory of her weak and unprincipled opposition. Her defeat did not harm her popularity, but reached its zenith for it was another personal triumph, she had proved that she being an old and frail lady could fight a political battle as well as any man. Her fierce and sincere campaign met with tumultuous reception everywhere. Her popularity as *Madar-i-Millat* was reflected in the riots, which took place at her funeral in Karachi.

Notes

- I. Fatima Jinnah's speech at a Girls High School, Karachi, *Speeches, Messages and Statements of Madar-i-Millat Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah (1948-1967)*, May 1952. (Lahore Research Society of Pakistan 1975) P. 44
- II. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- III. *Ibid.*, p. 10
- IV. Fatima Jinnah's speech made at an Eid function, Karachi, July 1952. For details see Salahudin Khan, p. 47
- V. Fatima Jinnah's speech at a meeting organized by Dacca District Zenanah Muslim League held at Curzon Hall, Dacca, in March 1948. For complete text of the speech see Salahudin Khan, p. 1.
- VI. *Ibid.*
- VII. *Ibid.*
- VIII. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.
- IX. *Ibid.*
- X. Fatima Jinnah's speech at Milaad meeting held at Lahore, 1951. For complete text see Salahudin Khan, p. 41.
- XI. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2

- XII. Fatima Jinnah's speech at a Foundation Stone Laying Ceremony, in December, 1955. Salahudin Khan, p. 114.
- XIII. Ibid.
- XIV. Ibid., P. 180
- XV. Ibid., PP. 195-196
- XVI. Fatima Jinnah's speech delivered at the meeting of the Dacca District Zenanah Muslim League held at Curzon Hall, Dacca in March, 1948. For details see Salahudin Khan, p. 2.
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America and the Challenges of Multiculturalism

DR. AZRA ASGHAR ALI*

We accept as a postulate or premise, that multiculturalism is a historical condition, which has existed in world history conceivably for 10 millenniums and certainly for more than the two millenniums ending with the year 2000 A.D. We also accept the premise that at least for the past 2000 years multiculturalism has existed in all human societies and has taken the forms of cultural assimilations, conflict and conflict resolution, cultural diversity and co-existence and last but not least, cultural development and evolution. Now the question arises that what are the meanings of culture and how does it matter? "Culture means refine customs, arts, social institutions, etc., of a particular group or people". Seen in broadest perspective, culture refers to the main behavioral characteristics of the human species and distinguishes mankind from the rest of the animal world.¹

Human culture is actually manifested in a great variety of particular cultures: that is in the special ways of life of main groups of people. "A culture as contrasted with culture in general, comprises the selective modes of acting, thinking, feeling and communicating which are used by people of one group and which distinguish their behavior from that of other groups. The participants in each culture not only use characteristic tools values, ideas, words, but also maintain a distinctive arrangements of the component parts of their culture."²

The new psychological dimensions of the anthropologists like Boas gave to the relation of man and culture made a radical break with the rationalism of Taylor and the English School. For instance in Taylor, customs and beliefs and culture itself are the rational products of the human mind. In Boas, the emphasis is essentially reversed: cultures –

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the diverse, cumulative results of diverse complex histories are the behavioral environments in which human thought and feelings are structured and operate.³

Culture can be described as a system of meaning and significance in term of which human beings or group of people define and reorganize their individual or collective lives⁴ in understanding the process of development it is necessary to identify the role and influence of culture.

The influence of culture might be felt in the areas of social economic and political developments. In fact, culture as Sen has noted is not a homogenous attribute – there can be great variations even within the same general cultural milieu. Culture determinists often underestimate the extent of heterogeneity within what is taken to be one distinct culture.⁵ Indeed, if culture is recognized to be non-homogenous, non-static, and interactive, and if the importance is integrated with rival sources of influence, then culture can be a very positive and constructive part in our understanding of human behavior and of social and economic development.⁶

The integration of cultural development lies in its diversity, and globalization. As a result a big space can be created for multiculturalism. It means genuine diversity-insofar, as it refers to functionally autonomous subcultures within a dominant culture or to conflicting tastes and values, specifically, associated with ethnicity, gender and sex. It is just like a backbone of cultural diversity.

On the part of America, we can say that the population of the America is the most widely diverse of any nation in the world. It is not homogenous society, on the way; it is a pluralistic society, a nation of groups. The long cherished belief that America has been a great 'melting pot' in which people from all nations and cultures have blended into what are called Americans is a myth.⁷ In fact we can say that America is the land of immigrants. Before 1820, the United States did not even bother to count how many new-comers reached its shores. The turn of the century however, a major change in how immigration fit into their

adopted country. By 1900, four out of the five New Yorkers either were born abroad or were the children of immigrants.⁸

The significant legislations to restrict the immigrant in the history of America were those of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, National Origin Act of 1924, through which efforts were made to restrict the immigrants' arrival to America. However, the onset of the Cold War in the late 1940s left its mark on the American immigration law and the new international position of the America became evident in the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, which provided for the admission of more than 400,000 refugees from the Second World War.⁹ The year of 1965 opened a new era in the history of America. Immigration and Nationality Act of 1956 opened the door to unprecedented numbers of Asian doctors, engineers, scientists and other university trained specialists. The Act also allowed immigrants with citizenship status to sponsor the immigrant of their spouses, children. By the 1970s, immigrants were entering in the largest number in half century.¹⁰ Between 1971 and 1991 more than 35 percent of legal immigrants came from Asia while almost half arrived from Latin America and fewer than 14 percent emigrated from Europe.¹¹

Generally, the motivating factors behind this huge immigration are economic, social and political. We can say that people going to America from different parts of the world, with new ambitions and approaches to life have built up the country over the last centuries. Immigrants bring in enormous amounts of energy for the simple reason that they struggled to get where they are and anxious to do well in the society where they have chosen to settle.¹² Resultantly, the most controversial topic that has gotten a lot of attention in recent years is the question of what are the actual economic and social impacts of immigration. Note should be taken that before the evens of September 11, the cultural and economic incorporation of ethnic minorities and immigrants have been an issue closely studied by academic researchers, politicians, public policy-makers and social commentators. Interestingly, the Asian American community is directly tied to many of these issues, whether they relate to potential changes in immigrant laws and social programs. Rather than one homogeneous category. The history of Asian Americans has evolved

so that they now include families who have lived in America for several generations and have no connection whatsoever with languages along with those who just arrived on America's shores yesterday, eager to start the new life.¹³

In understanding the American society as a multicultural society, we recognize that immigration flow that settled in the United States continues to bring fresh energy and new diversity to a country that seems to reinvent itself every generation. Language, nationality, beliefs, beliefs and pedigree are not relevant. However, energy enthusiasm, perseverance, ingenuity and integrity are relevant.

In a changing context, it can be argued that immigrant multiculturalism is different from the ideas of the old-models in which immigrants were expected to assimilate entirely to their host society. For instance, they were expected to become virtually indistinguishable from other citizens. They were expected to be indistinguishable in their dress, in their cuisine, in their habits and pastimes, in the newspapers and radio and entertainment that they watched, and so on. So that was the model which was applied to immigrants. Now there is a clear shift towards the ideas that immigrants are expected to integrate in the sense that they should learn the language of their host society and participate in public institutions so that there is a linguistic and institutional integration but they are not expected to become indistinguishable from other citizens. It is expected that they will want to maintain a distinct ethnic identity, they will want to express it and they will want public institution to adopt, to accommodate their distinct identity. So public institution like schools, hospitals, the police stations, and the media should make efforts to reflect and to accommodate the distinctive identities of immigrant groups. Almost in all major immigrant countries, it is expected and appropriate those immigrants maintain a distinct identity and their public institutions should accommodate them.

Discussion on multiculturalism began around 1980 with the controversy over whether high school and college curricula should continue to emphasize the intellectual traditions of Western civilization or should adopt a more multicultural approach to history and literature.

At that time multiculturalism was a reaction to the European to the Eurocentric monoculturalism of the American educational system which assumed the universality of Western civilization and represented this universality by the White-Anglo-Saxon experience, and the only culture worthy of being learned, transmitted and reproduced. From the beginning as noted by Ali Akbar Mahdi, it was a political idea and it continued to become more political as it travelled from academia to the main street and now even to the Wall Street.¹⁴ As such multiculturalism was about culture and power. Later the multiculturalism discussion became more general and a substitute for general anti-racial policies and tendencies in American societies. And now as Mahdi has observed "multicultural views have emerged to deal with the multicultural aspects of our human condition and the struggle for recognition, dignity and justice."¹⁵ It also involves tolerance, contact and sharing with others. In fact, multiculturalism is the integral part of a diverse society. In the case of America it can be argued that it is a country where geographical and economic diversity also exists along with ethnic, racial and gender diversities.

In fact one can say without exaggeration, that socio-economic stability of American society is based on its multicultural dimensions. Particularly, the foreign-born Asian Americans are playing active role in all socio-economic sectors. For instance, a recent research that was conducted by using the data from the Census 2000 Supplemental Survey (C2SS) points the role of immigrants as an equal sharer in American socio-economic developments. The goal of his research was to (1) compare American and foreign-born Asians to each other, (2) compare both groups to the majority population (Whites) and (3) to the U.S. population as a whole. The results show that among all Asian Americans who were at least 25 years old in 2000, U.S. and foreign born Asian Americans had similar rates of working in a professional or technical occupation that may be found in different industries. The further comparison shows that foreign-born Asians were likely to have a college degree or higher than their U.S. counterparts (45.9%) versus (42.7%). Despite this U.S. Asians had a higher average household income than did foreign Asian Americans (\$87,195) versus (\$84,749).¹⁶ Specifically, the rates for having a college degree or higher for both U.S. and foreign born

Asian American was significantly higher than that for Whites (28.4%), as was the rate of having a professional or technical occupation *23.2%). While, it is true that Asian American household tend to have more workers than White households.¹⁷ There are also large number of Asians who have their own business particularly, their small businesses sought to increase their income. There are many reasons for their success. Prominent among were those cultural traits or ethnic recourses, structural opportunities and labor market discrimination.¹⁸

Too much diversity, however, like much homogeneity, can have its disadvantages. For instance it has not always been easy to maintain unity and stability of society. Indeed throughout American history various national documents and institutions such as the constitutions, the flag, Memorial Day and the Founding Fathers themselves have become sanctified. Unfortunately, the history of American society has been a veration on this theme.¹⁹

As a result we can say that immigrants are playing a major role in the development of American society.

The Challenges of Multiculturalism

What are the challenges of multiculturalism? As we know that most cultural and ethnic conflicts in the United States result from the inequalities in the economic and political status of various groups in the country. Among the common complaints against immigrants are that they take away jobs from native workers and secondly, abuse the welfare system of the state. In fact, immigrants can actually generate more jobs. They also work in service sector jobs that allow middle class Americans to maintain their standard of living (in restaurants, hotels, personal services, construction, cleaning and maintenance).

Before entering into the debate one should know that while, having its own dynamics and autonomous influence, culture is a forum in which we present our cases and give expression to our frustration and angers. Much of the conflict and controversy is caused by the gap between the haves and the have-nots. No matter, how Americans resolve their cultural

dissimilarities and how novel their solution is to the issues that pit them against one another. They will be unable to make progress unless they eliminate the economic inequalities underlying other forms of inequalities. They must stop talking about equality as a half way measure. Equality should not be a mere ideological claim. It is an American ideal and it should be implemented in all spheres: social, racial, political and cultural. They need to have a policy that demands equal rather than special treatment of particular ethnic groups. These inequalities demand special attentions.²⁰ On the other hand, multiculturalism works to redistribute power so that the majority is no longer the sole party controlling government, business, education, law, natural resources, property, language, industry and information. In consideration of this matter, we locate another disparity between the current practices of American society. At present multicultural discourse is reserved for those individuals who fit into some category of otherness. While who have been welcome in the arena of the dominant discourse maintain that position in effect giving the multicultural realm to those dispossessed victims of the system who have nowhere else to be heard. To discourage this, a fully formed discourse can halt to such a dominant discourses, bringing all voices to one table and giving them equal weight.

The next most controversial issue in the multiculturalism debate, which is very difficult to solve, is mode of education. The first question points to curricular contents. Multiculturalism strives to liberate the methodology of teaching. By implementing diverse ways of teaching in the classroom Bilingual education has become a major ballot issue in several states. The opponents of multiculturalism argue that bilingual education confuses the students, reduces their ability to adjust and diverts scarce educational resources. The fact is that any blanket approach to bilingualism is wrong. On the other hand multiculturalism encourages learning as many languages as possible. In areas where large groups of immigrants whose children may not be well-versed in English bilingualism is as an absolute necessity. However, bilingual education should be limited to the elementary level. As students move up the ladder in the educational system it should be gradually reduced to courses in the humanities and social sciences.

However, in areas where the population is homogenous, bilingualism may not be necessary. However, even in these situations, foreign languages should be serious option for the children of schools. Multiculturalism society needs multiculturalism education and multicultural education requires the ability to community in multiple languages and perspectives. This is certainly not an essay challenge to overcome.

Some multiculturalists have shown a tendency to treat race or ethnicity as if they were synonymous with culture. This is incorrect and gives a wrong impression of what multiculturalism is really about. Culture is a domain values, norms, language, religion and ethnicity. Race is a human construct mostly in mind of people who use it as a way of categorizing people. As a concept it has exhausted its usefulness and lost its scientific validity. Though race is an invalid and outdated concept, in our society is alive and kicking. For multiculturalism should stay away from any attempt to tie race directly to culture, efforts ignore cultures that move beyond ethnicity or race. To create a truly multicultural society, we need to reduce the extent to which we categorize ourselves. We need to recognize ethnic identities and cultures, but simultaneously attempt to make them less salient factor in against other ethnic groups on the basis of race and ethnicity.²¹

Multiculturalism is a forum in which we present our cases and give expression to our frustration and angers. Critics of multiculturalism have showed a tendency to treat trace, or ethnicity. As groups and individuals dealing with conflict and controversial issues there is a great need to talk about the differences before discussing the similarities. Many multiculturalists have emphasized differences while this is important order to counter balance the categorical treatment of minorities on the basis of their ethnic difference. There is need to go beyond this stand by using difference not as a way of segregation and separating people but rather as a way of appreciating and expanding our sense of communities, interdependence, and similarities.

The Americans should use their histories and cultures as means of achieving a collective sense of their multiple identities. They need to

acknowledge their affiliation with people beyond the boundaries of their own groups, ethnicity, religion, culture and country and recognize their strong affiliation with people beyond the boundaries of their own groups, ethnicity, religion, culture, interdependence and association with people around the world. In America wrongs have been done to many groups and they need to be corrected. However, today the emphasis should be on the future rather than past, the right rather wrong. Positive, optimistic and inclusive outlook gives hope to our children and matures their confidence in the future. The first and the most important solution is tolerance. The America should approach the issues from the perspective of cultural relativism. The challenges of multiculturalism should be dealt from three perspectives: sociological, political and humanist. Sociologically, the America has to rely on the notion of community and mark its sense of rights and wrongs, around the boundaries of their own moral communities. Geographically, the notions of homogenous communities is still a reality even the most fragmented structures of the modern globalised world.

Politically, America should rely on domestic tradition to resolve over differences. Law and rules of each community should be democratically regulated rather than autocratically imposed. Multiculturalism, if it is not be degenerated into communitarianism, than it should have an integrative and transcendental spirit. It has to move from particularism towards a multicultural universalism. In fact multicultural society in one that is not agreed on a single system of meanings or value.

Numerous anti-immigration organizations have emerged to lobby for restrictive laws to curtail immigration. The largest of these are the Federation of American Immigration Reform (FAIR) and the center for Immigration Studies (CIS). They all see the present immigrants either take jobs away from America. Any one who questioned the relevance of multiculturalism need only look at how the face of America has changed in the past century. From 1880 to 1920 America experienced one of its largest periods of growth. During these times little thought was given to issues such as acculturation or assimilation and little was also done to help new immigrants navigate the choppy waters of conflict when their

values, beliefs and behavioral norms clashed with their new environment. New Americans are on the threshold a new millennium and are facing similar cultural challenges. According to the US Immigration and Naturalization Services INS 1998 Immigrations now occur are at a rate of about 700,000 to 900,000 individuals per year. It is surprise then that cultural issues remain externally complicated. Culture issues are very important not only because of the arrival of today's immigrants but also their continue to be complexities. Surrounding the many existing cultures of people who have lived decades and even centuries in this country. Why culture is so important? Because cultural is anti-integral part of the individual's very being. Any diminishment of culture diminishes the individual culture. Conflicts seem to arise when there is miscommunication about something so carted to the people's lives as their culture. Huge conflict arise when culture is misunderstood by people who hold authority or power over the lives of the people.

In understanding the challenges of multiculturalism, the concepts of nationalism have to redefine. In fact, American nationalism is based on political ideals, not those of cultural or ethnic superiority. That conception is entirely fitting for a society that still sees itself as a cultural and ethnic melting pot. But the United States relative isolation, which unavoidably leads to inadequate knowledge about other countries, has created a huge communications barrier between Americans and other societies. According to a recent survey by the Pew Global Attitudes Projects, only 22 percent Americans have traveled to another country in the last five years, compared with 66 percent of Canadians, 73 percent of Britons, 60 percent of the French, and 77 percent of the Germans. Lack of direct contact with foreign societies has not been offset by the information revolution. In the years leading up to the September 11, 2001, only 30 percent of Americans claimed to be very interested in news about other countries. Even after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack, average American did not sustain a strong interest in international affairs. An amalgam of political idealism, national pride, and relative insularity, American nationalism evokes mixed feelings abroad. Many admire its idealism universalism, and optimism and recognize the indispensability of American power and leadership to peace and prosperity around the world.²²

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Constitutional Development in Pakistan 1947-97 : A Brief Review

KAUSAR PARVEEN*

In the months immediately after the birth of Pakistan the government and members of the Constituent Assembly tried their best to put the administration of the newly born country in proper order. To accomplish this task successfully, the government required a constitution. When the Assembly started functioning as the legislative chamber it realized that it needed to allocate a much greater portion of its time and endeavours to accommodate differing points of view in regard to the following two issues:

1. Islamic character of the state.
2. Quantum of provincial representation in federal legislature and allocation of powers between the federal and provincial governments.

That a period of more than 18 months had to pass before the Constituent Assembly started to debate constitutional issues on the presentation of the Objectives Resolution on March 7, 1949. This delay illustrate in part the low priority that the government was compelled to assign to constitution-making due to circumstances beyond its control. On the other hand, the presentation of the Resolution appears to be in response to the growing demand for the establishment of an Islamic order in Pakistan. In January 1948, Shabbir Ahmad Uthmani formally demanded that Pakistan should be declared as an Islamic state. And that the 'ulama' should be involved with the writing of the constitution.¹ A few months later, Abul Ala Mawdudi also joined this movement through his lectures at the Law College in Lahore on the need to make Pakistan a religious state. Much more than Uthmani's demand, Mawdudi's concept of an Islamic state was quite discomforting for the modernists. Therefore,

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the government had to work out certain parameters for the 'ulama' to make them acceptable within the modern political system. It was in this background that the Resolution was presented to the Assembly by Liaquat Ali Khan. It embodied the main principles on which the constitution of Pakistan would be based. The most important element missing during the passage of the Objectives Resolution was the contribution of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah who had died six months earlier in September 1948. His absence was certainly the most important factor in the inability of the members of the Assembly to define a "vision" for the country and give it a shape. The adjustment of the "two-nations" theory to the emerging political order was also not an easy task to achieve. Therefore, the challenge was also to define the politics and direction of the Muslim nation in Pakistan without illustrating that Muslim political philosophy of the pre-partition period was either inadequate or irrelevant in the post-independence period.

It was far more difficult to construct the system in Pakistan than to attain freedom. The constructive work does not mean only the art of running an administration but also planning to make Pakistan a modern Muslim state. Therefore, the task of translating the "two-nations" theory into modern and progressive Pakistani nationalism required the creation of a balance between the pre-independence Muslim League political philosophy and the new vision for the country. The Resolution was an attempt to achieve this goal. How Jinnah would have contributed to the writing of this document is unclear. But it should be noted that even though he did not leave any such instructions regarding the future shape of the constitution, many references in his speeches and statements support constitutional system of representative government. Also he never indicated that the modern political system was in any sense in conflict with Islam in the modern world. On 9 June 1947 the Quaid had stated that

I do not know what the ultimate shape of the constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be a democratic type, and embodying the essential principles of Islam. Democracy is in our marrow. Only centuries of the adverse circumstances have made

the circulation of that blood cold. Islam and its ideals have taught equality of man, justice and fairplay to everybody.²

Further elucidating the above point, during his address to the Assembly on 11 August 1947, he said,

We are starting in the days when there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one cast or creed or another. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one state.

Now I think you should keep that in front of us as our ideal, and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual but in the political sense as citizens of the State.³

If the politicians had kept the ideals of the Quaid in view then the constitution would have been written in a much lesser time. The politicians instead got involved in their intrigues and squabbling over very sensitive issues like the above. That is part of the reason why the Assembly took nine years to write the first constitution of Pakistan.⁴

The Resolution that passed the chamber on March 12 was to serve as a guiding light for the framers of the future constitution by trying to create an accommodative political environment in the country. As a document it embodied the main principles on which the constitution of Pakistan would be based. The document also was to prove that the "two-nations" theory will continue to form the basis of the new state's mobilizing ideology but will also be helpful in defining the direction of the Muslim nation in Pakistan.

What the Quaid would have said or how he would have contributed to the writing of this Resolution and the constitution remains speculative. In fact he did not leave such instructions. His speeches are open to various interpretations, but a major part of his political life was devoted to assisting the evolution of a constitutional system of government in

united India. In this effort he never gave any indication that the modern political system was in any sense in conflict with Islam in the modern world.

The Resolution laid down that,

Sovereignty over the entire universe belonged to God Almighty alone, and the authority which He has delegated to the state of Pakistan through its people for being exercised within the limit prescribed by Him is a sacred trust.

According to the Resolution, Pakistan was to be a state "wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam shall be fully observed." The state was to enable Muslims to lead, individually as well as collectively, an Islamic way of life, "in accord with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in *al-Quran* and *al-Sunnah*." Adequate provision was to be made to enable the minorities "to profess and practice their respective religions and develop their cultures". Judiciary was to be independent of the executive. Lastly, Pakistan was to be a "Federation wherein the units will be autonomous."⁵ The language of the Resolution, though satisfied the traditionalists, discomforted the non-Muslim minority. Speaking on behalf of this group in and outside the chamber, B.K. Datta and S.C. Chattopadhyaya and some others severely criticised the mixing of religion and politics. Their main concern was in regard to the place and status of non-Muslims in an Islamic state.

Along with the issue of an Islamic order, the issue of provincial representation in federal legislature also remained highlighted. East Bengal, on the basis of its larger population, demanded a reflection of this fact in the allocation of seats in the Assembly. Otherwise a "feeling was growing", Begum Shaista Suhrawardy stated in 1948, "among the East and West Pakistan East Pakistan is being neglected and treated nearly as a 'Colony' of West Pakistan."⁶ In December 1949, the East Bengal Muslim League Assembly Party adopted a resolution that demanded representation in the Assembly on the basis of population and maximum provincial autonomy.

The debate on the two issues was still going on when in September 1950 the Interim Report recommended the incorporation of the Objectives Resolution as a directive principle of state policy in the constitution. And on the federal issue, the Interim Report recommended a bicameral legislature with a house of units (upper house), with equal representation to the units, and a house of the people (lower house), elected directly by the people. However, it was provided that the two houses would have equal powers and that a dispute between them was to be resolved in a joint session. The distribution of powers was on the pattern of the Act of 1935. There were three lists of subjects-federal, provincial and concurrent.

The Interim Report was widely criticised. The religious parties and groups considered its Islamic clauses disappointing while the Bengalis complained that its federal formula would reduce their majority into a minority. In response to criticism, Liaquat announced the withdrawal of the Interim Report to consider any concrete and definite proposals that might be made by the people by 31 January 1951. Liaquat himself took the initiative on the federal issue and convened a meeting of the Muslim Members of the Assembly from East Pakistan in which he proposed the principle of parity between East and West Pakistan at the centre. The Members of the Assembly also endorsed his proposal. The Assembly was half way through the debate on the Interim Report of the basic Principles Committee,⁷ when on 15 October 1951, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan, was assassinated. He was succeeded by Nazimuddin who took a year to redraft the Report and submitted it to the Assembly in December 1952. The two main points of the Report were (i) the accommodation of the demand of an Islamic constitution, and, (ii) to settle the issue of east-west representation in the federal legislature. In relation to the first a "repugnancy clause" was introduced. It was to prevent the passage of any bill contravening the dictates of the *Qur'an* and the practice of the Prophet. As regards the allocation of seats in the Assembly was concerned, the Report maintained the suggestions of the "Interim Report", and allocated the number of seats as follows: the House of Units was to be constituted of 120 members, of which the legislatures of East Pakistan would elect members and the remaining were to be elected by the legislatures of the federating units in West

Pakistan; the House of the people was to be constituted of 400 members, in which Bengal would elect 200 members and the remaining 200 members would represent the provinces in the Western half of Pakistan.⁸ Nazimuddin was still trying to settle the issues that Ghulam Mohammad dismissed his government in April 1953, through a proclamation: "that the Cabinet of Khawajah Nazimuddin has proven, entirely inadequate to grapple with the difficulties facing the country." This development not only caused a severe blow to the process of constitution-making but also signaled Pakistan's entry into an era of 'palace intrigues.'⁹ After the dissolution of the government, Ghulam Mohammad invited Mohammad Ali Bogra, serving as Pakistan's ambassador in Washington, to form a new government that included General Mohammad Ayub Khan, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army; Maj. General Iskandar Mirza, an Army Officer who had later opted for the political service of British India; and Dr. Khan Sahib. Mohammad Ali Bogra gave a new shape to existing Report. The Bogra formula, as it was now called, reduced the units in West Pakistan to four. West Pakistan had a majority in the upper house and East Pakistan was given a majority in the lower house. Parity was provided in the combined houses, with distribution of seats.¹⁰ Each house was to have equal powers in all-important matters. The Bogra formula provided further safeguards to avoid apprehensions of one zone dominating over the other. For votes of confidence and in case of difference of opinion between the two houses, a voting strength of at least 30 per cent from each zone was required. It was also provided that the head of state and the head of government would belong to different zones of the country, but this provision was later dropped.

Within a year, while the Constituent Assembly was progressing towards the completion of its work, on 24 October 1954, the Governor-General dissolved the Assembly because, in his opinion, it had lost "the confidence of the people."¹¹ The second Assembly, elected from the existing provincial assemblies, finally succeeded in presenting the first constitution of Pakistan on 25 March 1956.

The 1956 Constitution declared that sovereignty belonged to Allah, but it was to be exercised by the people as a trust. No law repugnant to the Qur'an and the Sunnah could be enacted and Muslims would order

their lives, collectively and individually, according to the Islamic values. A commission would provide necessary guidance on injunctions of the Qur'an and the Sunnah to the legislative assemblies. An Islamic Research Institute was to assist in the reconstruction of Muslim society on truly Islamic lines.¹²

The executive authority vested in the President. A cabinet of ministers, with the Prime Minister as its head, would "aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions." The President was "to act in accordance with the advice of the cabinet except in those matters in which he was empowered to act in his discretion." He was empowered to make principal appointments on the advice of the cabinet. He also had the power to issue proclamations of political or financial emergency and could suspend a provincial government. He was the supreme commander of armed forces. The parliament was unicameral with one house. The National Assembly was to consist of three hundred members, half elected from East and half from West Pakistan. Ten additional seats were provided for women, five from East and five from West Pakistan.¹³ In response to regional pressure for autonomy, the constitution provided certain powers to the provinces. The extension of provincial list, the parity clause and the grant of residual powers to the provinces were some measures.¹⁴

The Constitution of 1956 was a product of compromises and expediency. The result was that, under the constitution, ministerial changes became more frequent. There were four Prime Ministers in about two and half years. These changes caused great confusion and disillusionment among the people. The country's prestige abroad suffered and economic development was greatly hampered. Political tussle went to the extent of brutal fights inside the provincial legislature of East Pakistan that resulted in the death of its Deputy Speaker.¹⁵

This acrimonious political environment forced General Muhammad Ayub Khan to intervene and dissolve the entire political and constitutional structure to be built afresh. Therefore, central and provincial cabinets were dismissed and the assemblies were dissolved. The political parties were banned. The courts were restored but their

jurisdiction was not unlimited. They could not challenge the orders of the Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA), or any authority exercising powers under him.¹⁶

Ayub Khan's Martial Law was challenged in the Supreme Court. The Court, in *State vs. Dosso* case, concluded that a successful coup is a revolution, and if it annuls the constitution and annulment is effective, such a revolution itself becomes law-creating fact. Thereafter its legality is judged not by reference to the annulled constitution but by reference to its success.¹⁷ After creating a better political environment, however, Ayub Khan decided to give the country a civilian order. It was decided that the nation would be given a new constitution, which, in his own words, would be "suitable to the genius of the people."¹⁸ Through a national referendum, held on 15 February 1960, he was declared the President of Pakistan for five years.¹⁹ This development facilitated his efforts to rehabilitate parliamentary democracy on sound footings. The work on a new constitution started under the close supervision of Ayub Khan himself. Thus a constitution, containing 250 Articles, was promulgated on 1 March 1962. It envisaged a centralised presidential system with Basic Democracies as the main institution. It was a directly elected Electoral College, consisting of 80,000 members, responsible for electing President, along with National and provincial assemblies.²⁰ This indirect method de-linked the people from mainstream politics.

The President was the key figure in the constitutional set-up. Wide powers were provided to him in the executive and administrative affairs. But, unlike the American presidential system checks and balances were not incorporated in the constitution.²¹ All legislation passed by the National Assembly required assent of the President that he may give or withhold, or he may return the proposed legislation to the Assembly for fresh consideration.²² In case difference of opinion arose between the President and the National Assembly, the President could appeal to the Electoral College²³ where he enjoyed a preponderant authority. Moreover, the President had enormous emergency powers. The President could issue an ordinance irrespective of the fact that the National Assembly was holding its session. The National Assembly had no power to disapprove any ordinance issued after the declaration of emergency.²⁴

Such an Assembly cannot be described as a sovereign body in the legislative sphere.²⁵ The impeachment of the President was not only made extremely difficult, but, discouraged through a threat as well. In case, the resolution for removal of the President failed to obtain support of one half of the total members of the National Assembly, the movers of the resolution would cease to be members of the Assembly. The President was empowered to make all key appointments in the government at his own discretion.²⁶

While, officially, the constitution maintained the federal structure, the spirit behind the constitution was unitary. West Pakistan was to remain One Unit. There were no Chief Ministers, Governors in the provinces of East and West Pakistan were direct representatives of the President.²⁷ Considering that the governors were the President's appointees, power concentrated in the hands of the three principal executives of the nation was considerable. This reality, along with the overriding powers as to emergency, made the centre immensely strong and dominating over the provinces.²⁸

There was a provision that no law should be repugnant to Islam and the constitution made specific arrangements for an Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology.²⁹ The Council could make recommendations to the Central and provincial governments as to the means by which the Muslims were to be enabled and encouraged to order their lives in accordance with the principles and concepts of Islam. In addition, it could advise the President or the provincial governor or the National Assembly or a provincial assembly whether any proposed law disregarded or violated or was otherwise not in accordance with the principles of law-making as defined in the constitution.³⁰

The first presidential elections under the constitution were held in 1965. The Combined Opposition Party's (COP) candidate Miss. Fatima Jinnah lost to Ayub Khan by a wide margin. Given the inherent biases in the system, the return of Ayub Khan as President was no surprise. The COP accused the regime of using government machinery to force voters to vote for Ayub Khan.³¹

Ayub Khan's constitution miserably failed to resolve major political problems; rather it enlarged their sphere. Ayub Khan's authoritarianism led to mass protest by the end of 1968. Finally, under tremendous public pressure, he resigned from the office on 25 March 1969. Instead of handing over power to the Speaker of the National Assembly, as required under his own constitution, Ayub Khan handed over power to General Yahya Khan, who promptly imposed Martial Law and abrogated the constitution. Instead he offered his own Legal Framework Order (LFO), according to which One Unit was dissolved, and the old four provinces of West Pakistan were restored. Population was to be the basis for representation in the assemblies. A National Assembly was to consist of 313 members, 169 members from East Pakistan, 144 from the West Pakistan. Under the LFO, general elections held in 1970, saw the Awami League bagged 167 seats, all from East Pakistan. The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto emerged victorious in West Pakistan, winning 86 seats.³²

The post-election period brought three political actors on the national scene: General Yahya Khan, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, head of the Awami League, and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The peculiar outcome of the elections demanded greater understanding among them, but, in all probability they were "prisoners of their respective constituencies and thus were politically unable to compromise on a mutually face-saving bargain."³³ The failure to reach a political understanding and settlement of major issues of national importance prompted the regime to impose a military solution, which, unfortunately, resulted in the dismemberment of the country and loss of East Pakistan.³⁴ But not without active Indian political and military involvement on the side of the secessionists, *Mukti Bahini*, para-military wing of the Awami League,

The setback in the 1971 war and the dismemberment of Pakistan brought the nation's morale to the lowest ebb. The result was the transfer of power from the military rulers to Bhutto who enjoyed popular support and now commanded a clear majority in the National Assembly of residuary Pakistan (West Pakistan).³⁵

Bhutto's foremost contribution was that he succeeded in getting a constitution for Pakistan adopted by a Constituent Assembly, which, for the first time, consisted of directly elected representatives of the people. The constitution was promulgated on 14 August 1973. The significance of this constitution lay in the fact that it was a product of national consensus. No vote was cast against it, and since the whole Assembly unanimously adopted it, it carried the mandate of the people of Pakistan.³⁶

The 1973 Constitution introduced a federal parliamentary system of government. The President was to be a nominal executive whereas the Prime Minister was the fountainhead of all authority. The President was bound to act on and according to the advice of the Prime Minister.³⁷ The orders of the President required counter signature of the Prime Minister for their validity.³⁸ The President had to dissolve the "National Assembly on the advice of the Prime Minister. In fact, it would stand dissolved after 48 hours on the advice of the Prime Minister.³⁹ In spite of the dissolution of National Assembly, the cabinet could continue in office, if the President so desired. The President was bound to give assent on bills passed by the parliament in seven days. Otherwise, it was understood that the assent had been given, and bills would become law.⁴⁰ National Assembly was to elect the Prime Minister, and as such the President had no role to play in this regard.⁴¹

In order to allay the apprehensions of smaller provinces of being dominated by the majority province of the Punjab, the constitution introduced two new institutions: The Senate and the Council of Common Interests at the federal level. While seats in the directly elected National Assembly were allocated on population basis, equal representation to all provinces was provided for in the indirectly elected Senate.⁴² It was a significant addition to the federal structure of the state, which was composed of four provinces of different sizes and populations. However, keeping money bills outside its purview restricted the role of the Senate.⁴³ But empowering it to revise or reject an amendment bill sent by the "National Assembly more than compensated this.⁴⁴

Constitutional experts maintain that provincial autonomy was not accommodated enough. Although residuary subjects were put in the competence of provinces to legislate on the federal list, with 67 crucial subjects, was so extensive that it became a tool for consolidating the supremacy of federal government.⁴⁵ Provincial autonomy underwent further erosion in case of proclamation of emergency in any province.⁴⁶ The legislative powers were transferred to the governor and the National Assembly, providing centre with a decisive leverage to proceed in whatever manner it liked.⁴⁷ The institution of National Finance Commission⁴⁸ and the Council of Common Interests⁴⁹ were set up for federal-provincial co-ordination, but even these were so completely controlled by the federal government that the provinces could not force them to meet, let alone seek redress of their grievances from them.⁵⁰ Again, not adhering to the principles of federal system of government, federating units were not given any role in the amendment process of the constitution.⁵¹ Furthermore, the President was given the power to appoint a judge of the High Court after consultation with the Chief Justice of Pakistan. The elected governments of the provinces were completely ignored in this matter.⁵² Thus, according to Syed Jaffar Ahmed, "The 1973 Constitution provided a formal structure of a federal constitution. This constitution too came short in capturing the federal spirit into its articles."⁵³

Islam was declared to be the state religion of Pakistan, and it was provided that all existing laws were to be brought in conformity with the injunctions of Islam. The Council of Islamic Ideology was given the job of identifying laws repugnant to Islam and to make recommendations to bring the laws in accordance with Islam. However, such recommendations were not binding. It was nothing but a continuation of the rhetoric too often employed to satisfy the persistent demands of religious groups.⁵⁴

An important measure worth mentioning was, defining in clear terms, the role of the armed forces in the country. Article 245 noted: "The Armed Forces shall under the direction of the federal government defend Pakistan against external aggression or threat of war and subject to law act in aid of civil power when called upon to do so." Article 6

discouraged military intervention by proclaiming that: "Any person who abrogates, subverts or attempts to conspire to abrogate, the constitution by use of force or show of force or by other unconstitutional means, shall be guilty of high treason." Without any delay, the National Assembly, in September 1973, passed a law pronouncing death sentence or life imprisonment as the punishment for such a crime. The signal was loud and clear. Military coup was high treason.

As analysis of the pros and cons of the constitution explains that it was as useful attempt towards framing 'a congenial constitution', given the realities of the situation on the ground. Inconsistencies present in the Constitutions of 1956 and 1962 were largely removed, but the much-celebrated constitution could not maintain its pristine glory of unanimous approval. It was marred by the injudicious amendments one after another. Out of a total of seven amendments in the constitution between 1973 and 1977, three were widely criticised for being controversial.⁵⁶

The First Amendment sought to curtail some of the fundamental rights guaranteed in Articles 8 and 17 of the constitution by giving powers to the government to ban political parties and then make a reference to the Supreme Court.⁵⁶ The Fourth Amendment, passed in September 1976, curtailed the jurisdiction of High Courts in matter of preventive detention and was rushed through despite the outcry of the members of the opposition who were physically thrown out of the National Assembly at the time of passing the Amendment. It was meant to help contain opponents.⁵⁷ The Fifth Amendment, adopted in December 1976, required Chief Justice of the Supreme Court to vacate his office after five years, even if he had not reached the prescribed retirement age of 65 years. The Chief Justices of High Courts had, likewise, to vacate after four years term even if they had not reached the retiring age, which was 62 years in this case. The change was aimed at forcing Chief Justices to premature retirement if they were not favourable to the government.⁵⁸ The Sixth Amendment, in May 1977, was made apparently to reinforce the Fifth Amendment. It provided that Chief Justices of the Supreme Court and High Courts might complete their terms even if they had attained the retirement age. It seems

amendments to the constitution were made to suit the requirement of the ruling party, which undoubtedly was a retrogressive step.⁵⁹

Equipped with all the executive and legislative powers, Bhutto became a civilian dictator under the façade of a democratic government. Bhutto did not tolerate any dissenting voices, even within his own party. The leaders of the opposition parties were persecuted and prosecuted to an extent unknown even during the previous military regime in Pakistan.⁶⁰ The PPP government did not allow the provincial government of Balochistan and NWFP, indeed in coalition with the party itself in the province, to function properly. In the beginning, the central government unnecessarily interfered in the provincial matters and then removed the government of Balochistan. The government in the NWFP resigned in protest. Thus, both provinces were placed under the governor rule, causing great disappointment to the people. Emergency remained in force for a longer period than required depriving the people of their fundamental rights. Sanctity of the Parliament was violated when members of the opposition were thrown out of the House.⁶¹

Having remained in power for more than five years, Bhutto announced early general elections on 7 January 1977. The results were highly contentious. The opposition parties attributed Bhutto's success in the elections to massive riggings and mal-practices. There were violent protests and demonstrations in the streets all over the country. The opposition demanded resignation of Prime Minister and holding of fresh elections. The government refused to oblige. The deadlock resulted in the intervention of military under General Zia-ul-Haq and the imposition of yet another Martial Law, longest in the history of the country – July 1977 to December 1985.⁶²

Begum Nusrat Bhutto challenged Martial Law in the Supreme Court, but the Supreme Court held that it was justified by state necessity and by the requirement and welfare of the people. In its opinion, General Zia-ul-Haq had stepped in for a transitory period and for the limited purpose of arranging free and fair elections so as to enable the country to return to democracy and civilian rule.⁶³ Having secured his position after obtaining legitimacy and power to amend the constitution from the

Supreme Court, Zia-ul-Haq introduced a Provincial Constitutional Order (PCO) that curtailed the powers of the higher courts.⁶⁴

The PCO, promulgated on 24 March 1981, rendered the judgements of the Supreme Court and High Courts to be totally ineffective. Their judgements delivered against provisions of Martial Law were annulled with retrospective effect. Judges of Supreme Court and High Courts were asked to take fresh oath under the PCO.⁶⁵ The PCO purported to validate everything done by the Zia regime since its coup and such validation was not to be called into question in any court on any ground whatsoever.⁶⁶

Due to external and internal compulsions, pressure on Zia-ul-Haq to restore democracy steadily grew in 1983 and 1984. The campaign launched by the MRD (Movement for Restoration of Democracy) in 1985 proved to be the ultimate push towards that end. Zia-ul-Haq decided to hold elections in March 1985 to restore "democracy" on a limited scale. Zia-ul-Haq initiated the process of general elections. These elections were held on the party-less basis on 25 and 28 February 1985. The PPP and other parties of MRD boycotted the elections.⁶⁷

Before calling the session of the National Assembly, Zia-ul-Haq promulgated a Revival of Constitution Order (RCO) on 2 March 1985 on his own authority, amending the character and complexion of 1973 Constitution beyond proportion.⁶⁸ Important changes brought about by the RCO included the following:

1. The Objectives Resolution was made a substantive and effective part of the constitution.⁶⁹
2. The Electoral College for the election of the President was modified to include both Houses of the Parliament and all the four provincial assemblies (with equal weightage in terms of votes to each provincial assembly).⁷⁰
3. The President was to act on the advice of the cabinet, the Prime Minister or the appropriate Minister but he could require the cabinet to reconsider its advice.⁷¹

4. President could dissolve the National Assembly in his discretion where, in his opinion, appeal to the electorate was necessary and call for elections within 100 days of such dissolution.⁷²
5. The President could ask the Prime Minister to continue in office until his successor was installed. This apparently applied to the Prime Minister who had resigned his office or where the National Assembly was dissolved. The President had the discretion to appoint a caretaker cabinet till the election of the successor through the National Assembly after the general elections.⁷³
6. Seats reserved for women were increased from ten to twenty.⁷⁴
7. Membership of the Senate was raised from 63 to 87, with five seats from each province provided for technocrats, ulema or professionals.⁷⁵
8. The time for the President to give assent to the bills passed by the Parliament was extended from 7 to 45 days. The President could veto a bill, other than money bill, by returning the bill within 45 days for reconsideration. The majority of the members present and voting of both Houses of Parliament could override such veto.⁷⁶
9. The President could, in his discretion, appoint any member of the National Assembly as Prime Minister who, in his opinion, could command the confidence of the majority of the members of the National Assembly. However, the Prime Minister, so appointed, had to obtain a vote of confidence from the National Assembly within sixty days.⁷⁷
10. Federal ministers and ministers of State were to be appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister.⁷⁸
11. Procedure for the vote of no confidence was changed and the requirement of Alternative candidate in such motion required in the original 1973 Constitution was omitted.⁷⁹

12. The method of amendments to the constitution was modified and, under the new provision, an amendment to the constitution could only take place by a majority of 2/3 of the total members in the National Assembly and the Senate and by absolute majority in all the four provincial assemblies. The amendment procedure was further modified under President's Order 20 of 1985 and the requirement of laying the amendment bill before the provincial assemblies was dispensed with, except where such amendment had the effect of altering the limits of a province. In such a case, the provincial assembly of such a province had to pass the amendment with 2/3 of its total membership.⁸⁰
13. Article 270-A was introduced for validation of all Martial Law regulations, Martial Law orders, and laws framed during the Martial Law regime and acts and orders made thereunder.⁸¹
14. The President could appoint Governor of a province in his discretion.⁸²
15. Article 152-A was introduced for the introduction of National Security Council (NSC), which included the President, the Prime Minister, the Chairman of the Senate, the Chairman of Joint Chief of Staff Committee and Chief of the Army Staff.⁸³

The newly elected National Assembly met on 28 March 1985 and Mohammad Khan Junejo, an old Muslim Leaguer from Sindh, was appointed the Prime Minister. Junejo promised the nation that Martial Law would be lifted and the Constitution of 1973 would be restored. But Zia-ul-Haq wanted the National Assembly and the civilian government formed under Junejo to first accept the constitutional package under the Revival of Constitution Order (PO.14 of 1985). It was in these circumstances, that the Eighth Amendment Bill was moved in the National Assembly on 8 September 1985.⁸⁴ Zia-ul-Haq made it mandatory for legislators and the government to approve the bill if they wanted him to lift the Martial Law. It is obvious that the Eighth Amendment was a result of bargaining on the RCO.

After the Eighth Amendment, the President, under Article 58(2B), had power to dissolve the National Assembly, which was required to be done quite often. To begin with, in May 1988, President Zia-ul-Haq dismissed the Junejo Government, and dissolved the Assembly. In 1990, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan made use of the Article to dismiss Benazir Bhutto from office. Again, on 18 April 1993, he used the Article to get rid of Sharif government. Although a Supreme Court verdict in favour of Nawaz Sharif helped him return to office, the die was cast. He could not continue to work as Prime Minister.

The elections of 1993 brought back Benazir Bhutto as Prime Minister, for the second time. She made sure that her own party leader, Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari, was elected the President. This development had many political analysts convinced that, since both the President and the Prime Minister were from the same political party, things will work better this time. But the two highest offices in the country could not work it out, and, consequently, on 5 November 1996, for the fourth time, the President dismissed the government.⁸⁵

Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif along with many like-minded politicians clamoured that the Eighth Amendment must go but when they themselves were in power they hesitated to do that. For instance, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and Ghulam Mustafa Khar were on record to have said, "so long as Nawaz Sharif is Prime Minister the Amendment should stay." Similarly, Nawaz Sharif was not interested in the repeal of the Amendment during Benazir's two terms.⁸⁶

The question of the repeal of the Eighth Amendment did not merely relate to the balance of powers between the President and the Prime Minister. More importantly, it was linked with the restoration of the sanctity of the constitution. This realization dawned on the political leaders, finally, on 1 April 1997. The Thirteenth Amendment, adopted unanimously by the Parliament, i.e., the National Assembly and the Senate repealed more problematic Articles of the Eighth Amendment. The Amendment deleted Articles 58(2B) and 112(2B) from the constitution, thus undoing the powers of the President and the governors to dissolve, in their discretion, national and provincial assemblies. Article

101(1) was altered to remove the privilege of the President to appoint governors "in his discretion." The advice of the Prime Minister was made binding on the President.⁸⁷

The Thirteenth Amendment finally eliminated the lengthening shadows on the parliamentary form of government since 1985. Although Nawaz Sharif was successful in clipping the President's discretionary powers, several important Articles of the Eighth Amendment were left untouched. They include Articles 46, 48, 50, 75, 91, 92 and 99. Likewise, articles in provincial spheres, such as Articles 116, 129, 130, 131 and 139 remained untouched.⁸⁸

However, after the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, it was the responsibility of the representatives of the people, especially the Prime Minister, to ensure that the people they claimed to represent were served well and the political institutions not only contributed to the development of democracy but also to progress and prosperity of the country. There was plenty of support in the constitution and constitutional system to achieve these goals but nothing was done. The Prime Minister after assimilating all the powers tried to misuse his powers. It again proved that perhaps many a politicians were not mature enough to govern the country in a proper manner.

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| 10. Provinces | Upper House | Lower House | Total |
|----------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------|
| Punjab | 10 | 165 | 175 |
| NWFP, Frontier States and Tribal Areas | 10 | 75 | 85 |
| Sindh and Khairpur | 10 | 24 | 34 |
| Balochistan, Balochistan States Union, | 10 | 19 | 29 |
| Bahawalpur and Karachi | 10 | 17 | 27 |
| Total: | 50 | 300 | 350 |

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Education Under the Mughals: Persian, Sanskrit

AZRÀ WAQAR

The great Mughals patronized learning, education and art, though there was no separate or special administrative provision¹ for the education, however, great scholars and intellectuals not only from India but also from other countries of the world assembled in this learned land in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Their assembly and scholarly and artistic achievements not only indicate the higher literary taste of the Emperors but also prove their profound interest and patronization under the Empire. Besides the Mughals other Hindu nobles, aristocrats and religious institutions also took special interest in the spread of education. There were educational institutions for princes, princesses, nobles, as well as for the common people. All the Mughal emperors had a love for a collecting books. There were also private collections and libraries other than the royal libraries. This chapter is devoted to discuss the Persian and Sanskrit education during the Mughal period.

Patronage of Sanskrit Education (for Hindus)

Before Muslim rule began in India, the language of learning was Sanskrit. The Brahmans took special interest in the development and spread of education among the Hindus, though the content and the method were indigenous. Their devotion and perseverance were unchallenging rather it was unquestionably their monopoly.² They established *Pathasalas* for elementary and higher learning. This was the reason why the study of Sanskrit language and literature dominated the programmes of educational institutions. Especially because the teachers employed were Brahmans, who disseminated education as a religious duty.

About the Educational caliber of Brahmins of that time, Bernier writes:

Having pressed the Pandets to tell me the exact age of the world, they tried arithmetical skill over and over. Whenever any of these learned Brahmans is urged to state the facts on which he grounds his belief of this vast antiquity, he entertains the inquirer with a set of ridiculous fables, and finishes by asserting that it is so stated in their Beths or Books of laws, which have been given to them by Brahma.³

It is not to be denied that in Sanskrit there was a good number of poetic works and books written on other branches of knowledge. In spite of this, barring the religious works, Sanskrit can scarcely claim more than what can be contained in a few Almirahs. There were only two or three books on several branches of knowledge intermingled with myth and legend. This is corroborated by the statement of the Sanskrit knowing Muslim scholars and European Orientalists as well as by the existing material collected from the field of this language. The largest collection made of the Sanskrit books – both in print and manuscript – at Poona College Library hardly exceeded 888 volumes inclusive of religion and other subjects.⁴

This was the manner in which Muslim scholars suggested to the Brahmans that books could also be written on topics other than mythical and legendary tales. The ancient works mostly monopolised by the Brahmans; though the extension of educational facilities for other castes secured for them their right of freedom in the matter of acquisition of knowledge. After Muslim rule in India, Hindus learned Persian and showed great eminence as historians, poets, prose writers and translators. They also wrote books on rational sciences, medicine, ethics and sufism.

During the reign of the Mughals, the education of Sanskrit for the Hindus other than Persian received powerful impetus. Important educational centres were located in big cities, such as Thatta, Multan and Benaras for instruction in Sanskrit and religious studies. The Hindus were admitted to the same order of peerage as the Muslims in the royal court. Several books were rendered into Sanskrit from Arabic and Persian for example Mirza Uluch Beg's Zij, the last and authoritative work on Astronomy. It was translated into Sanskrit by a body of Muslim

and Hindu scholars including Kishan Jotishi, Ganga Dhar Mahesh and Mahanand. In Jahangir's time Jadrup Goshain, was a reputed scholar of Vedanta, and Chandra Bhan Brahman was a poet-lauriate at the court of Dara Shikoh.⁵

In a typical *patshala* where primary religious education was given with the study of Sanskrit, the pupil had to begin with the Nagri Character (called Hindi) and then proceed to Sanskrit. The spelling books and readers once acquired, he would go on to Sanskrit grammar, poetry, rhetoric, the *Puranas* and *Itihas* (ancient history), *Jotish* (astrology and astronomy) the *vedant* and *nyaya* (philosophy and logic) *mantra*, *tantra*, *Puja path* (religious books) and may also finish with *vaidik* or the Hindu system of medicine.⁶

For learning Sanskrit, one had to learn Vyakran (Grammar) *Nyaya* (logic and law) *patanjali*, *vedanta*, and many other branches of knowledge. Abul Fazl in *Ain-i Akbari* writing about the educational policy of Akbar, stated: "In studying Sanskrit, students ought to learn the Bayakran, Niyail, Bedanta, and Patanjali. No one should be allowed to neglect those things which the present time requires."⁷ These subjects were taught at the college level. Sanskrit language and literature, the *vedas*, the *puranas*, astronomy, astrology, history, geography, philosophy and medicine were the subjects of higher education as noted by Bernier.⁸

There were many important centres of higher education for the Hindus. Amongst them Benaras was the most famous. Raja Jai Singh who, in 1693, erected the famous observatory of Benaras, founded earlier a college for the education of the youth of good families. The children of Raja also used to get education in these centres of learning and had as teachers several Brahmins, who taught them to read and write Sanskrit. Tavernian saw the students there studying mathematics, writing on the ground with chalk.⁹

Benarier calls Benaras the 'Athens of India' and writes:

The town contains no colleges or regular classes, as in our universities, but resembles rather the schools of the ancients, the

masters being dispersed over different parts of the town in private houses, and principally in the gardens of the suburbs, which the rich merchants permit them to occupy. Some of these masters have four disciples, other six or seven, and the most eminent may have twelve or fifteen, but this is the largest number. It is usual for the pupils to remain ten or twelve years under their respective preceptors, during which time the work of instruction proceeds but slowly.¹⁰

Abul Fazl also writes about the importance of Benaras:

From time immemorial it has been the Chief seat of learning in Hindustan. Crowds of people flowed to it from the most distant parts for the purpose of instruction to which they apply themselves with most devoted assiduity.¹¹

Mithila,¹² as quoted by Abul Fazl, was another centre of Hindu learning. Emperor Shahjahan selected two scholars from Mithila for their scholarship. Navadwipa was another centre of intellectual activities. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Navadwipa emerged as an unchallenged centre of Navyanyaya. Most of the famous Naiyayikas of Navadwipa flourished during this period. The founder of the Navyanyaya school was Roghunath Shiromani. He was considered to be an authority on this subject. It also became an important centre for the study of Bhagwat Geeta, Gyan and Bhakti.

As Bernier refers¹³ the Pathshala would either have a separate building of its own or the students would sit in some spacious building attached to a rich man's mansion or even under a shady tree. As chairs and benches were not available at that time, students had to sit on the floor.¹⁴ Students had to come to the school early in the morning and to stay there till sunset. There were various kinds of punishments which were meant for those students who either came late or misbehaved with the teacher or neglected their studies. Besides, binding the hands and feet, subjecting into an agonising posture or detaining him in the classroom for longer hours were some of the other punishments.¹⁵

The curriculum followed in these schools was uniform and simple. The courses generally comprised instruction in the alphabet, vowels and consonants, combination of words, spelling vyakaran, lesson in reading and elementary numbers or arithmetic. Leitner¹⁶ has given a list of Sanskrit books of the time of annexation in the North Punjab, which consisted of Alphabets, Grammar, Lexicology, Poetry, Rhetoric, Mathematics, Medical Science, Logic, *Vedant*, Law, Philosophy, Prosody, Prose literature, and Religion. These subjects were taught up to secondary level. At higher level Drama, Prose, Hindu Law, *Vedant*, *Puran*, and Astronomy were taught.

Hindu boys generally began their elementary education after attaining the age of five. The first word that he wrote was *Om* or *Sri* or *Hari* with chalk on the earth. This ceremony was known as *Hathe Kharli*. Besides chalk, pieces of straw and sometimes small brickchips were used as pen and palm leaves and Bhoja-patra served the purpose of paper. Bamboo twigs or quills of birds were also used as pen. Iron pens were used in Orissa for writing on palm leaves. In Kashmir people used to write on the bark of a tree known as *Tuz*. Ink was made locally with Haritaki, Bahera and the soot of country-made lamp, which lasted for a long time. As for the educational system in the villages, a village teacher popularly called *Guruji*, an employee of the landlord or was paid by the contribution of the entire population of the village, children would squat either in the verandah attached to a *Kachcha* house or under some shady trees on the mud-plastered ground. All writing was done either on the surface of the ground or on the surface of a wooden board.¹⁷

This general education ended at the primary stage. But the students who chose to continue further either learnt Sanskrit or Persian, the state language.

Primary education was not free and fees were paid to the teacher generally in kind and sometimes in cash also. In Orissa students used to go to the neighbouring villages every fortnight to beg from door and then to pay to their teacher whatever they had thus procured.

Leitner writes about the Sanskrit schools of Punjab: "Most of the higher Sanskrit studies are taught at the teachers' own houses, instead of that of "Sanskrit schools", which are, generally, of a more elementary character, and although they sometimes add arithmetic to their course, are principally intended to instruct the sons of Brahmins, who form the majority of pupils, in the practice of ceremonial observances and rituals, which may enable them to gain a livelihood as family priests or incumbents of religious services at temples. He writes, "It is in the Sanskrit schools that the exclusive side of Hinduism comes out. Like the Arabic Schools, those called Sanskrit school largely attended by adults and entirely by Brahmins.¹⁸

Patronage of Persian Education (For Muslims)

Introduction to Persian-Arabic was the Chief medium of classical study of the Muslims of India, but Persian began to establish itself as its rival, in the earlier stage of instruction. A large volume of poetry and translation from foreign languages gradually building up the fabric of Persian as it was the language of the Court and of the Muslims who were settled or were migrating from Iran and Central Asia into Indo-Pak territories. Muhammad Tughlaq¹⁹ knew a good deal of Persian Poetry by heart and was quite familiar with Nizam's *Sikandar Nama*. He was fond of contenting with poets in Persian. Mir Tahir Muhammad Naisani of Thatta in Sind, record the study of Sa'di, Jami, Khaqani and Anwari under Maulana Ishaq. In Firoz Tughlaq's time further impetus was given to Persian studies. While in that of Sikandar Lodhi, Hindus, as a class took to the study of this language. To Sikandar Lodhi's days may also be treated the writing of the Hindustani language in the Persian script by adding to the Persian alphabet the letters like:

ح. چ. د. ڈ. ڈ. ڈ.

At that time Delhi, Firuzabad, Agra, Jounpur, Bidan, Hyderabad and Badaun were the centres of learning. In Mughal period Persian learning, Persian writing and Persian translation from other languages reached at a high peak.

The Hindus also developed a real admiration for Persian and quite a large number of them adopted this language as their medium of expression.²⁰ The enlightened patronage of the Mughal rulers stimulated the growth of Persian literature in India, in its own way. The Persian language became Indianized and the Hindu poets and writers enriched the Persian vocabularies by introducing Hindi words and idioms. The Persian diction was affected by Hindu ways of thought and expression.

Types of Institutions

Muslim educational institutions were of two types.²¹ *Maktab* (elementary school) and *Madrassah* (institution of higher learning). The content of education imparted in these schools was not the same throughout the country. It was, however, necessary, for every Muslim boy at least to attend a *Maktab* and to learn the necessary portions of the Qur'an required for daily prayers. The curriculum in the *Madrassah* comprised *Hadith* (the study of Muslim traditions), Jurisprudence, literature logic and philosophy and prosody. Later on the scope of the curriculum was widened and such subjects as history, economics, mathematics, astronomy and even medicine and agriculture was also added. Generally all the subjects were not taught in every institution. Selected *Madaris* imparted postgraduate instruction at a number of towns – Agra, Badaun, Bidan, Gulbarga, Delhi Jaunpur and a few others – developed into university centres to which students flocked for study under renowned scholars. The emperors, *amirs* and the Muslim rulers and nobles in the provinces also extended patronage to Persian scholars who came from other parts of Asia under the pressure of Mongol inroads. Delhi vied with Baghdad and Cordoba as an important centre of Islamic culture. Indian language also received some attention. The Muslim rulers of Bengal, for example, engaged scholars to translate the Hindu classics, the Ramayana and Mahabharata, into Bengali. In Mughal India, Muslim education was influenced by religion and most of educational institutions were attached to *Masajids*, *Khanqah* or *Dargahs*. Besides formal education, discussion among scholars and the poetical symposia also greatly contributed to the progress of education. The education was diffused by the three-fold means of (1) schools and

colleges (2) mosques and monasteries (3) private houses typifying three forms of education viz., university, primary and domestic.²²

Education in the Muslim era was not a concerted and planned activity but a voluntary and spontaneous growth. There was no separate administration of education and education was supported by charitable endowments and by lavish provision for the students in a Madrasah or in a monastery. Along with study etiquettes and decorum were necessary part of education of a well-bred youth. Parents, teachers and the society of the time regulated ideas on the subject and here and there were moralists who had laid down principles governing one's conduct in society.

The Mughal Period

Babar was a great scholar in Arabic, Persian and Turki besides being a fastidious critic.²³ His greatest work is his Memoir written in Turkish Language. He also composed a book on prosody entitled 'Mufasnal'.²⁴ Humayun loved to study astronomy and geography and wrote dissertation on the nature of the elements. He used to discuss literary subjects with learned men. He himself was a poet as well. He founded a college in Delhi. One of the most competent professors of this institution was Sheikh Hussain.²⁵ But the credit for organizing education on a systematic basis goes to King Akbar (1542-1605). He opened a large number of schools and colleges for Muslims as well as for Hindus throughout his empire. He also introduced a few curricular changes based on students individual needs and the practical necessities of life. The scope of the curriculum was so widened as to enable every student to receive education according to his religion and views of life. The adoption of Persian as the court language gave further encouragement to the Hindus and the Muslims to study Persian. Akbar also was deeply interested in the promotion of education, founded and richly endowed schools and colleges. Not only were the educational institutions provided with renowned professors, but the entire system of education was reformed. In the first place, the curriculum was so modified as to enable the students to equip themselves intellectually according to their aims and ambition. Secondly the modus operandi of teaching was so improved

that it took comparatively very little time to acquire a fairly decent education. Stipends and scholarships were granted to deserving students and arrangements were made for the free education of poor students. Provisions were also made for the education of Hindi students in Muslim schools and Persian was made compulsory subject for all.

The reign of Akbar enjoys a unique literary and cultural significance because apart from numerous original works written in different fields of learning by eminent scholars and men of letters, several works translated from Hindi, Sanskrit, Turkish and Arabic into Persian were also produced. The production of such valuable translations rendered mainly from Hindi or Sanskrit may be attributed to a particular policy of Akbar, who besides his literary taste and quest for innovations, also wanted to bring about an atmosphere of cultural fusion among the adherents of various religious sects.

His policies ultimately resulted in the setting up of a translation bureau in the Diwan Khana at Fatehpur, these translations of Sanskrit into Persian were a valuable contribution to Persian literature like Singhasn Baitisi, Hayat-al-Kayawan (from Arabic) Athar ban, Mahabharata, Ramayana, Lilavati, Rajatarangini, Mujam Al-Buldan (from Arabic). Just as several books were translated from Sanskrit into Persian, so many books were translated from Arabic and Persian into Sanskrit, Mirza Ulugh Beghi' Almanac, as stated earlier which was a most valued book on astronomy was translated in Sanskrit.²⁶

Akbar was very fond of books and used to listen while others read them. The following books were repeatedly read in front of Akbar.²⁷ Akhlaq-i-Saadat, Qabus Namah, Works of Sharif of Munair, Gulistan, Hadiqah of Hakim Sanai, Jam-i-Jem, Bustan, Shah Namah, Masnawis of Sheikh Nizami, Works of Khusrau and Maulana Jami, Diwan of Khaqani Anwari, and several works on history.

Whenever he could get any new book he used to call the Kitabdar with that book and heard it read. He marked the book as far as he heard at night and began again next day from the place where he had finished last.²⁸ Emperor Akbar paid²⁹ very great attention to education of his

sons and grandsons, and appointed learned man of very high reputation to superintend their studies. Qutbuddin Khan and Abul Rahim Kirza were Salim's tutors. Faizi and Sharif Khan, Murad and Sayyid Khan Chaghtai, Danyal's Murad received instruction in Christian doctrine, and read the new testament with some of the Jesuit Father. The Emperor placed one of his grandson under the tuition of Abul Fazl and a Brahman. He also devoted some of his time meeting with philosophers, Sufis and historians.

While speaking of the schools and colleges of these days, we should not lose sight of the educational work done by distinguished learned men,³⁰ teaching pupils in their houses. They supplemented the educational done by the literary institutions and provided a field for post-collegiate studies. It was thus that Abdul Qadir, the author of 'Tarikh-i-Badauni' completed his education at Agra, where he went with that purpose, leaving his house at Basawa; and there he lived and studied in the house of his preceptor, Mihr Ali Beg. This system of imparting education has been in vogue from remote times specially for those branches of arts and sciences for which schools or colleges generally made no provision, e.g., music painting and other arts, the various studies in the higher branches of a subject and so forth.

In Akbar's reign as also during the reign of his predecessors, promotion of education and building schools and colleges found its supporters in the Emperor alone, but also in private individuals belonging to the nobility or the middle class. A madrasah was built by Kaham Anaga the wet-nurse of Emperor Akbar in the year 1561 A.D. Another college was of Khwajah Muin where he taught for three years from 1571 A.D.³¹

Akbar used to encourage the learned by giving them rewards and stipends. When he conquered Kashmir he showed some learned men of Kashmir this liberality.³² His fame spread far and wide throughout his dominions for his literary encouragement in various ways for which he was served not only by the Muhammadans but also by men of other persuasions. At Fatehpur Sikri, technical education was diffused by the system of apprenticeship. Emperor Jahangir was a man of wide literary

taste. He was not only interested in poetry, architecture, painting but also in botany, zoology and medicine. He patronized Hindu scholars like Jadrup Gosain, Raja Manohan Lal and Bishnu Das. He rewarded many Hindu poets like Buta who was favourite of Jahangir.³³

Jahangir loved learning. It is recorded in the *Tarikh-i-Jan Jahan* that soon after his accession to the throne, he "repaired and reconstructed even those madrasahs which had been for three decades, the dwelling places of birds and beasts and filled them with professors and students.³⁴ One of the twelve clauses of the Rules of conduct promulgated by Jahangir ordained that the property left by the harmless deceased should be used for the repair and reconstruction of moribund madrasah.³⁵

Agra, which in Akbar's time rose high as a centre of education continued in the same state during Jahangir's reign. It is thus described in the *Tuzak* - "the inhabitants of Agra exert themselves greatly in the acquirement of crafts and the search after learning. Various professors of every religion and creed have taken up their abode in the city."³⁶

During the reign of Shahjahan all the educational institutions with their vast endowments by the previous kings, courtiers and private individuals, continued in undiminished prosperity. Besides, we know for certain that he himself added to the existing number of schools and colleges in his Empire. He repaired and reconstructed Dar-ul-Baqa, or the Abode of Eternity - a magnificent madrasah which had been entirely ruined.³⁷ In 1650 he founded the famous Imperial College at Delhi in the vicinity of the historic Jamia Masjid.

Aurangzeb was an eminent educationist. For the widespread diffusion of education he established universities in almost all the important cities of his far-flung Empire and created schools in smallest towns. During his reign, we learn, Delhi, Jaunpur, Sialkot and Thatta were important centres of education.³⁸ His interest in education took after his general policy which aimed at bringing the law into line with the tenets of Islam. During his reign Muslim education made mighty strides and Islamic literature flourished abundantly under his patronage. He enunciated a new theory of what the education of the Royal princes

should be. This theory of imperial education emphasized in brief, the importance of general knowledge, such as a familiarity with the languages of the surrounding nations an acquaintance with the distinguishing features of every nation of the east, its resources and strength; its mode of warfare; its means, religion, form of government, art of war, etc.³⁹ Aurangzeb himself was a writer of high caliber, his letter "Ruggaat Alamgiri" are a specimen of his vast knowledge.

The well-known *madrasah* Franngi Mahal which produced Mullah Nizam-ud-Din and the Bahr-ul-Ulum and a score of divines of distinction was the Dutch building at Lucknow confiscated from the Ditch by Aurangzeb and handed over to a Muslim for the *madrasah*.⁴⁰ He sent orders to Makramat Khan, Diwan of Gujarat, as he did to other Diwans in his dominions, that all students from the lowest to the highest form, those who read the Kizan as well as those who read the Kashshaaf, be given pecuniary help from the state treasury with the sanction of the professors of colleges and of the Sadr of the place. Orders were also sent that three professors in Ahmadabad, Patana and Surat, and forty-five students in Ahmadabad, be added to the existing number. In 1678 he sanctioned a sum of money to repair *madrasahs* in Gujarat. Akramuddin Khan, Sadr also built a college in 1697 A.D. in Ahmadabad at an expense of Rs. 124,000 and asked Aurangzeb for pecuniary help. In response the Emperor gave as Jagirs village Sundra and village Siha.⁴¹

Bernier narrates Aurangzeb's ideas regarding the education of royal princes thus. "No person can be more alive than 'Aurangzeb' to the necessity of storing the minds of princes, destined to rule nations, with useful knowledge, elevation. So ought they, he says to be pre-eminent in wisdom and virtue. He is very sensible that the cause of the misery which afflicts the empires of Asia of their misrule and consequent decay, be sought, and will be found in the deficient and pernicious mode of instructing the children of their king."⁴² Aurangzeb's views on princely education are further illustrated when he is said to have indicated his tutor of the early days who came to meet his pupil on his becoming the Emperor. The Emperor rebuked him for teaching useless things and blamed him for not teaching the art of war, how to besiege a town, or

draw up an army in battle array which formed a necessary part of the education of a prince.⁴³

These views of Aurangzeb reveal his concern for practical and fruitful system of education for the royal princes. He tried to impart such education to his sons to make them able to handle the affairs of the state more effectively.

During the reign of Bahadurshah a college existed at Qanauj. This madrassah was called Fakhrul Marabi. Maulavi Alimuddin and Maulavi Naimuddin completed their education in this institution. During the reign of Mohammad Shah Jai Sing, a Raja of Amber constructed observatories in Jaipur, Ujjain, Mathura, Benaras and Delhi. Hasan Raja Khan, the minister of Asafuddaulah of Oudh, founded a madrassah at Farrukhabad during Shah Alam's reign, Maulana Abdul Wahid Khairabadi was a Professor of that college.⁴⁴ Amir Nizam-ud-Din Khan built a college in Ajmeeri Gate, Delhi, another was built by Khan Feroze. In 1722, during the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shah, Nawab Sharafuddaullah constructed a madrassah and a mosque close to each other.⁴⁵

As far as the education of the royal princes is concerned, it began when they attained the age of five years, and they were handed over to learned men and courteous eunuchs who taught them reading, writing and literary arts. Manuci writes: "The teachers take great care to hinder the princes from acquiring bad habits. Usually to amuse them they have acted before them many comedies or their teachers conduct before them legal argumentations, action of law, or some imbroglio, after which judgements are pronounced. They show them combats and fights and similar things the whole with a view to their having, should they obtain rule, some knowledge of world's business and be able to judge in every matter with discreaments and without passion". He further tells us that even after the marriage of a prince, he was placed under a tutor.⁴⁶

After Akbar's new education policy was adopted for the general education in *Makatibs* and *Madaris*, it got a new dimension.⁴⁷ Akbar ordered that every school boy should first learn to write the letters of the Persian alphabet along with accents and marks of punctuation and also

learn to trace their several forms. He ought to learn the shape and names of each letter, which may be done in two days, when the boys should proceed to write the joined letters. They may be practised for a week, after which the boy should learn some prose and poetry by heart, and then commit to memory some verses to the praise of God or moral sentences.

Higher education was given in the Madrassahs or colleges which were situated in big cities and towns. Abul Fazl refers to the curriculum for higher studies thus:⁴⁸

Every boy ought to read books on moral arithmetic, the notation peculiar to arithmetic, agriculture, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy, household matters, the rules of government, medicine, logic, the Tabii, Siyazi, and Ilahi sciences and history, all of which may be gradually acquired".

Such a variety of subjects gave students an opportunity to choose the subject they wanted. He encouraged the studying of subjects like Astronomy, physics, Arithmetic, poetry and history and these were added to the curriculum.

Secondary education was imparted in *masajid*, *khanqahs* and *dargahs* of celebrated *darwesh* or saints. These institutions were essentially religious in character and the education imparted there included theological and mystical ideas. Primary education was given by the *maktabs* or primary schools. Moslem children began their education at the age of four years, four months and four days. The *maktab* was attached to a mosque and was placed under a *Mullah*. The ceremony of putting a child to a *maktab* was known as *Bismillah Khwani*. The sons of the nobles got their primary education by private tutors.

As regards the curriculum of the elementary schools a novice was taught the alphabet with their correct pronunciations, punctuations and signs of accounts. Afterwards he was made to read and write short sentences. Care was to be taken that he learned to understand everything himself; but the teacher may assist him a little. He then ought for some time to be daily practised in writing a hemistich or a verse and will soon

acquire a current hand. The teacher ought especially to look after five things: (1) knowledge of the letters; (2) meanings of words; (3) the hemistich; (4) the verse; (5) the former lesson. After adopting this method of teaching, a boy learned in a month, or even in a day, what it took others years to understand. Previously the students used to stay at schools for years. Now it took lesser time. Every boy was ought to read books on morals, arithmetic, the notation peculiar to arithmetic, agriculture mensuration, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy household matters, the rules of government, medicine logic, the physical, mathematics and religious sciences and history all were gradually acquired.

After learning the alphabets with accents and marks of punctuation the pupil learned to join letters, to the *Khaliq Bari*, a triglot vocabulary in verse written in one night by the poet Amir Khusro. It is in Persian, Arabic and the Hindi of his age. It is taught without giving the meaning of the text and then with meaning.

A pattern of lessons from *Khaliq Bari* is given below:⁴⁹

"*Khaliq Bari Surjanhar, Wahid ek Bida Kirtar.*" (The Creator, as named by Arabs, Persians and Hindus respectively).

He then proceeded to the *pandnamah* of Sa'adi, which is in verse, and was obviously intended by that great matter for use of children. In this little book more commonly known as the *Karima* (as its first time begins with that word), various vices are condemned, and the virtues are exalted.

After *pandnamah*, the students read the *Gulistan* of Sa'adi, containing lessons on life and manners, in the morning as an exercise chiefly in prose, whilst the afternoon was devoted to the drafting of letters, petitions and if more advanced, he also composed verses for the criticism of his master. This he did long before he studied prosody, first he read without learning the meanings and then with meanings. *Gulistan* is followed by *Bostan*, and the story of *Yusuf Zulekha* by Jami, *Sikandarnamah* by Nizami, *Anvari Suhili* (the Persian version of *Kilila-o-Damna*), and *Behar-Danish*.

The letters of Abul Fazl, addressed to provincial governor or foreign rulers on behalf of emperor Akbar, as also to his friends and relatives furnished the ordinary course in a good Persian school which were a good introduction to further studies or to official employment. Arithmetic was greatly neglected in the ordinary Persian schools but the Arabic numerals, often also the numerical value of the *Abjad* and the peculiar Persian official ciphering of numbers, called *Ruqm* in a special sense, were taught to the great advantage of the future *Munshi*. He then ought for sometimes to be daily practised in writing a hemistich; the verse; the former lesson".⁵⁰

Kashmir, Jaunpur, Lahore, Sialkot, Thatta, Ahmedabad, Burhanpur, Sirhind, Theneshwar, Fatehpur Sikri, and Ambala were important centres of Moslem education. There were famous centres of Moslem learning in Bihar, i.e., Patna, Bihar, Phulwari, Barh, Maner, Bhagalpur etc. In fact in Akbar's time there was no city or town which was without school and colleges. Teachers were given financial aid and ulema were given daily allowances and lands for their living. Many famous teachers are known for their scholarship, i.e., in Sialkot famous scholars of that period were Sialkoti Warasta Mal, Mullah Kamal Sialkoti, Mullah Abdul Hussain Sialkoti and Maulvi Abdullah. In Thatta Sindh, there were four hundred colleges of different subjects in Aurangzeb's time and Makhdum Abdul Qasim Naqshbandi, Makhdum Muhammad Hashim Shah, Abdul Latif Bhalvi, Makhdum Muhammad Zaman Alwari were some of the famous teachers.

In Bengal, Persian, Arabic and Bengali were taught at Primary level. Persian had become so well-established as a language of education, culture and administration that the East India Company found it necessary to continue its use in the administration of the country for about a century more, after their capture of power in 1857. Under the Mughals and the Nawabs Bengal enjoyed political stability continually for a century and a half making it possible for a steady development of art and literature. A new and a very large set of scholars and writers came and settled in Bengal during this period. Many of the Mughal viceroys, officials and generals, somewhat in line with the Mughal princes and princesses, were prolific writers.

The establishment of an almost independent Nizamat in Bengal by Aurangzeb's last viceroy, Murshid Quli Khan, early in the 18th century paved the way for another large influx of learned men and writers from Iran to Bengal, especially because of the trouble in the former country following Nadir Shah's assassination, and of political instability in northern India after Aurangzeb's death. Many nobles and learned men then came and settled in Bengal.

In 1855 there were one lakh primary schools in Bihar and Bengal, where arithmetic, chemistry, medicine, geometry, physics, logic, Astronomy, Law and History were taught.

W.H. Sleeman writes:⁵¹ After his seven years of study the young Mahomedan binds his turban upon a head almost as well filled with the things which ascertain to these three branches of knowledge (grammar, rhetoric and logic). On the faculties and operations of the human mind, on man's passions and affections and his duties in all relations of life, the works of Imam Ghazali, and Niseeruddin, Jansee, Ahiya-e-Ulum, Keemeeai Saadut and Akhlaki Nasree, poems of Saadi, are the great springs of moral instruction from which the Muhammadan delight to drink deep from infancy to old age. The Muhammadans read and taught Persian from religious and social pride and the teachers' seats was almost entirely monopolised by them. The Hindu castes, especially the *Khatri*, to whom official employment was traditional, eagerly frequented the Persian schools. Even when the Koran was also taught to their Mohammadan fellow-pupils, so strong was the *Khatri* feeling in favour of Persian, that they spurned the study of Hindi or Urdu, for their caste tradition was to learn whatever will give them official and political power.

For the teaching of Persian there were Maktabs in villages where both Hindu and Muslim teachers were employed. The latter would naturally be in majority and were called Mianji. The text-books prescribed for elementary education in Persian contained lesson on conversations, letter writing and stories. Emphasis was laid on calligraphy and Persian composition.⁵² To give a practice in reading manuscripts, the teacher had a long roll of about 200 letters to be read by

the students. This was secondary education. After this if the students wanted to continue studies they joined some important centre of education in big cities under the guidance of some eminent scholars. We get a very good account of a typical village *Maktab* and the Persian books being taught in it,⁵³ in *Heer Waris Shah*, who wrote it in the later Mughal period. At least thirty-three names of such books are recorded here which were taught in *maktabs* and *Madrassah* of Punjab.⁵⁴ Leitner also records a list of Persian books and daily lessons taught in the indigenous schools of Punjab at the time of annexation.⁵⁵

Women Education

During the Mughal period, for the education of princess and females of higher classes, separate schools were established. One such school was established by Emperor Akbar in his palace at Fatehpur Sikri. Aurangzeb too, made arrangements for royal ladies to learn the necessary rules and doctrines of Quran.⁵⁶ Manucci also tells that ladies used to read books like the *Gulistan* and the *Bostan* written by Sheikh Saadi Shirazi. Moslem widows generally taught the ladies in their own houses. The education relating to the household affairs was also given to them. Some of the princesses were even distinguished scholars.

There are numerous instances of higher educated women belonging to the royal families and aristocratic classes.⁵⁷ Gul Badeen Begam who wrote the *Humayun Namah* was a highly learned woman. She also collected books for a library of her own. Salma Sultan, the niece of Humayun wrote many Persian poems. Akbar's wet nurse Maham Anaga was well-educated and founded a college in Delhi. Nurjahan the celebrated wife of Jahangir was thoroughly versed in Persian and Arabic literature and carried on the administration of government also. Mumtaz Mahal, the wife of Shahjahan was well versed in Persian and wrote poetry. Shahjahan's eldest daughter Jahanara Begam was also educated and wrote her own epitaph. Zaib-un-Nisa, Aurangzeb's daughter was an educated princess and a calligraphist.

Young girls received their education at home or in the house of some teacher living in close proximity. Sometimes Muslim girls used to

study at primary level together with the boys at a Maktab. As far as the education for Hindu girls is concerned, there are instances to show that sometimes boys and girls read in the same school at least at primary stage of education. From the examples we have cited that the education of the Muhammadan princesses of India was not neglected; and sometimes they showed great progress. Keeping in view the comparative seclusion in which they were placed. These examples must have been followed by the nobility and the higher classes of Muhammadans in India. As far as common people are concerned they used to send their daughters to Maktab schools at least at the primary level.

Libraries

The Mughal emperors were fond of collecting books in their libraries. They had very rich libraries of their own, besides the royal library. The royal library was a very big one which was enriched by every Mughal emperor. Bahar mentions a library of Punjab which belonged to Afghan Ghazi Khan. He sent some of the books from there to his son Humayun and Khusrau. Bahar and his personal library in which he kept selected books of his choice. He loved his books so much that he carried them even in his wanderings, when he was leading the unsettled life of exile. In an encounter the baggage of this ill-starred monarch was plundered by the soldier of Gujarat. In these circumstances the King lost the greatest part of his books which were his veritable companion and which he always carried with him.⁵⁸

Humayun had a great love for learning. Literature, poetry and astronomy were his favourite subjects.⁵⁹ Literary discussions were very often held in his private assembly. He had a number of selected books with him even when he was engaged in the desert of Sind as a fugitive. He was encamped at Cambay,⁶⁰ when a body of forest tribes made a night attack upon his camp and proceeded to plunder it and many rare books were lost. Later Humayun built a library at Shermandal.

Akbar had a love for learning and men of learning and it was the real glory of his reign with all the nine gems in his collection court. Whatever collection he got from ancestors, he increased by addition of a

large number of books which he got from the libraries of Gujarat, Jaunpur, Bihar, Kashmir, Bengal and Daccan, in his conquests.⁶¹ His library was unique in the collection of rare books. It had the Persian Diwan of Humayun Shah. The Library was in the big hall.

Abdur Rahim Khan Khana patronized art and literature and had high class library of his own at Ahmadabad where he was governor of the city in his early career. Everyone was allowed to benefit from it. Abul Fazl writes about the imperial library "His majesty's library is divided into several parts; some of the books are kept within, and some without the Haram. Each part of the library is subdivided, according to the value of the books and the estimation in books treat. Prose books poetical works, Hindi, Persian, Greek, Kashmirian, Arabic are all separately placed. In this order they are also inspected. Experienced people bring them daily and read them before His majesty; who hears every book from the beginning to the end..." Akbar tried his best to enrich his library by collecting valuable books from libraries of Gujarat, Jaunpur, Bihar, Kashmir, Bengal etc.

Emperor Jahangir and Shahjahan were also fond of collecting books in their libraries. Jahangir also gave some books to the Ulema of Gujarat.⁶² Aurangzeb also sent some books from Bijapur after its conquest to the Royal library. Nurjahan had her personal library to which she added books by purchasing them from time to time. Aurangzeb greatly enlarged the Imperial library. Apart from the Imperial library, the nobles also had their own personal libraries. For example, the Royal library of Gujarat, the library of Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khana, Abul Fazl, Faizi, Badauni, Sheikh Farid, Qutb-ul-Mulk, Nawab Ibrahim Khan, Nawab Loharu.⁶³

Salima Sultana, the daughter of Gulrukh Begum and the sister of Humayun was a scholar and a poet, had a personal library of her own. Munim Khan, Governor of Jaunpur, at Akbar's time had a personal library of his own. He had many rare books in his library. Faizi had collected many rare books in his library. The total number of books in his library was four thousand six hundred. All of which were passed to the Imperial library after his death.⁶⁴ There were private libraries as well. In

the later Mughal period Bihar had two libraries – Raja Shitab Rai and Raja Ram Narain's library and Khanqah Abbasi library. In Lucknow there was a Royal library, a Moti Garden library, Farrukh Buksh Mahal library, which was specially formed by the orders of Wajid Ali Shah, and can rightly be called his personal library. Another was Mirza Sulaman Shikhoh's library and his son Shah Alam's library, named Amir Mahal and library Salimpur. At Rohillkhand, there was Nawab Rohila's library. At Barabanki, there was a library at Daryabad and also another library consisting of Jain and Hindu literature. There was a library at Farangi Mahal. Oudh, and another one of Maulana Ma'shuq Ali, and of Mufti Syed Abdul Baqa. At Bilgram there was a library of Qiadi Ab'l Fateh Sheikh and some others. At Bengal there was a library of Mu'in-ud-Daula. There was another at Kakori named Amir Mahal and at Rohillkhand of Nawab Rohila.

There were many people employed in these libraries for the care, upkeep and correction of books, like painters, bookbinders, Darogha-i-Kutub Khana, Translator, Musahkeh or Moderator, Jidwal Saz, Nazim (Librarian). They had their own buildings. In spite of the fact that these were situated in cities and the rural people had no practical advantages from them, they were a great source of learning.⁶⁵

These libraries were well-looked after and they were in good condition but the decay in the kingdom at last had its effect on the libraries also. The Nizam of the libraries were changed quickly which resulted in mismanagement as no Nizam could get any opportunity to survey the library and check what was going wrong with it. The books were heaped in wall Almirahs and shelves in a disorderly manner. The result was that the outgoing librarians whenever they gave over charge, only pointed to the number of books and it was never discovered until later that many of the most valuable books had been removed and ordinary books had been put in their place to make the number complete. Hundreds of volumes bearing Royal seals were later found in the private libraries of India and Europe.⁶⁶

While dwelling on libraries we should not omit to notice how paintings were laid under contribution to beautify and illustrate the books

in the royal library. Persian books in prose and verse were richly illuminated by eminent artists. The Qissah Hamzah in twelve volumes was profusely illustrated by as many as 1400 paintings; and similarly among many others, the following works were embellished, viz., Changiz Namah, Zafar Namah, Iqbal Namah, Razmi Namah (the Mahabharata) Ramayana, Nala Damayanti, Kalilah Damnah (Panchatantra) and the Ayar-e-Danish which was an easy Persian version of the Pan Panchantra. Ingenious artists were employed to embellish the margins of books and much labour was expended upon the bindings.⁶⁷

Indo-Persian literature can equally be proud of the production of some valuable lexicons composed during the long span of about 300 years of Muslim rule in India. The Mughal rule that was destined to play a glorious role both in the political and cultural history of the subcontinent, witnessed masterly achievement in practically each and every field of literary activity and consequently, studies in lexicography were no exception to this general rule. The 16th and 17th century enjoy extra pre-eminence for the production of some first rate lexicons. For example: Tuhfal-al-Saadat or Farhang-i-Sikandari, Farhang-i-Shirkhani. Muaiyid al Fudala. Kashf al Lughat Wal Istilahat, Majmua al Lughat. Madar al Afadil.⁶⁸ A book of Persian poems by Sialkoti Mal Warasta was also published.⁶⁹

Conclusion

During the Mughal period special attention was paid to the extension of education. The curriculum of Sanskrit and Persian education and the system of education was almost of the same all over the provinces of the subcontinent that is why a general analysis of the education of that period has been done. The Mughal Emperors patronized education by giving scholarships to the students and financial aid to the teachers all over the country.

The literary taste of the Mughal Emperors of India and their patronage of learning are well-known. Babar's charming autobiographical memoirs are not only a source of history but also constitute a document of deep human interest in astronomy. His memoirs

are reckoned in particular among the most enthralling and romantic works in the literature of all times. His general reading was wide and included Firdausi's *Shah Nama*, the *Mathnavi* of Jalal-ud-Din Rumi and poems of Nizami, the ethics of Sa'adi and the allegories of his contemporary Jami whom Babar considered unrivalled.

Humayun was very fond of Persian and Arabic literature and carried a select library during his expeditions. Sher Shah Suri knew by heart *Sikandar Nama* and Sa'adi's *Gulistan* and *Bostan*. Akbar was interested in the *Akhlaq-i-Nasiri*, *Kimiya-i-Saadat*, *Qabus Nama*, the work of Sheikh Sharaf-ud-Din of Maner and in Saadi's *Gulistan* and *Bostan*, Firdausi's *Shah Nama*, Nizami's *Mathnavis*, the work of Khusrau and Jami and *Diwans* of Khaqani and Anwari.

Akbar established a number of schools in different parts of the country. He also introduced a number of reforms in the elementary education. He patronized a number of translation works from Hindi to Persian, for example, the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana*, the *Haribamsa*, etc., Hindu scholars were also employed to assist in the task of translation. Akbar patronized scholars of various disciplines, both Hindus and Muslims. Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khana, Dodar Mal, Manohar, Raja Askaran were some of the scholars who enjoyed royal patronage.

The innovations and improvements that were introduced by Akbar were the outcome of the liberal heart of the Emperor, which made its influence felt in so many other directions. He was sincerely eager to further the education of the Hindus and Muhammadans alike, studying in the same schools and colleges. A college at Fatchpur Sikri, a college at Delhi, which was residential, and several madrassahs in Agra were built where several professors were brought from Shiraz. Akbar ordered various Hindu classics and histories translated into Persian. In addition, a number of Greek and Arabic works were translated into Persian. Literary activities did not entirely cease even in the troubled days of later rulers. Men of letters were patronized by such emperors as Bahadur Shah and Mohammad Shah and by various regional officials and landlords.

Emperor Jahangir was a man of wide literary taste. He was not only interested in poetry, architecture, painting but also in Botony, Zoology

and Medicine. He patronized Hindu scholars like Jadrup Gosain, Raja Manohar Lal and Bishnu Das. He rewarded many Hindu poets like Buta who was the favourite of Jahangir. He paid high prices for old books.

Emperor Shahjahan, also extended royal patronage to poets, scholars and artists. His son Prince Dara Shikho was a great scholar, wrote many high class books, including Persian translation of the Upanishads, the Bhaqvad Geeta, the Ramayana and various works on Sufi religion and philosophy. His court was always filled with famous scholars.

Emperor Aurangzeb was particularly interested in the patronage and promotion of Moslem education. He founded a number of schools and colleges. He patronized Hindi poets like Birdas, Bhushan, Brinda etc. The Emperor also patronized Hindi scholars of Persian language. For example, Bhim Sen who wrote a very valuable contemporary history of Aurangzeb's reign entitled Nuskha-i-Dilkhusha enjoyed royal patronage under Aurangzeb.

Akbar's education policy was followed by Jahangir and Shahjahan but Aurangzeb stressed to give education to Muslims. On the whole education and educational institutions flourished in urban areas. The urban people gained the benefits but this education was neither accessible nor beneficial for the rural people. The system of examination was very simple. The teacher was the sole judge of student's capabilities. The students did not have to pass many examinations to go to next class. The teacher examined his moral standards, educational attainments and practical wisdom and promoted him to the next class. There were residential schools where the students spent ten or twelve years of their early lives, studying under their several teachers. Discussions between the teachers and the pupils formed an important method of teaching. Such debates and discussions also served the purpose of judging a pupil's merit. There was a very difficult test to judge a pupil's merit which was in vogue in Bengal. In this system the examinee was required to examine a manuscript and after doing it a needle was passed through a word of the manuscript and gradually the whole book was pierced. The examinee had to recall through what words of each page the needle was

passed. Emperor Aurangzeb took particular interest in the education of Bohra community in Gujarat and ordered for monthly examination to be held among them.

There was free interaction between the teacher and the taught, and the relationship between them was generally very affectionate. Teachers were only involved in academic activities and not in any other business. Badauni tell us about a teacher who devoted his entire life in writing valuable books. He even gave his entire subsistence allowance to the payment of a number of scribes who were employed to prepare copies of valuable books for their distribution among students. Vocational education was imparted through a system of apprenticeship either in the house of *Ustads* (teachers) or in Karkhanahs. There were several distinctive features of Muslim education.

The education was democratized. As in mosque, so in a maktab or madrassah, all were equal and the principle was established that the poor should also be educated. Muslim rule influenced the system of elementary education of Hindus, which had to accommodate itself to changed circumstances by adopting a new method of learning and by using textbooks full of Persian terms and references to Muslim usage.

The Muslim period brought in many cultural influences from abroad. The courses of Studies were both widened and brought under a humanistic influence. Muslim rule produced a cross-cultural influence in the country through the establishment of an educational system in which Hindus and Muslims could study side by side and in which there would be compulsory education in Persian, cultivation of Sanskrit and Hindi, and translation of great classics of literature. It led to the development of a common medium of expression, Urdu, which was patronized by Sufis and Saints and was spoken in Delhi, Punjab, Gujarat and Daccan.

The impact of Persian language and literature during the Mughal Period can be felt not only on Urdu and Hindi but also on the local languages like Sindhi, Punjabi, Baluchi, Pashto, Bengali, etc. Many new words were added in these languages, as well as a number of folklores, mystic philosophy and other branches of knowledge were introduced. In

India Persian language was also Indianized by the affect of the local languages.

The Muslim system, however, proved ultimately harmful. In the early stages genuine love of learning attracted students to the cultural centres, but later on whole system became stagnant and stereotyped as soon as cultural communication was cut off from the outside world because of political disturbances and internecine wars. The Indian teachers were reduced to dependence on their own resources, and a hardening tradition that became increasingly unreceptive to new ideas reduced the whole process to more routine. In the later Mughal period secular education was replaced by religious education which was a blow to it and made its scope limited.

The education of this period resembled ancient Indian education to a great extent. There were great centres of learning; the monitorial system was used, and people were preoccupied with theology and the conduct of life, but the curriculum selected was such that it had no relationship with the emerging and evolving social problems, that was why the people could not understand the process of decay of the society; nor could they evaluate the importance of change in the education system. The study of outdated subjects and worn-out philosophies made the people backward.

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Dynamics of Urban Development in Bangladesh : A Study

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Introduction

Growth of urbanization to unmanageable dimensions has led to formidable urban crisis with a score of human problems. The entire pattern of urban life has assumed an ominous shape. It puts severe strains on City Corporation and public utilities to provide adequate public service and to conduct day-to-day functions smoothly. The challenge of the new millennium vis-à-vis the inadequacy of institutional arrangement is itself a cardinal problem of urban development.

Amidst contemporary challenges of modern complicated living pattern, government has been faced with the Herculean task of national reconstruction and the operational or institutional set-ups. Organizational efficiency depends inter alia on efficient public policy with well-defined development strategies. What urban development authorities intend to do or not to do tend to affect favorably or adversely the entire community life.

As a matter of fact several components of public administration actually work their way through development intervention, which includes a large measures of development programs. Urban development is one of the important substantive policy areas that deserve special consideration.

Urbanization

Urbanization with modern system of human interaction and pattern of human settlement appears to be a veritable mark of civilization. We can argue that urban development in metropolitan areas and small towns is coterminous with modernization, social enlightenment and human

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achievement. Such parameters of development help us to perceive the level of civilization. In modern times monopoly capitalism, industrialization, annihilation of indigenous base and institutions having superimposition of external culture and the wave of westernization with dominant modern elements are thought to be the potent factors influencing the entire mould of community life and orientations to the pathway of development. Holton (1986) has portrayed life pattern of the western world operating with sophisticated techniques and forces of civilization within the methodological perspective of urbanists theories with emphasis on urban centers and the development of western civilization. Having cited his views it is worthwhile to comment that urban development is synonymous with westernization thus resembling the dynamics of development in the wake of capitalistic mode of production, market economy, machine intensive technology and service sector that serve the vested interest of tycoons and dominant policy actors (Holton, 1986). This is the way urbanization in developing countries operates as a symbol of cosmopolitanism. It generates urban settlement as a suitable abode of the urbanites that represent distinct cultural patterns of different regions.

There is much concern for development of urban sector with a package of programmatic measures. The relentless growth of urban population calls for proper policy intervention with the consideration of the key elements of development. As a matter of fact the "persistent growth of urban population results in very large number of urban population, estimated at 37 million for the year 2000 and 68 million in 2015" (Islam, 1994: 4; Original information has been cited from – World Bank, 1985). Table-1 shows world urban population in general and urban population in developed and developing countries, in particular from 1950-2025.

Table -1
Urban Population in Developed and Developing Countries, 1950-2025

| Years (est) | Developed Countries | | Developing Countries | | World Total | |
|-------------|---------------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|
| | Urban Pop (m) | % of Total Pop | Urban Pop (m) | % of Total Pop | Urban Pop (m) | % of Total Pop |
| 1950 | 447 | 53.8 | 287 | 17.0 | 734 | 29.2 |
| 1960 | 571 | 60.5 | 460 | 22.2 | 1032 | 34.2 |
| 1970 | 698 | 66.6 | 673 | 25.4 | 1371 | 37.1 |
| 1980 | 798 | 70.2 | 966 | 29.2 | 1764 | 39.6 |
| 1990 (est) | 877 (est) | 72.5 | 1357 (est) | 33.6 | 2234 | 42.6 |
| 2000 (est) | 950 (est) | 74.4 | 1904 (est) | 39.3 | 2854 | 46.6 |
| 2010 (est) | 1011 (est) | 76.0 | 2612 (est) | 46.2 | 3623 | 51.8 |
| 2020 (est) | 1063 (est) | 77.2 | 3425 (est) | 53.1 | 4488 | 57.4 |
| 2025 (est) | 1087 (est) | 77.8 | 3845 (est) | 56.5 | 4932 | 60.1 |

In recent years the movement of rural population coupled with the emergence of new locations for socio-economic activities serves as a catalyst to sharpen urbanization. Urbanization in developing countries is taking place at a faster rate. "The rate of urbanization of developing countries is much faster than that experienced by the developed countries.

Growth of urbanization in recent years is reported to be phenomenal. The mechanical development of transport and communication, expansion of trade and commerce, network of modern information technology and social mobilization have shown potentials of urbanization with the accentuation of movement from various rural pockets to prospective urban areas. We can safely contend that urbanization has shown upward trend in every successive census in Bangladesh. This is evidenced from the data presented in table -2.

Table - 2
Intercensal Growth Rate of Urban Population 1901-1991

| Census Year | Total Urban Pop (Million) | Urban Pop. as percentage of total Pop (i.e. Level of Urbanization) | Decadal Increase of Urban Pop (%) | Annual (Exponential) Growth Rate of Urban Population (%) |
|-------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| 1901 | 0.70 | 2.43 | — | — |
| 1911 | 0.80 | 2.54 | 14.96 | 1.39 |
| 1921 | 0.87 | 2.61 | 8.85 | 0.84 |
| 1931 | 1.07 | 3.01 | 22.20 | 2.00 |
| 1941 | 1.54 | 3.66 | 43.20 | 3.59 |
| 1951 | 1.83 | 4.34 | 18.38 | 1.58 |
| 1961 | 2.64 | 5.19 | 45.11 | 3.72 |
| 1974 | 6.00 | 8.87 | 137.57 | 6.70 |
| 1981 | 13.56 | 15.54 | 115.76* | 10.97* |
| 1991 | 22.45 | 20.15 | 65.56 | 5.50 |

(ISLAM, 1998:7)

* A major component of change being redefinition of urban areas
Consequent upon the pattern of national development, human settlement in urban center has considerably increased. Urban agglomeration in metropolitan areas and small towns is clear from table-3 listing urban centers in Bangladesh.

Table-3
Population of Major Urban Center (Megacity, SMAs and Towns) in Bangladesh 1991

| Urban Center (Municipality) | Population | Urban Center (Municipality) | Population |
|-----------------------------|------------|-----------------------------|------------|
| (Dhaka Megacity* | 6950920 | Chuadanga | 65562 |
| Chittagong SMA* | 2079968 | Bagerhat | 49079 |
| Khulna SMA* | 1016140 | Jhenaidaha | 69366 |
| Rajshahi SMA* | 549350 | Kurthia | 79877 |
| Jamalpur | 103556 | Satkhira | 80625 |
| Mymensingh | 188713 | Chandpur | 84669 |
| Tangail | 106004 | Cox's Bazar | 53825 |
| Brahmanbaria | 109032 | Noakhali | 75295 |
| Sylhet | 117398 | Habibganj | 41244 |
| Comilla | 135313 | Maulvibazar | 37556 |
| Jessore | 139710 | Sunamganj | 29591 |
| Barisal | 170230 | Faridpur- | 73862 |
| Bogra | 120170 | Kishoreganj | 64575 |
| Dinajsal | 127815 | Munshiganj | 45320 |
| Noagaon | 101266 | Netrakona | 45674 |
| Nowabganj | 130577 | Sherpur | 67316 |
| Pabna | 103277 | Lalmonirhat | 50980 |
| Rangpur | 191398 | Natore | 50521 |
| Gaibandha | 43765 | Sirajganj | 107902 |
| Kurigram | 62998 | Feni | 31360 |
| Monglaport | 57751 | | |

(BBS, 1994)

Urban Development

Urban center is thought to be the nucleus of development activities. Civilian working forces have come to reside in urban centers for diverse employment opportunities. They contribute to the process of urban civilization through their working abilities and potentials.

Urban development has taken place in mega city, Statistical Metropolitan Areas (SMA), district headquarters, thana headquarters, and standard market places. The city dwellers from all walks of life enjoy the pleasure of urban life with modern amenities of life. At times they face hazardous and perilous modern industrial civilization in urban areas. Urban life is modern with mechanical system of transport and communication, electrification, installation of gas, sewage and drainage, water supply management etc.

Urbanization should be conceived in a desirable manner with the projection of planned city within a broad policy framework that includes a comprehensive package of programs for proper management of urban development. Urbanization without proper planning is a misdirected development with piecemeal and disjointed efforts. As Jayasree states:

The rapid pace of urbanization has led to the growth of cities at varying rates and without a design resulting in unplanned spatial development and growth of slums. This has become a challenging phenomenon for urban development. Urban development is expected to provide essential services in an area. But it is found that the process has become more and more complex needing adequate attention which includes physical development of the city (Jayasree, 1986:61).

In Bangladesh institutional arrangement for urban development is characterized by democratic structure like city corporation in metropolitan area and pourshava in mofashawl (non-metropolitan) district or thana headquarter. Apart from this various agencies of central government and development authorities exist as important institutions.

Contemporary trends in urban development with reference to Bangladesh have been reflected in a number of studies (Chaudhury, R.H., 1980; GOB, 1996; Islam, 1990, 1998; Islam (ed.), 1978, 1994, 1996; Ahmed, 1996; Khanum, 1982; Rajbangshi, 1986; Faizullah, 1989). We are in position to pin down the characteristics of urban development drawn upon insights from authoritative studies.

In Bangladesh city corporation, pourshvas, development authorities and various agencies of central government as well as NGOs and private sectors are involved in the development process so far as urbanization and urbanism are concerned.

RAJUK (Rajdhani Unnayan Karticpakha meaning city development authority) in Dhaka, CDA (Chittagong Development Authority) in Chittagong, KDA (Khulna Development Authority) in Khulna, and RDA (Rajshahi Development Authority) in Rajshahi are the city development authorities concerned with urban planning with a patterned and systematic spatial development. They have to manage planned residential development with the power to oversee that construction of houses is done as per the prescribed rules and regulations.

Services in connection with full development of community life are a matter of authoritative allocation of infrastructural facilities and extension services. In a nutshell the diverse public institutions share a vast array of development functions and promotional services. Currently NGO sector has joined development functions with its inherent style of functioning.

The whirlpool of cosmopolitanism changing aspiration of the city dwellers has deeply effected the dispersing authorities. There are new demands for amenities and services. Contrarily complicated life pattern in urban areas with stress and strains and the stake of competition has become bafflingly challenging problem. Besides, the challenges of the forthcoming years necessitate competent institutional structure to prove equal to the task.

Viewed in this perspective, with renewed vision, functioning of urban development has assumed a new dimension. Urbanization in a

comprehensive manner necessitates large measures of development action. Development action includes among others the following indices:

1. Proper physical development of the city with construction of buildings, roads, improved highways, bridges, terminal, gas line, power stations and sub-stations, telecommunication centers modern information technologies with computer and commercial clusters;
2. Planned spatial development with new locations for the construction of residential buildings;
3. Traffic management;
4. Maintenance of streets;
5. Provision of water supply;
6. Rehabilitation of the destitute;
7. Improvement of drainage and construction of embankment;
8. Planned city development with residential buildings, school, super market and community centers;
9. Social development;
10. Environment;
11. Human settlement;
12. Decentralization of urbanization;
13. Location for hawkers market;
14. Improvement in urban governance.

Let us illustrate some of the areas of urban development that have figured out prominently in recent policy dialogue.

Urban well-planned residential patterns have received attention of urban policy-makers. This area of development is understood to be the important functions shared by urban development authorities, public corporation, Public Works Department (PWD) and NGOs.

Table - 4

Dwelling households by material of wall of the main structure

| LOCALITY AND WALL MATERIAL | MATERIAL OF ROOF | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------|
| | Total Households | Straw/Bamboo Polythene | Tiles/C.I. Metal Sheet | Cement |
| Municipality Area | | | | |
| Total Households | 1937590 | 449828 | 970999 | 516763 |
| Straw/Bamboo | 748360 | 379675 | 368685 | — |
| Mud/Unburnt Brick | 166363 | 45917 | 120446 | — |
| C.I./Metal Sheet | 175070 | 6193 | 168877 | — |
| Wood | 27076 | 7325 | 19751 | — |
| Cement/Brick | 820721 | 10718 | 293240 | 516763 |
| Other Urban Area | | | | |
| Total Households | 1608333 | 572136 | 917508 | 118689 |
| Straw/Bamboo | 768111 | 415201 | 352910 | — |
| Mud/Unburnt Brick | 361111 | 133785 | 227326 | — |
| C.I./Metal Sheet | 210139 | 8619 | 201520 | — |
| Wood | 37582 | 10877 | 26705 | — |
| Cement/Brick | 231390 | 3654 | 109047 | 118689 |

(BBS, 1997)

Residential pattern with material used for the construction of houses is shown in Table-4. Many houses in urban areas are built with cement and bricks. Low-income groups have houses built with bamboo, tin and tiles. In Dhaka and Chittagong most houses are brick built. There are residential enclaves dotted with posh buildings, modern apartments and commercial centers. Table-5 shows the list of some prominent private house building and land development companies in the capital city.

Private Companies have come forward to construct apartments for possession by the customers who have made down payments and are ready to repay loans accordingly.

High-rise apartments have been springing up leading to vertical growth of residential-cum-commercial buildings. This ongoing development process represents a new living style in cities. Alongside with this recent urbanization pattern in big cities is the mushroomed growth of super markets, shopping complexes and shopping malls. Ground floor of some high-rise buildings situated near the main road is used for accommodation of small shopping centers with various stores, decorated garment houses and modern stalls for refreshment, tea and ice-cream.

Table - 5
List of Prominent Urban Land Developers and High-Rise
Apartment Builder Companies Bangladesh
(Capital City Based).

| Name of Land Developer and Builder | Apt. Builder/ Land Developer | Example of the project |
|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ABC Real Estates Ltd. | Apt. Builder | Paradise, Crescent Vila, Green Valley |
| Advanced Development Technology Ltd. | Apt. Builder | La Cassandra, Spring Scarlet etc. |
| Al-Hasan Developers Ltd. | Apt. Builder | Holly Heaven, Holly Hamlet |
| Amin Mohammad Land Development Ltd. | Land Developer | Green Model Town, Ashulia Model Town. |
| Anower Land Mark Ltd. | Apt. Builder | Anower Tower |
| Apartment Design & Development Ltd. | Apt. Builder | Add Green |
| Asset Development & Holding Ltd. | Apt. Builder | Esperanza, Sun Lake Sapphire |
| BARC Consortium Ltd. | Land Developer | Rajdhancee Prskalpo |
| Bashati Consortium Ltd. | Apt. Builder | Green Hamlet, Bashati Camellia etc. |
| Building Technology & Ideas Ltd. | Apt. Builder | Sierra View, Spring Leaf, Aurora, etc. |
| Building for Future Ltd. | Apt. Builder | Verbena |
| Concord Real Estate & Building | Apt. Builder | Concord Tower |
| Confidence Builders Ltd. | Apt. Builder | Confidence Center |
| Dinno Builders Ltd. | Apt. Builder | DOM-inno Sorrel |
| East West Property Development Pvt. Ltd. | Land Developer | Basundhara |
| Eastern Housing Ltd. (Land) | Land Developer | Atab Nagar |
| Garden View Consortium | Shopping Mall | Metro Shopping Mall |
| Globe Construction Ltd. | Apt. Builder | Globe Center, Globe Nibasha etc. |
| Grameen Bangla Housing Ltd. | Land Developer | Grameen City - Ashulia |
| Lahaid Properties Ltd. | Apt. Builder | Lake View, Shourav, Mitalee |
| Metro Makers and Developers Ltd. | Land Developer | Madhumoti Model Town |
| Mohammedee Housing Ltd. | Land Developer | Nobi Nagar Project |
| Nagar Homes Ltd. | Apt. Builder | Nagar Chayaneeer, Nagar Abloom |
| Navana Real Estate Ltd. | Apt. Builder & Land Developer | Navana Sky View Navana Paradise Navana Village (Ashulia Project) etc. |
| PNS Builders Ltd. | Apt. Builder | PNS Homes |
| Rupayan Real Estate Ltd. | Apt. Builder | Rupayan View, Rupayan Palace, Rupayan Legend, Easel Heaven etc. |
| Rangs Properties Ltd. | Apt. Builder | Rangs Anamika, Rangs Taj Tower etc. |
| Russell Logs Holding Ltd. | Apt. Builder | Russell Center |
| Sheltech | Apt. Builder | Sheltech Niribily, Sheltech Startlet etc. |
| South Breeze Housing Ltd. | Apt. Builder | South Pride, South Lake. |
| Suvastu Development Ltd. | Apt. Builder | Suvastu Kabereer, Suvastu Rahat Vila etc. |
| Tropical Homes Ltd. | Apt. Builder | VIP Tower |
| The Structural Engineers Ltd. | Apt. Builder | Elephant Glory, Cherry Blossom etc. |
| Unitech Holding Ltd. | Apt. Builder | Jalochaya, Bakul-tala Complex |
| Urban Design & Development Ltd. | Apt. Builder | Urban Cherry, Urban Delight |
| Uttara Model Estate Ltd. | Apt. Builder | Uttara Land View, Uttara Nibash |

Steps have been taken to build up suitable houses for the middle and low-income service-holders. Most urban service-holders in large

cities use the houses of landlords on rental basis. Low cost housing schemes fit well in the affordability of middle and low-income groups. Financial resources are channeled through House Building Finance Corporation, several house building sectors and private builders.

Another aspect of development in housing sector relates to gradual replacement of slums and squatter settlement by better residential quarters for the poor and the destitute. The scheme for human settlement with a proper land use and land development intended to provide for accommodation for the poor has received favorable consideration.

Various institutions both public and private have come up to play facilitator's role in housing settlement by providing access to housing materials, housing loans under special financing system for the low and middle income groups. NGOs like BRAC, Prosika have prepared housing development scheme for the slum improvement, upgrading, relocation and rehabilitation. Institutional supports in various forms such as acquisition of land, low price for possession and tax holidays are given to those who invest money on housing development for the poor.

Social development includes a package of sub-sectors like education, health, sanitation, cultural advancement and law and order. Public institutions and agencies do not seem to play an effective role because of shortage of funds. Allocation must be congruent with requirement of social development. It is important that massive financial support under technical assistance programs be given to the institutions expanding and integrating various social services. Active role of private sector in these matters deserves mention.

There are various agencies to take care of social development activities. As educational development paves for cultural enlightenment as well as social advancement public bodies and various offices of the Ministry of Education are responsible for institutional development with emphasis on secular education, science and technology. The role of NGO is no less significance. The growth of educational institutions with necessary physical facilities and manpower is a sign of social development. Table-6 shows year-wise backup of primary and secondary educational institutions in urban areas.

Table - 6
Primary and Secondary Schools in Urban area of Bangladesh
(1990-1996)

| YEAR | NUMBER OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS | NUMBER OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS |
|---------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1990-91 | 3657 | 1937 |
| 1991-92 | 4015 | 1896 |
| 1992-93 | 3806 | 2177 |
| 1993-94 | 4464 | 2015 |
| 1994-95 | 4002 | 2273 |
| 1995-96 | 3958 | 2260 |

(BBS, 1997: 548 & 558)

Mentionable is the fact that mega-city and Statistical Metropolitan Areas (MSAs) have a large number of schools and colleges. Centers for higher education at the university level and research institutes have flourished in large cities to promote intellectual stimulation and human resource development for policy analysis and advocacy.

Outgrowth of capital-intensive educational institutions like English medium primary, secondary and higher secondary schools has been observed with a note of apprehension. These expensive institutions suiting immense affordability of the affluent section is an indication of uneven development to sharpen social discrimination.

Public health as a social development package is an activity area shared by City Corporation, pourshava (municipality) and several agencies – public and private, are entrusted with the responsibility of development administration with regard to health-hygiene sanitation and family planning services. The role of City Corporation in large cities includes among other things: supply of safe drinking water, establishment of public dispensaries, provision of public urinals and latrines, prevention of infectious diseases and epidemics and regulation of sanitary buildings (Begum & Hasan, 1997).

Apart from City Corporation various agencies of central government look after the health of the citizens in the city with the measures of controlling the outbreak of epidemic, prevention against the

spread of contagious diseases, provision of health service for the poor, maternity clinic, concientization about family planning, child care, immunization, use of vitamin, nutrition program and overall aspect of sanitation and cleanliness. Among other things health administration regulates supply of medicine and drugs produced by various pharmaceutical laboratories and companies.

In cities and major towns private clinics, voluntary health service and charitable dispensaries contribute to health development. Expensive health services and facilities in private clinic and dispensaries run by the renowned medical practitioners are far beyond the reach of the poor. On the other hand, health service rendered by the charitable clinic is minimal. Voluntary organizations are giving lip service so far as public health is concerned.

The city is the seat of cultural development. Plenty of organizations like Bangla Academy, Shilpakala Academy, Nazrul Academy, Mohila Mancha, Shusu Academy, Udhichy, Khela Ghor, Chyanot, Bhisya Shahitha Kendra Drama Club, Music Club, Theater Stage etc., have come up to fulfil expectation of city dwellers for creating a congenial cultural environment full of artistic and aesthetic values.

Fantastic growth of clubs and community centers reflects recent trend in cultural development (see Table-7). Community centers have been established by the tycoons with commercial motives. They are venues for various social functions and cultural meeting, marriage ceremony, tea party and music.

Besides, numerous Leo Lion and Rotary clubs are available at various important city-points. Driven by paternalistic desires the tycoons and stalwarts (elite class) mobilize commercial activities for wider social reputation. These clubs are committed to playing a vital role in serving the city dwellers with various human terrain projects like blood donation, family planning, maternity, eye treatment, children care, tree plantation etc. Atleast theoretically stretch helping hand to disaster prone areas during occasional visits.

Table-7
List of Some Prominent Community Centers & Clubs
in Dhaka and Chittagong

| NAME | LOCATION |
|-----------------------------------|------------|
| 1. Al-Habib Community Centre | Dhaka |
| 2. Al-Noor Community Centre | — |
| 3. Mohon Community Centre | — |
| 4. Falcon House | — |
| 5. Party Centre | — |
| 6. Party Centre | — |
| 7. Prianka Community Centre | — |
| 8. Sagor Community Centre | — |
| 9. Shoga Community Centre | — |
| 10. Dhaka Club | — |
| 11. Tgulshan Club | — |
| 12. Uttara Club | — |
| 13. Uttara Club | — |
| 14. Uphar Community center | Chittagong |
| 15. Shamabesh Community center | — |
| 16. Utshab Community center | — |
| 17. Autithe Community center | — |
| 18. Shanie Community center | — |
| 19. Royal Garden Community center | — |
| 20. City Garden Community center | — |
| 21. Tilka Garden Community center | — |
| 22. Kishalaya Community center | — |
| 23. Marriage Garden | — |
| 24. Ladies Club | — |
| 25. Chittagong Club | — |

Maintenance of law and order appears to be the function of metropolitan police administration. In major urban areas maintenance of law and order has become a difficult task in view of the abnormal growth of terrorism. The policy-makers conceive modernization of police administration with adequate physical facilities. They are realizing the need for community policing by voluntary participation in order to wipe out anti-social and miscreants around the city.

Another significant development is all-out measures for controlling environmental pollution caused by industrial waste, domestic waste,

traffic emission and garbage, dirty swamps and drainage affected by massive use of polythene. Another scheme of development is urban plan with open space, greeneries, water bodies, park, playground, children park, supper market, vegetable market and community centers. Beautification of cities with plantation, road, pavement, footpath and fly-over is another objective of development.

Pollution free urban development is a case in point now-a-days. Planned urbanization for beautification of cities is meaningless without reference to environmental consideration fraught with concern for pollution free urban development. The present government is found to be instrumental in gradually removing polythene bags that are used by the shopkeepers and vegetable vendors for the sale of household commodities and foods. Upto 20-micron thin polythene bags are to be replaced by jute and cotton bags as carriers of daily necessities. Besides paper made thin and thick packets are to be used as packing materials.

The present government is planning to amend Bangladesh Environmental Conservation Act 1995 to ban production, marketing and use of all types of polythene shopping bags. "Ten years imprisonment and Tk. 10 lakh fine for production and marketing of poly-bags and fine of upto Tk. 500. and trial by mobile courts for their use have been proposed in the amendments" – (*The Daily Star*, February 28, 2002: p. 1). The government is led by the realization that poly-bag is a menacing hazard for the healthy city. "It does not dissolve in water or perish in soil so it remains in the earth for years. It blocks the city drainage and sewerage system causing waterlogging." (Yousuf, 2002).

Another measure of pollution free urban development is the eradication of twenty years old vehicles plying around the cities that cause air pollution by producing black smock containing toxic chemical contents likes CO, CO₂, PbO and NO. Three wheelers run by two-stroke engines are considered improper means of city transport with defective running conditions and shabby look. It is important that they should gradually disappear. Instead, new shape three wheel baby-taxi (auto-rickshaw) with CNG (Compressed Natural Gas) will be used for city-transport. The old auto-rickshaw will be converted in CNG. Extremely

old three-wheelers must be washed out from August 2002 and cease to operate in the capital city. The government will not permit any motor vehicles without catalytic converters to be on city roads. This is to reduce air pollution. "The transport owners must also collect pollution control certificates after fitting their vehicles with converters or diesel particulate filters" – (*The Daily Star*, March 1, 2002: P.11)

The government has thus evinced keen interest in pollution free urbanization. It has passed executive order in this connection. Realizing that efficient institutional intervention with the stated objectives warrants community participation the government organized advocacy groups with social and political actors. This is considered to be a new social movement intended to create awareness among the citizens about the menacing effects of using polythene bag and old vehicle.

Among others for environmental protection include relocation of tanneries to appropriate places, stern action against those responsible for removal of soil from hills and strict adherence to the relevant law relating to brick kilns – (*The Daily Star*, March 1, 2002: p. 11).

Decentralization of urbanization through planned and accelerated growth of secondary cities and new locations for spatial arrangement is the latest fashion of development intervention. This is intended to reduce migration flow that creates accommodation problem in large cities. Rural urbanization with modern social service and employment opportunities is stimulated by decentralization of urbanization. Now-a-days this is an important theme of urban development. This aspect of urban development is highlighted in a host of studies (Chowdhury, A. I., 1989; Faizullah, 1989 & Khan, 1994).

In the jargon of urban development urban governance is a new concept that indicates reorientation and new realization in the development processes. So recent concern of the policy-maker is to formulate appropriate policy for urban governance. What is emerging in the recently is that urban development is meaningless. Considering that urban governance without suitable policy objectives is a ship without rudder. It is obligatory on the part of national government to define its

perspective of policy intervention. National urbanization policy should include the objective, like "the full development of the national resources of the country; the maintenance of national cohesion among various regions, particularly in the case of very large disparities in per capita output among regions; the prevention or correction of excessive concentration of economic activities within the capital region; and the more efficient and more equitable management of growth within cities (Renaud, 1981).

Conclusion

Notwithstanding this remarkable achievement in urbanization a lot remain to be done in view of the challenges that may crop up in the years to come. What is important is the involvement of intellectual community in the field of academic research. They are expected to build research inputs and to provide policy recommendation for institution building and social development at the urban level.

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Balochistan Under Bhutto: Center-Province Relations (1971-1977)

SAMINA AWAN*

Introduction

This paper will take an overview of different aspects of center-province relations of Balochistan during the time of Pakistan People's Party government (1971-1977). This was the period when Baluch population introduced itself to the 'democratic system' of government and 1st assembly was formed in the province. This experience came to an end when Bhutto dismissed the provincial government after a year. The view points of both parties will be discussed, as analysed by different writers. The Bhutto's image as a political leader in this respect will be discussed in the paper. The Baluch nationalism had a deep impact on the political scenario of the early 'democratic Balochistan' and it will be mentioned in the paper.

Balochistan is the western most of the four provinces of Pakistan. This is the largest and least populated area of Pakistan. Col. Sir Thomas Holdich, the great geographer and author of *The Gates of India* describes it as a "brazen coast" washed by a molten sea", and travelers through the centuries found it an inhospitable land.

*The 'Baluchis' are a people comprising of a confederation of about five hundred tribes and clans. They claim to be of common Semitic stock, sharing common traditions and culture and speak a common language called Balochi. They occupy a vast tract of land, now politically divided between three different countries of Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan.*¹

Since 1947, along with other three provinces, people of Balochistan suffered the political turmoil, instability and remained a prey to military regime. General elections were held in Pakistan in 1970, the Pakistan People's Party in West Pakistan and Awami League in East Pakistan won the maximum seats in the National Assembly. There was a political

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crisis over the issue of majority party's Government in the center. Both Sheikh Mujeeb-ur-Rehman and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto were ambitious to take up the premiership of the country as the leaders of Awami League and Pakistan People's Party respectively. In the meanwhile the military action in East Pakistan brought the logical end of its separation. Now it was the prerogative of the majority party in the country to form its Government, both at the center as well as in the two provinces where it was a clear majority. Balochistan and NWFP were the provinces with a clear majority of the National Awami Party (NAP). In the NWFP, NAP won 13 seats in the house of 40, followed closely by Qaiyum Khan's Muslim League with ten seats. Then came Mufti Mahmood's Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Islam with four seats. As no one had absolute majority they would have coalition government. Since 1930's Wali Khan and Qaiyum Khan were political rivals; the question of their getting together was impossible. Therefore, the trump card passed on to Mufti Mahmood. He went into a political coalition with Wali Khan. In Balochistan the situation was similar. In the house of 20, as many as eight seats had gone to NAP and three to Qaiyum Khan's Muslim League. Five Independents were waiting on the sidelines. Besides forming his cabinet in next four days, Bhutto appointed Governors of four provinces. In Balochistan Ghaus Bukhsh Raiesani was appointed as Governor. He took oath of his new appointment on 29th December, 1971. After sometime he was replaced by Ghaus Bukhsh Bizenjo. Under his governorship, first constitutional provincial government was established with Attaullah Mengal as its first Chief Minister.

Centre-Province Relations Under Constitution 1973

Zulfi's political support was weakest along the Frontier, both in Balochistan and in the North-west, but he wisely reached agreement with the most popular and powerful leaders of those two provinces, allowing him to carry on at the center without facing constant attacks from Frontier members in the National Assembly.²

On 6th March 1972, an agreement occurred between Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Khan Abdul Wali Khan and Maulana Mufti Mahmood in Rawalpindi. A twelve point accord was drawn up between the two

parties i.e., PPP and NAP. On 29th April Ghaus Bukhsh Bizenjo was emerged as a new Governor of Baluchistan. A few days later, Attaullah Mengal formed a coalition government of NAP and JUI in Baluchistan. Before going further into the center province relations let's first discuss the status of 'constitution'.

Constitutions are charters or primary documents reflecting historical experiences and projecting futuristic objectives. Ideally, a constitution is an outline of Governmental intentions. It describes structural arrangements and identifies essential components. It supposedly establishes limits for authority.... A constitution should provide for predictability, help avoid arbitrary decision-making, and preserve popular expression.³

Bhutto was the President of Pakistan under the state of emergency, when he came into power in 1972. In 1973 a new constitution was introduced with a parliamentary system in a federal state. As in North West Frontier Province, Balochistan was governed by a coalition of the NAP and the JUI. Mir Ghaus Bukhsh Bizenjo was installed as Governor and Sardar Attaullah Khan Mengal was made Chief Minister of the province.

Balochistan did not become a full-fledged province until after the fall of Ayub Khan..... It also gave the Baluchis their first elected legislative assembly and government. But Bhutto, who followed. Yahya Khan, still intended to exploit the Sardari system, and immediately began playing off the Marris and the Mengals against the Bugtis, and then in a volte face, the Bugtis against others. When the Bugtis were no longer helpful he moved to the side of Khan of Kalat and proceeded to throw the Pakistami Military against the tribes, claiming that they were in open rebellion. Bhutto's actions were precipitated by the failure of his Pakistan People's Party to make any headway in Balochistan.⁴

In early February 1973, Bhutto removed Ghaus Bukhsh Bizenjo from his office and the Governor of coalition government of NAP-JUI in NWFP resigned in protest. Akbar Bugti was made the new Governor of

the province. Jam Ghulam Qadir remained the Chief Minister in spite of lacking majority votes in the legislative assembly. The Bugti administration had a firm grip on Provincial affairs.

Although the failure of Mengal government of Balochistan had many ideological and socio-political factors in its background. The important one was Bhutto himself. He belonged to that Pakistani generation of politicians to whom the integrity of this deceived nation was most important. Whenever he felt threatened by certain alliances or personalities, he tried to mould the situation in his favour. Wali Khan was one of these. Being the strong opposition party leader and the son of Abdul Ghafar Khan who was the strongest opponent of Idea of Pakistan as well as Muslim League in NWFP, was betrayed by Bhutto when his frontier political rival Qaiyum Khan was given the key position of Home Minister in the central cabinet.

Bhutto wanted a constitution, but more than that, he wanted a political system that acknowledged his paramountcy. Operating on the basis of viceregalism, supposedly protested by the trappings of constitutional legitimacy, politically unchallenged at the national level, and surrounded by layers of security. Bhutto anticipated governing Pakistan almost indefinitely. But that expectation was threatened by the strife in the Frontier provinces, and especially the raging conflict in Balochistan. Marri and Mengal Balochis continued to resist the central government intrusion, and sympathetic Punjabis and Pathans also volunteered their services. Bhutto's tactics were to divide the Baloch by siding with Governor Bugti against Sardar Mengal and Nawab Khair Bukhsh Marri, but his actions only intensified the struggle.⁵

Bhutto dismissed the Balochistan government, where an armed tribal uprising was in full swing and ordered to arrest and trial the political leaders. Wali Khan continued to perform his role as leader of the opposition in the National Assembly. Bhutto feared of his now more hostile speeches against him.

Wali Khan brushed aside the allegation that the NAP was intent on promoting secessionist movements. He declared it was a bogey raised by the center to tarnish their image and deprive them of

their right as the chosen representatives of the people. 'Wali Khan visited the Loralai district of Balochistan in the summer of 1974 and publicly charged the government with using indiscriminate violence, particularly air-strikes, against an innocent population',⁶

This political conflict ended up in the form of banning NAP and confiscation of all the party assets, when during a state visit to USA, Bhutto was informed of the murder of Hayat Khan Sherpao in a bomb blast at Peshawar University.

Abdul Wali Khan and his NAP lieutenants throughout the country were arrested by the police hours later, and on 10th February 1975 the government announced the banning of the National Awami Party, seized all its property and funds and ordered the security forces to crush all 'subversive activity' On the same day the National Assembly passed two amendment bills withdrawing the immunity from arrest and detention that members of the National and Provincial Assemblies had previously enjoyed.⁷

The way of looking the center-province relations by going through the constitutional developments gives another picture of the political scenario.

The period of civilian martial law lasted just four months from Bhutto's assumption of office until 21 April 1972, when an Interim Constitution was introduced The Interim Constitution provided for a centralized government with a presidential system at the center and a parliamentary system in the provinces.... By the time National Assembly, acting as a Constituent Assembly, began a clause by clause examination of the new permanent Constitution, there was increasing tension between the PPP and the opposition parties arising from the deteriorating situation in Balochistan. On 2 March 1973 the main opposition parties grouped together in Islamabad to form the United Democratic Front (UDF) under Pir Pagaro's leadership. The opposition groups argued for the inclusion of Islamic principles in any constitution and for regional autonomy. The UDF in melodramatic fashion voted on 10 April in

*favour of the new constitution, despite its earlier walkout from the National Assembly. In contrast with the second, it offered the hope of genuine democratic development.*⁸

Things were not as settled according to new constitutions as the opposition parties were expecting. The provincial autonomy, which was dreamt often by the 'nationalists' remained a mere hope.

*The 1973 Constitution came into operation on 14 August. It provided for a parliamentary system of government in which power resided with the Prime Minister not the president. The latter was to be elected by a majority of the 200-member National Assembly in which also resided initiatory powers of legislation. The 1973 Constitution also provided for 'an independent judiciary, guaranteed fundamental rights and granted more autonomy to the provinces than any previous constitution. Article 153 for example created a Council of Common Interest to resolve economic disputes between the federating units. The very long list of concurrent subjects and the powers of the center to intervene in the provinces nevertheless remained considerable. The claim that the 1973 Constitution had finally resolved Pakistan's longstanding problem of composing differences between the provinces and the center appeared increasingly chimerical. Bhutto, despite his often expressed sentiments in favour of federalism, was no more willing to shift power from the center to the provinces than any of his predecessors.'*⁹

Centre's Perspective

On the part of centre besides the continuous intervention in the Frontier provinces, Bhutto did not understand the social structure of Baluch tribal system and did not realize their nationalistic feelings of loyalty, tried to crush down the uprising and insurgencies by force more in a British style to govern the Frontier Provinces. It was a fatal political mistake on his part, and proved him totally unable to dissolve the Balochistan problem till 1977. Bhutto was not sole responsible to weaken the center-province relations, a few of his cabinet members

could not be ignored as the escalators of the tension. For example Qaiyum Khan, his Home Minister's secret reports about the opposition leaders and their activities were the major cause of distrust between Wali Khan's regular public discourse against the Prime Minister was another source of depression.¹⁰ The discovery of large weapon consignment in Iraqi Embassy strengthened the 'existence of a movement' for "Greater Balochistan"¹¹ and the involvement of nationalist leaders in it. Bhutto was not reluctant to topple the Mengal government after the 'Iraqi embassy scandal'.¹²

Akbar Bugti who replaced Mengal played an important role to dislodge the NAP government in the province. Bhutto provided him full support during his governorship but even with a strong administration he did not succeed to end up the tribal insurgencies which led him to resign from his office.¹³ Then Khan of Kalat appeared on the provincial scene, who accompanied PPP government until its fall. During his times Bhutto announced the abolition of Sardari system from Balochistan on the occasion of his long visit of the province in 1976.¹⁴

Bhutto was pushed to mishandle the Balochistan Issue by certain circumstances and in this case, the role of Pakistan Army under the command of Tikka Khan cannot be totally excluded.

It was the Army's involvement in Balochistan from 1973-77 which most undermined the attempt to establish civilian supremacy. Bhutto's handling of political developments there has been regarded by a number of writers as representing the Achilles' heel of his regime. His dispatch of around 80,000 troops into the sparsely populated province of under 5 million people to deal with the tribal/autonomist insurrection of 1973-76 returned the Army to a political role. The use of force carried echoes of Yahya's ill-conceived actions in East Pakistan and depressingly repeated the pattern of the state hampering national integration by provoking regional opposition through its violent suppression of legitimate demands.... The Pakistan army had previously intervened in the region in both March 1948 and October 1958.... Indeed in his testament from his 'stinking death cell' Bhutto claimed that the

*Army overrode his plan for a withdrawal because the generals wanted to 'spread their tentacles through Balochistan. The revival of the Balochistan Assembly in the run-up to the national elections could not put the military genie back in the bottle.'*¹⁵

During the governorship of Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti, the outpouring of development funds were at his disposal. Even during Mengal regime the usage of natural resources like Sui gas was allowed for the people of Balochistan.

*Bhutto had shown his future executors the way forward in reducing unrest in Pakistan's troubled tribal frontiers by instituting a major programme of electrification, roads, and other infrastructural developments. By the time martial law was lifted in 1985 the 'economic balm' of development had restored the province to 'normalcy'.*¹⁶

Bhutto's Self-Image

Viewing Balochistan centre-province relations during Bhutto's premiership, one can not ignore his self-image as a Pakistani leader. As for as the PPP is concerned there was no election in the party since its formation, Bhutto was actually the party himself.

Wali Khan did not accept Bhutto's overture; nor would Bizenjo, Mengal or Marri speak to his peace-offering emissaries as long as they remained behind the bars. Hence, both Frontier provinces remained beyond the Sindh-Punjab limits of Bhutto's political reach, defying him it seemed, challenging his claim to represent democratically, indeed, to embody the popular will, to epitomize the aspirations of all Pakistanis. A less egotistical political leader might have made his peace with that reality graciously, granting that it accurately reflected the tribal complexity of Pakistan's provincial pluralism and was no moral attack against himself..... He believed in his destiny to lead all of Pakistan, and he wanted every Pakistani to love and support him in that task that leadership labor for which he was born and so uniquely educated and trained himself. It was an insult for his Izzat, his personal feudal "honor,"

*to be challenged, mistrusted, openly attacked in provincial assemblies and press conferences.*¹⁷

General Gul Hassan, who was the Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan after the fall of Dhaka writes in his memoirs that,

*Bhutto was a mendacious, vindictive 'showman of high caliber' and that his engineering of the downfall of the NAP-JUI coalition ministries in the Frontier and Balochistan displayed an authoritarianism equal to that of any martial law era.*¹⁸

The historians agreed that Bhutto had two faces, one was a 'progressive, Western educated' and the second was a 'despotic, feudal chief.'

*Bhutto's political style was combative and confrontational. The exercise of power not only fascinated him, but also fed his ego. On one occasion he declared that politics was the milk he had received at birth and that the political vocation inspired him and kindled in him 'the flame of a lasting romance'.*¹⁹ Going through the above-mentioned glimpses of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto by different people gives a clear understanding of his politick and working with the federating units. It was he who misunderstood the Baluchis and their nationalistic approach. Army and politicians played a negative role in centre-province politics, which ended up in the permanent Army intervention in the province.

The Baluch Nationalism & Provincial Perspective

To get the essence of center-province relations the understanding of Baluch nationalism is inevitable. A renowned Baluch writes,

"It must be remembered that the vast province of Balochistan with all its contrasts of climate and geography has also the fortune to be a part of the region that once nursed the glorious ancient civilizations of Moenjodaro and Harrapa"..... The region inhabited by the Balochis, specially in Balochistan province of Pakistan, due to its strategic geographical features of a vast hinterland, mountainous terrain, and the important historic Bolan

Pass, and with a population whose martial spirit and fighting power is proverbial, had always been a political problem-spot for all the rulers of India. Iran and Afghanistan..... From the 13th to 16th century, no writ of any of the Delhi Kings ever ran in Balochistan, where the Balochis had by then established themselves and formed into a kind of 'Federation' of various tribes. Most of the time they were engaged in inter-tribal warfare, which resulted in movements of some tribes to Punjab; the establishment of Talpur rule in Sindh; and the emergence of the Khans of Kalat in Balochistan".²⁰

Balochistan was never comfortable with Bhutto's rule and within a year of PPP's take-over, the provincial government challenged Islamabad's authority to intervene in local matters. In Balochistan *sardars* commanded their constituencies and tribal practices were commonly adopted. The PPP government was determined to break the back of *Sardari system*.

Now keeping in view the Baluch character, how it reacted in the provincial response to central government.

"... events leading up to the 1973-1977 insurgency greatly intensified the mutual distrust between the Baluch and Islamabad which had been deepening since 1947. Bhutto had given a further demonstration of Pakistani good faith, in this perspective, by permitting the Baluch to set up their own provincial government for the first time, based on the 1970 balloting, only to be confronted by a belligerent and uncompromising assertion of provincial prerogatives that was incompatible with the national constitution. In Baluch eyes, however, it was not out of keeping with the constitution's autonomy provisions to oust Punjabi bureaucrats from posts of authority in Balochistan, to resist Pakistani military and para-military intervention in local conflicts, or to harass Punjabi farmers who had taken over the best of the limited arable farmland in the province with Islamabad's backing. Moreover, the Baluch were keenly aware that they had given an unambiguous electoral mandate to the state government headed by Ghous

Bukhsh Bizenjo as Governor and Attaullah Mengal as Chief Minister. The government commanded a 13-7 majority in the Balochistan Assembly, and its opponents were almost all Pushtuns and other non-Baluch. ²¹

The Baluch nationalistic feelings were hurt when Bhutto very 'unceremoniously dismissed the provincial government in 1973, when a full scale tribal insurrection broke out in the province.

Ayesha Jalal writes in her work,

"Despite a history of sustained opposition to central authority, British and Pakistani, Baluch nationalism floundered on account of its tribal social structure."

Another move from the NAP-JUI coalition government was, to try to recruit the 'sons of the soil'. It was a political mistake, the police in Sibi and other districts became disinterested in their job, everyone even the school master, revenue officials were packing their bags to move to other parts of the country.

"Baluch long-term grievances were in some respects similar to those of Bhutto's native Sindhis. They included a sense of status displacement as a result of the migration of Pukhtuns and Punjabis in to the province. Baluch intellectuals also pointed to the under-representation of their community in the structures of Pakistani State, and argued that development was exploitative of local resources such as natural gas, while road building also served strategic rather than Balochi interest." ²²

The political tactics of Bhutto proved himself ignorant of Baluch's sense of pride and self-assertion;

"The Baluch rose up swiftly and unquestioningly in 1973 to avenge what they perceived as an assault on their tribal and racial honor. Given their lack of preparation and centralized direction, however, they dissipated much of their energy fighting on a localized ad hoc basis under free-wheeling tribal commanders..... When Bhutto

*suddenly dismissed the Baluch provincial government on February 12, 1973..... Baluch leaders contended that Bhutto deliberately contrived the "Iraqi arms conspiracy" to provide a pretext for their ouster, aided by dissidents in Baghdad.... Bizenjo, at one extreme, believed that it was possible to work within the system and avoid a costly military confrontation. Sher Mohammad, confident that a new military showdown was approaching, was anxious to get foreign arms for his Pararis and appears to have made arrangements on a visit to Baghdad in August, 1972. The arms were to have been shared between the Pararis and Iranian Baluch groups... One of the few top-ranking Baluch leaders who knew about this scheme, Akber Bukti, leader of the Bukti tribe, proved to be a turncoat. By tipping off Bhutto, Bukti unseated his arch rivals, Bizenjo and Mengal – who insist they did not know about the arms – and obtained the governorship for himself. Ironically, Bhutto's dismissal of the Baluch provincial government made his prophecies of a Baluch insurgency self-fulfilling by vindicating Sher Mohammed and forcing Bizenjo, Mengal, and Khair Bux Marri to support a military struggle.*²³

The Baluch were furious over the dismissal and the arrest of their political leaders on the 'treason charges'. The traditional Baluch code demanded an offensive response to this insulting step. The Baluch *Sardars* took the Army action against their personal and tribal honour, now, a true Baluch had to fight for it. The fighting between the Baluch *Sardars* and Pakistan Army lasted for next four years.

Conclusion

The Balochistan was mishandled by the central government in the years 1972-1977. Without having full understanding of 'tribal social character, Bhutto used his political tactics to supercede the provincial government. Tragically the Atallah Mengal government was also doubtful of center's favour to run the affairs smoothly. Above all the local tribal hostilities among the *Sardars* played an important role to dislodge the newly born legal and constitutional government in Balochistan. Bhutto was misleded by his cabinet members like Abdul

Qaiyum Khan, about the 'pro-separatism of NAP leaders. The discovery of weapons from Iraqi embassy proved another final blow to the center-province relations. In fact PPP could not form its governments in Frontier provinces, therefore, Bhutto was too cautious of the working of provincial governments. He had a lot of reasons to topple the Governors and provincial governments in Balochistan, from 1973 to 1977 he preferred a weak provincial government in it. Another important factor was that Baluchis were not used to live in a democratic atmosphere. Keeping in view their history of 'sustained opposition' to British as well as Pakistani supremacy they always remained 'uncompromising' and hard to deal with. It was a tragic end but inevitable drama of nationalists verses democrats.

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 13. Stanley Wolpert, *Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan*, p. 225.
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 17. Stanley Wolpert, *Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan*, p. 236.
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 19. *Ibid.*, p. 216.
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Role of Sindh Police to Increase the Dacoit Problem in Rural Sindh (1984-94)

DR. IMDAD HUSSAIN SAHITO

Introduction

Dacoits of Sindh have their own history in the region. Historically they have not committed their crimes within Sindh only but in the neighbouring provinces including Punjab, Balochistan, and Indian territories as well. Not only on the land but sea dacoits (pirates) of Sindh have their own history. But what force of dacoits became operational in Sindh during the period 1984-94 has created a new history. It was the force of more than 20,000 dacoits majority of them educated, belonging to the age between 20 to 35 years. They looted, killed and kidnapped the people of the province. This game of death and destruction continued up to a decade. More than 11000 persons were kidnapped, hundreds were killed including ladies and children in the raids by dacoits. A guerilla warfare was imposed on the people of Sindh. Nobody was safe even at their home. People were being kidnapped even from trains and hospitals, mosques and temples. In many events police stations were raided and people were killed and kidnapped even in bright daylight in the presence of police. Provincial administration proved a failure to face this situation. Many of the operations were launched by the law enforcing agencies but in vain.

Who was responsible for this situation in the province, under which up to more than a decade, people of Sindh specially from its rural areas continuously remained under the storm of brutality by dacoits. No doubt, causes are many but one of the important cause behind this problem was the role of Sindh police.

Directly or indirectly many of the police officials and men were involved in the production of dacoits in Sindh. The facts about problem have been examined as under:-

Sindh Police

Police is the civilian law-enforcing agency, which controls the crime in the society and detains a criminal to produce before the court. Police should be a symbol of peace, hard on criminals and shelter for peace-loving. But in our society it is considered differently, as symbol of torture and trouble, corruption and insulting the people.

Origin of Present Sindh Police

In 1843, Sir Charles Napier organized Sindh Police on the lines of the Irish constabulary.¹ Sindh stood as a pioneer in organizing a full-fledged and proper police in India.² Napier Police system was appreciated everywhere and was approved by the governor-general, Lord Ellenborough, who ordered its extension to other north western provinces.³ Bombay, Madras, Ouch and Punjab also adopted the same pattern. There is an ample evidence on record that the Paramilitary type police, created on the style and pattern of the Irish constabulary, served the British well before and after 1857 War of Independence. Later on in the result of police commission 1860, Police Act V of 1861 was promulgated in India. This system of police continued with very little modification in India right upto the time of independence in 1947. Yet that colonial system is still working in our society. That is why the people consider police as has been mentioned above because they are being treated by the force, based on the alien made rules.

The British Colonialists wished to use the police as an instrument of oppression. For this reason they kept the standard of recruitment and status of its working level officials, very low. Resultantly they had at

their command a subservient and mindless body of uniformed force with immense powers, ready to act without any qualms of conscience, moral or ethical inhibitions and totally devoid of patriotism.⁴

Sindh Police Strength

Sindh police is the second largest police force in the country. There is continuous increase in Sindh police. The strength of force, which was 34683 in 1984, increased to 85580 in 1994. Detailed increase in Sindh police from the year 1984-1994 is given in the following table:

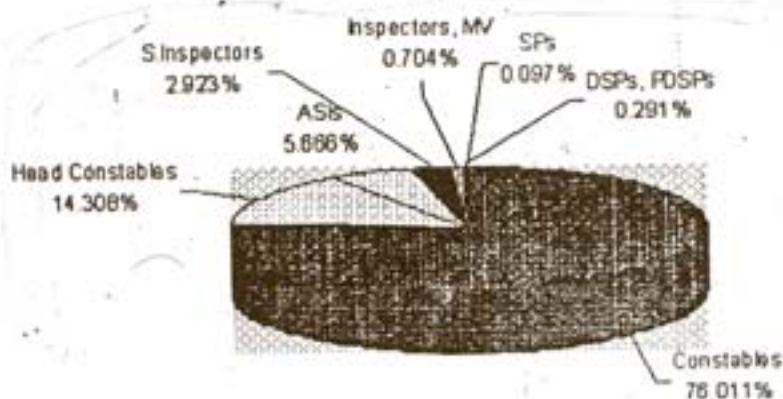
TABLE I
SINDH POLICE 1984-94

| Year | DC P | AIG P | DI GP | SP | DSP + ASP | PSO P | USP MSV MSDP | PI | SI SI | PSI | SI | SSI | SI | PC | Total |
|------|---------|----------|----------|----|-----------------|----------|--------------------|-----|----------|-----|------|------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1984 | 3 | 1 | 8 | 48 | 112 | 13 | 299 | 29 | 25 | 223 | 1128 | 1089 | 5362 | 25748 | 34683 |
| 1985 | 3 | 1 | 8 | 53 | 128 | 8 | 340 | 35 | 25 | 174 | 1302 | 1133 | 4210 | 28889 | 39287 |
| 1986 | 3 | 2 | 8 | 57 | 134 | 8 | 358 | 35 | 25 | 174 | 1541 | 1072 | 7116 | 32277 | 42988 |
| 1987 | 3 | 2 | 8 | 61 | 136 | 8 | 366 | 35 | 25 | 174 | 1652 | 1184 | 7547 | 34028 | 46386 |
| 1988 | 3 | 2 | 10 | 64 | 139 | 8 | 372 | 35 | 25 | 174 | 1787 | 1291 | 7923 | 35885 | 48481 |
| 1989 | 3 | 3 | 10 | 63 | 144 | 9 | 440 | 35 | 26 | 53 | 1983 | 2691 | 9162 | 40539 | 56337 |
| 1990 | 3 | 4 | 14 | 74 | 176 | 9 | 548 | 35 | 26 | 53 | 2124 | 3173 | 9918 | 44280 | 66681 |
| 1991 | 3 | 5 | 18 | 74 | 177 | 9 | 548 | 35 | 26 | 53 | 2215 | 3843 | 9883 | 50544 | 76624 |
| 1992 | 3 | 5 | 21 | 74 | 177 | 9 | 548 | 35 | 26 | 53 | 2212 | 4220 | 9918 | 58063 | 78211 |
| 1993 | 3 | 6 | 22 | 80 | 178 | 6 | 555 | 35 | 26 | 53 | 2273 | 4295 | 10195 | 59816 | 76767 |
| 1994 | 3 | 6 | 22 | 83 | 183 | 25 | 688 | 264 | 53 | 53 | 2496 | 4827 | 12190 | 67768 | 85580 |

Source: Special Branch CPO Karachi.

FIGURE : 1
RANKWISE RATIO OF SINDH POLICE (1994)

If ratio of men to officer of Sindh Police is calculated it will be as given in the following figure.



(Chart)

Source : Table 1

Above table shows that Sindh police consists of 89.912% constables and Head Constables as compared to officials who are only 10.088%. Majority of the constables have poor literacy rate and a limited mental approach towards life affairs. These are the constables who are promoted to senior ranks except those who come directly, many of them come through political quota, that provides a poor base to Sindh police.

If the ratio of armaments at Sindh police is considered in the year 1994 it was as given in the following table.

TABLE 2
SINDH POLICE ARMAMENTS 1994

| Description | Authorization | Stocks | Shortage |
|--------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| Mortar 2" | 46 | 32 | -14 |
| Mortar 3" | 46 | 10 | -36 |
| MGI A-3 | 58 | 68 | -10 |
| LMG 7.62 | 664 | 198 | -466 |
| SMG 7.62 | 19036 | 27169 | -8123 |
| SMG MPS | 3454 | 2241 | -1213 |
| China 7.62 | 28534 | 11863 | -16671 |
| Rifle G. 3 | 1565 | 11521 | -9956 |
| Aug 5.58 | 550 | 30 | -520 |
| 38 Special | 3895 | 1242 | -2653 |
| 9mm Pistol | 3897 | 1727 | -2170 |
| Shot Gun | 2995 | 1413 | -1582 |
| V.L. Pistol | 1163 | 352 | -811 |
| Gas Guns | 2510 | 2601 | -91 |
| Flares | 25520 | 2077 | -2343 |
| NVD | 46 | 3 | -43 |
| TOTAL | 93979 | 62537 | -31442 |

Source: Special Branch CPO Karachi.

Province-Wise Police Population Ratio

If police population ratio is compared at province level the result would come as given in the following table:

TABLE 3
PROVINCE-WISE POLICE POPULATION IN PAKISTAN (1994)

| Province | Police | Approximate Population | One policeman for population |
|-------------|-----------|------------------------|------------------------------|
| SINDH | 85,580.00 | 22,934,291.00 | 267.90 |
| PUNJAB | 87,426.00 | 68,828,000.00 | 787.27 |
| NWFP | 30,875.00 | 17,191,865.00 | 356.82 |
| BALOCHISTAN | 15,722.00 | 2,206,900.00 | — |

Source:

1. Table 6.47 Event of Sindh Development Statistics Bureau of Statistics Planning and Development, Karachi 1998.
2. Inspector-General of Police Balochistan, Quetta, Memorandum No. 30876-7/23-1/C 4th Dec: 1997.
3. Deputy Inspector-General of Police, NWFP No. 4276/50/Crimes dated 29-10-96 Peshawar.
4. Deputy Inspector General of Police Crime Branch, Punjab No. 20088/Crime/CRO dated 08-11-97, Lahore.
5. Statement issued by Special Branch C.P.O., Karachi. If ratio of detection of various criminal cases of the four provinces in 1993 would be considered the result would come as given in the following table.

TABLE 4
DETECTION PERCENTAGE IN FOUR PROVINCES

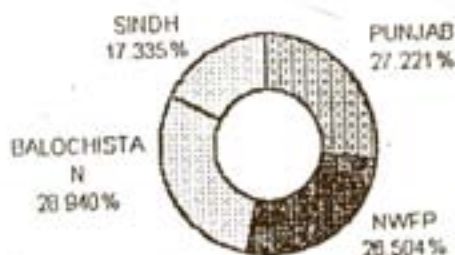
| CRIME | PUNJAB | NWFP | BALUCHISTAN | SINDH | TOTAL |
|------------|--------|------|-------------|-------|-------|
| MURDER | 74 | 28 | 67 | 39 | 202 |
| KIDNAPPING | 57 | 23 | 53 | 18 | 151 |
| DACOITY | 26 | 74 | 38 | 36 | 176 |
| ROBBERY | 33 | 60 | 44 | 26 | 163 |
| TOTAL | 190 | 185 | 202 | 12 | 698 |

Source:

1. Dr. Mohammad Shoaib Saddle Criminal Profile in Pakistan quoted in by M.A.K. Choudhry: Policing in Pakistan (Lahore: Vanguard Pvt. Ltd, 1997) P. 135

If detection ratio is further highlighted the result would come as given in the following figure.

FIGURE 2
DETECTION RATIO IN FOUR PROVINCES



Source : Table 4.

Above figure reveals that Sindh keeps the lowest rate of detection percentage among the four provinces of Pakistan. During decade of the dacoits, police failed to eradicate the dacoits problem in the province. It produced more rather than eradicate them. There are many causes behind the negative role of police, to find out the facts it is necessary to examine it from word police. According to a report, word police is formed of:


| | |
|--------------|----------------------------|
| P = Polite | I = Intelligent |
| O = Obedient | C = Courageous |
| L = Loyal | E = Efficient ⁵ |

But the people has changed the meaning of the words, i.e.

| | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| P = Procrastination | I = Ineffectiveness |
| O = Obduracy | C = Corruption |
| L = Lethargy | E = Evil ⁶ |

Police⁷

It is said that police motto is, service, security and trust⁸. This is what the people or other sources say about police but what does a police officer say about his own department is given below (it is in Sindhi):

| | | |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| P |  | Drag him down and beat with cudgels to get money |
| O | | |
| LI | | |
| CE | | |

Source:

Interview with Police Officer at Police Headquarter, Khairpur, 3 April 1994.

No doubt this police officer was true to his words. In this connection when researcher asked question from more than 200 police officers about corruption in police, majority of them said, "only we are not corrupt in our society, others are more than us". It may be true but difference is that in other departments if somebody gives bribe he gets benefits, but in connection with police are both, i.e. first police allows someone to continue illegal business of any kind for payment of regular fixed bribery, second that bribe which is being forcibly received from any person arrested by police. Generally second source of bribery and behaviour make police notorious as compared to other departments involved in corruption.

The causes of corruption in Pakistan are economic, social and political. It has to flourish in a country where wages are low & the cost of living high. If every officer must have his carpets and his car regardless to his low salary, corruption is bound to thrive.⁸ Same way when an ASI, the lowest ranking officer in police keeps, a car and golden chain round his neck, it means something is wrong in crime control, if he gets bribe or collect money is not a big problem, the problem is what does he pay for to produces the criminal, the dacoit, or reduce pain for whole society.

Ground Facts

The problem starts from police post/station where police officials daily wait for some criminal cases. If some body comes with a complaint for any crime, nothing is done without payment of money. If there is

money, everything is possible, e.g. author visited a police station where a poor man came to submit his complaint against a person who had insulted and beaten him. The complainant told a true story to officer on duty but the officer suggested to him that it was impossible for him to take action against culprit, it would only be possible when you would agree to register a case of attempt of murder against the culprit and would pay accordingly. But the complainant repeated his story again and refused for registration of false case and left police station. Why he did God nothing only knows better, the officer just allowed him to take law in his own hands. If that person had money it would have been possible to get the case of attempt for murder registered. In both conditions whether officer takes action or not gives birth to conflict in the society, which is common at police stations in Sindh. The person mentioned above was a common man, if there had been a VIP, i.e. Wadera, Pir, Politician, it would have been just impossible to refuse to enter a case against any common-man.

Arrest of the Person

When a complaint is received at police station and is properly paid for, action is rapid but generally against a common man and not against powerful men, i.e. MNA, MPA etc., even for their involvement in heinous crimes. Which proves that generally law is only for poor people.

If a poor person is wanted by police for arrest, it is under necessary to show any warrant, even houses are raided with a large force, family members are insulted and arrested, and placed not custody. If ladies are arrested in raids 90% of them are sexually assaulted while in custody.⁹

The release of any arrested person by police is only possible when bribery is paid for him. Specially when heinous crime is committed in area i.e., murder, kidnapping etc., and non-identified culprit produces a big amount for police to arrest people in bulk as suspects to collect more and more money by them, e.g. author had visited police post Khuhra (town) where a room was full with male and female captives, when author asked about them, from a concerned man, he told that due to kidnapping event in town, they have been taken into custody by police

and only possible way to release them is payment of a particular amount for each of them.¹⁰

In another event author saw that three young boys between the ages of 14-16 years were brought at police station Ranipur, (town) as suspects for murder. As boys arrived at thana Police personnel present there gathered around them and started abusing them, their mothers and sisters, then one by one they were dragged down by 5-6 policemen and made naked. Boys were shouting and swearing for not be guilty but policemen were laughing at them and hitting on their thighs and other parts of body. Author observed that it was a very painful and humiliating torture for boys but for policemen a pleasant game.¹¹ When Author asked about this torture from a police officer, he said that there was no other source of investigation for them. Second day, it was learnt that all the three were not guilty but even then were not released because they had not yet paid the police. In the age when human has touched sky, in our society innocent people are humiliated.

In another event Shafi Muhammad Narijo was arrested from Katcha area of Khairpur by army but after investigation, he was handed over to SHO police station Gullo Siyal to release him. SHO did not free him but demanded Rs. 12,000 as bribe for release. He was a poor man so he refused to pay. SHO challaned him in a false case and sent him to Central Jail Khairpur. After sometime he was freed from Jail. Jail administration informed about his release to the concerned police station. Again he was held in custody by police who demanded Rs. 4000 for his release, again he refused to pay the amount and his father was in struggle to arrange for his release.¹² Many of the persons told Author about above type of high handedness by police.

As per research conducted, the police has anticipated main dacoit at Thana level in rural Sindh. Out of total 27.03% dacoits have been produced by police. It is the trend in police that when a person is arrested for any cause, whether he is guilty or not police welcome him with humiliation, abusing and then with torture. If he pays properly as per desire of police, he is not tortured but is freed with respect. When poor people are arrested and they keep no ability to pay handsome amount to

him, are tortured until they pay. If once a person is arrested even in a minor crime, it becomes routine of police to arrest him regularly. Now there are two ways: either he has to pay bribe or face torture repeatedly. If there is no powerful person who could save him from regular arrest, there are many chances of this person to abscond and join the dacoits, e.g. Rahmatullah Mirjat was involved in criminal cases by Wadera due to refusal for cultivation of his land. Police lodged a false case against him which compelled him to abscond and become a dacoit.¹³ Thus there are many events in which police shaped a common man or a minor criminal as dacoit.

Police Recruitment / Appointment

The problem starts from the recruitment or appointment of a policeman or officer. Since many years police has been politicized from a constable to officer. There is very high number of policemen and officers who have been appointed by the quota provided to MNAs, MPAs ministers etc. It was not necessary that the person selected for police force is fit for this job or not, either he was criminal or bonafide person, whatever list was supplied to authorities were selected for this job. Now when an officer is appointed on someone's quota, what would he do when same person is held for some crime by him, naturally that officer would try to prove him not guilty which is denial of justice and a way to produce a dacoit, or a criminal. There are many examples under which policemen and officers have been recruited/appointed, promoted and transferred by the politicians etc. Some examples are given below.

Recruitment / Appointment

1. Inspector-General of Sindh Police, G. Moen-ud-Din disclosed that a number of Alzulfiqar (AZO) men had been recruited in the police force and so far, about 600 police personnel of different cadres and ranks were discharged from the force due to their criminal records.¹⁴
2. During 1985-92 seven years period, in one of the provinces, 836 ASIs were recruited contravening rules and flouting merit, some were over age by 10-15 years; some did not possess the minimum

prescribed educational qualification, some were short of the prescribed height by even 3 inches, some had criminal records. One dismissed ASI was reinstated in flagrant violation of rules and despite opposition from the police department.¹⁵

3. During 1985-92 seven years period, 53 inspectors were recruited, one of them a known criminal, two inspectors (legal) recruited though both had failed in the written as well as the oral tests. An ASI who had failed in the training tests, was re-appointed as an Inspector, and the period spent by him on failed ASI training was counted as satisfactory training for Inspectorship.¹⁶
4. During 1985-92 seven years period, 230 lower subordinates and 297 upper subordinates were recruited in the Special Branch direct in flagrant violation of the rules and police department's opposition.¹⁷

Promotions:

Seven DSPs were promoted to the rank of SPs despite unsatisfactory record, an adverse reputation and opposition by police department.¹⁸

Transfers

A traffic sergeant tried to challan an MPA for violating the traffic laws, For that the IG police who was at that time on tour in Sargodha alongwith SP traffic, were transferred unceremoniously.¹⁹

Training

Sindh police a force of 85580 officers and men in 1994 had three training centers, all are improvised at Oderolal, Badin, Khairpur, Larkana, Dadu and Karachi East. These centers have facilities for 7000 trainees per year. As a matter of fact, the training facilities are obsolete, inadequate and seriously wanting. There are no training facilities for the gazetted officers especially in the rank of ASP, DSP, SP and DIG.²⁰

Much of the initial training provided by above centers is of a Para Military nature with large quantities of drill, fire-arms familiarisation and "Squad" manoeuvres, individual initiative. The use of discretion, and public service orientation are not given high priority²¹. The present police system follows the old colonial system, and as yet we have not created a new system.

The facts prove that generally a base for developing a police force in our society is the corruption and violation of the rules. Those persons who are selected by the politicians for ranking the police, after joining training center alongwith other training, just get training in how to get bribe and how to abuse. Majority of the instructors are corrupt, trainees pay money to stand first in the courses.²² Trainees pay to their instructors on per month basis.²³

A survey was conducted, in which 269 police officers were interviewed, to find out if it was true that bribe starts in Police, from training centers, they responded as given in the following figure.²⁴



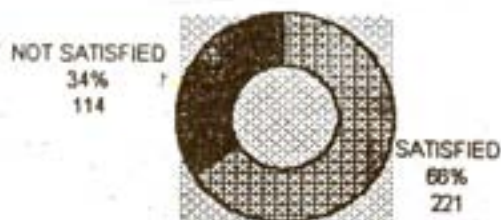
Source: Field Research Survey Data.

The training centers which do not provide proper training on how to deal with criminals, how to investigate, how to get results for which they have been appointed, how to behave in public; when they are being sent with many powers to the police stations/posts to deal with society, one could easily understand that what would they do, naturally what is being done.

To find out that what police officers, men, consider about their training, imparted at police training centers. A survey was conducted by

author in which 335 police officers were interviewed. The question asked with them was whether they are satisfied or not from the training imparted to them they responded as is given below:

FIGURE 4
SATISFACTION ABOUT POLICE TRAINING

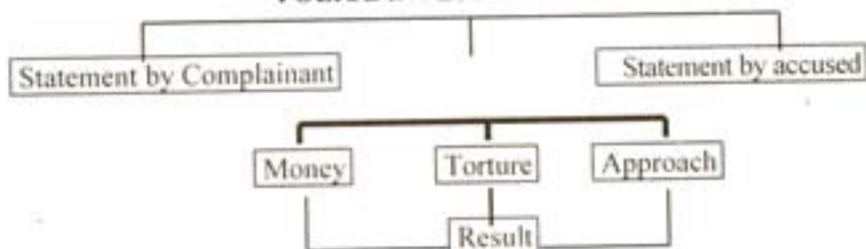


Source: Field Research Survey Data.

Investigation

Investigation is the base to find out truth about the criminal event but there is just nothing to investigate properly at police. There is only way, what complainant mentions and what does accused says. Then is torture, money and approach which make a truth a lie nothing else. Though the witness is in the condition, to produce whom is not the problem. Following figure clarifies the fact.

FIGURE 5
POLICE INVESTIGATION

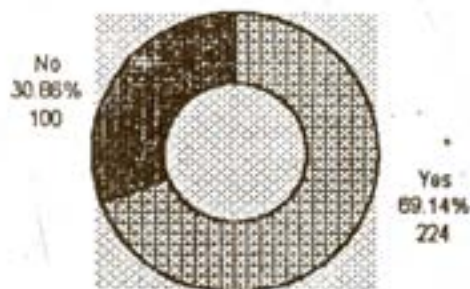


Source: Field Research.

Torture in Police Custody

The police stations which should be a place of safety and a ready source of relief to any citizen in distress situation, people consider it a place of torture and trouble and avoid as much as possible to go there. Since torture is accepted as standard practice and hardly discouraged by departmental superiors, we have deaths in police custody now and then.²⁵ When a person is being arrested he is not being only physically tortured but mentally as well. Not only is humiliated and abused but is so severely tortured that sometimes is killed. And such is our standard of morality that pliant doctors and magistrates justify it by declaring it as death from natural causes.²⁶ Our law prescribes three years imprisonment for wrongful confinement to extract a confession.²⁷ To find out the fact, a survey was conducted by Author in which question was asked with 324 police officers/men whether they agree that arrested persons are tortured or not, they responded as below:

FIGURE 5
POLICE TORTURE

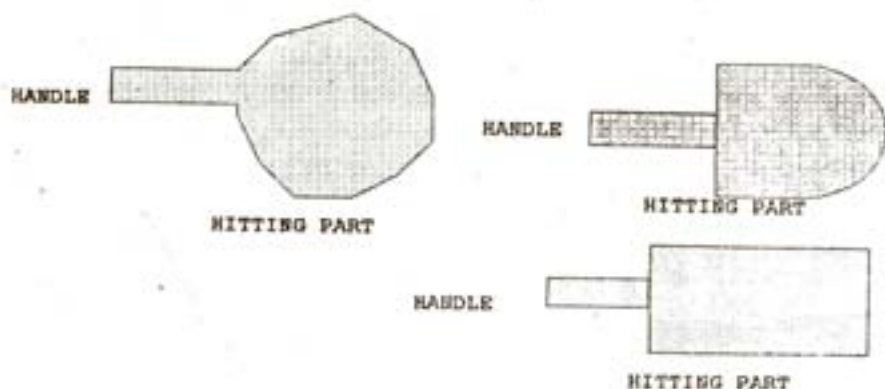


Source: Field Research Survey Data.

Men of strong nerves are reported to have confessed to crimes they never committed on account of or for the mere fear of Police torture.

Generally the instrument used for torture at police stations is Sachoo or Sachputor (fan belt). It is made of leather with shape as given below.

FIGURE 6
VARIOUS TYPES OF SACHOO (FAN BELT)



Source: Field Research

This instrument is used after making a person naked and laid on the ground upside down and is hit on his thighs / hips repeatedly and even on other parts of body. Sachoo creates so severe pain that, person starts to shout, becomes abnormal and generally says what police desires from him. Sachoo is not only the source of torture. But many arrested persons are being slapped, and beaten by sticks. Person are hanged naked upside down on the tree or in roof, keep a person awoken for a long time, hitting on the feet by rod, pulling of the nails, crossing/pricking of the needles below nails, applying of electric current on the genitals etc., are some tortures used by police. Sometimes a ring is passed through nose of accused and is roped with roof or tree etc.²⁸ It is observed that some dacoits adopted same punishments as above to apply on their kidnapes.

Sometimes innocent people have been arrested merely to suffer above torture by involving them into false cases by Waderas, feudals and influential.

Many human rights lawyers in Pakistan and representatives of the citizens-police liaison committee, which has official status have told

Amnesty International that police officers are ill-trained and frequently unable to use other means of investigation besides they use brute force.

It is said that "other countries have scientific instruments for investigation but we continue with the old outmoded system of leather".²⁹

In an incident in June 1990 Karachi police raided a village on Super Highway called Matka, from a motor repair garage, police picked up a number of villagers and haul them into the vehicles. Among those picked up were Dadan Palari and his brother Shado Palari, while the others returned to their homes next morning but not Dadan because he was killed in torture by police.³⁰ It is not the first event of death in police custody, hundreds have died like Dadan.

When Pakistan got independence, attitude of bureaucracy including police would have been changed because British colonial system was ended but they did not. Many of our rulers completely ignored the requirements of a free democratic society and continued to rule in the same mould as before. This situation specially for police paved a way to deal with its own people as with dictatorial authority, which made a common man a dacoit, e.g. a terror for Sindh police, Nadir Jiskani was an ordinary bus cleaner in Ghotki, he was taken to a police station for a minor crime. There he was insulted, humiliated publicly by being stripped by the police in front of dozens of caste fellows. That probably was his last day as a law-abiding citizen. Most of his victims were police-men.³¹ Dacoit Karim Bux alias Kuraro Chandio of Dadu was a law-abiding farmer. He and his brother were raided by police when they were working at their agriculture farm. When they protested against police raid, police opened fire on them, killed his brother and injured him, not up to this but arrested many of his relatives without any fault. When Kuraro got health from his injuries he took arms along with his family and became dacoit, his main target were the police.³²

Million rupees of nation are being stolen by the use of below-mentioned stickers. It is very painful when stickers for bribe are being used after the names of the days, slogans important & respected personalities.

FIGURE 7
BRIBE STICKERS

| | |
|----------|---------------------------|
| HI 2.26 | اچھا کام کرو |
| HI 10.95 | مست قلندر |
| 14.8.96 | جشن آزادی مبارک |
| 893 2-96 | عید مبارک |
| S-9-98 | یا علی مدد |
| H 3.96 | اوور ٹیکنگ احتیاط سے کریں |
| S-1-2000 | مایوسی گناہ ہے |

Source: Field Research

VISA SYSTEM:

There is also visa system facility in Sindh police. Under this system a large number of policemen, officers from Constable to Sub-inspector level, who are appointed at police lines or those in Sindh reserve police (S.R.P) enjoy this facility. Under this system above police officers & men are left for long leave to do their personal works etc., and their half salary is handed over to the line officer as visa share (bribe). From this payment half is paid to SP concerned and half is distributed among other concerned officers.³³

As someone has said that the main cause for the getting of bribe in police, is low salary. If salary up to Rs. 1999 or 2999 is increased, is it possible that for this amount they would leave to Rs. 50,000 per month.

Out of total administrative set-up of police, two officers are very important, one is the district superintendent of Police who plays pivotal role in the district and is fully responsible for the maintenance of law and order and the prevention and detection of crime within the district. Second is the Station House Officer (S.H.O) accountable for the control of crime, prosecution of offenders and maintenance of public order. He also performs a host of other quasi-police functions³⁴.

Due to contact between police and dacoits, many traditions and trends prevailing in police have been adopted by dacoits and in this connection two most important status keeping persons have been compared as below:

TABLE 5
POLICE-DACOIT COMPARISON

| POLICE | DACOIT |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| SHO | Gang Leader |
| Arrest anybody | Kidnap anybody |
| Arms available | Arms available |
| Use of threat | Use of threat |
| Insulting captive/accused | Insulting captive/kidnapee |
| In uniform/Civilian clothes | In uniform/Civilian clothes |
| Use abusive harsh language | Use abusive harsh language |
| Gets bribe by force | Gets ransom by force |
| Torture is used | Torture is used |
| Gets half share of bribe | Gets half share of ransom |
| Legally powerful | Illegally powerful |
| Passes luxurious life | Wanders in Jungle |
| No punishment for above | Death is the punishment |

Source: Field Research.

Politicizing of the Police:

It is observed that police is not left free as professional force but has been politicized. Appointments, recruitments, transfers depend on the politicians. Hafiz SD Jami former IGP defines that in Pakistan Police has been knee deep in politics and its potential in changing the verdict of election is recognized on all hands, although exaggeratedly, police has been misused by the politicians in all our elections.³⁵

A DSP told the author that when Ayub Khan was contesting election with Miss Fatima Jinnah, about 150-175 head-constables were called upon at Lahore Fort to participate in a training, which was arranged to make Miss Fatima Jinnah fail in elections, and it was promised that they would be promoted as Sub-Inspectors if Ayub Khan gains success in election.³⁶

The police has been used by all successive governments to harass and intimidate their political opponents. When you politicize the police and use it as the main instrument of coercion, it naturally changes its outlook, behavior and attitude. There is no substitute for an independent, neutral, non-partisan, humane, professional police administration. No policeman or officer could dare to refuse any politician, e.g. on 17th June 1991 one traffic police officer viz Sabbir stopped a car near Punjab Assembly Building. This car was of MPA Jalal-ud-Din. Due to above act of police officer IGP and SP were transferred and a case was lodged against police officer.³⁷

One SP told the author that when he was SP of District Shikarpur, authorities asked him for provision of a brief list of Patharidars. He provided 7 names for that and assured if he is allowed to control them, any crime committed would be his responsibility. Within two days SP was transferred due to supply of above list, because they were respectable politicians.³⁸

During Martial Law regime in 1977, one of the police officer was asked by the DMLA to give list of harbourers. The list was provided to the Martial Law authorities but the interesting thing happened that the

person on the top of the list was appointed minister in the federal government after a week³⁹.

Facilities to Police:

It is informed that police is bound for 24 hours duty, which is a problem to face. There is no medical, educational or residential facilities available to them. It is not the fault of the department but those who have power, authority to change it but do not act upon.

TABLE 6
SHORTAGE OF MATERIAL AT SINDH POLICE AS PER
AUTHORIZATION IN 1994

| HEADING | TYPE OF MATERIAL | SHORTAGE |
|---------------|---------------------|----------|
| Armaments | Pistols / Revolvers | 6000 |
| | Short Guns | 2000 |
| | Flares | 20000 |
| Transport | Jeeps | 25 |
| | Pickups | 1500 |
| | Truck / Buses | 600 |
| | Prison Vans | 200 |
| | Motor Cycles | 2500 |
| Wireless Sets | Base Sets | 60 |
| | Mobile Sets | 4500 |
| | Handy Sets | 4500 |
| | Motor Cycle Sets | 3000 |

Source: Sindh Police over Years – presentation by Special Branch CPO, Karachi, June 1994.

Buildings:

As per police rule 10.76(i.) all police officers and men are entitled to free quarters for themselves in government barracks or other buildings provided at their headquarters, but 69% of the force is devoid of residential accommodation.⁴⁰ Following office accommodations are also required.

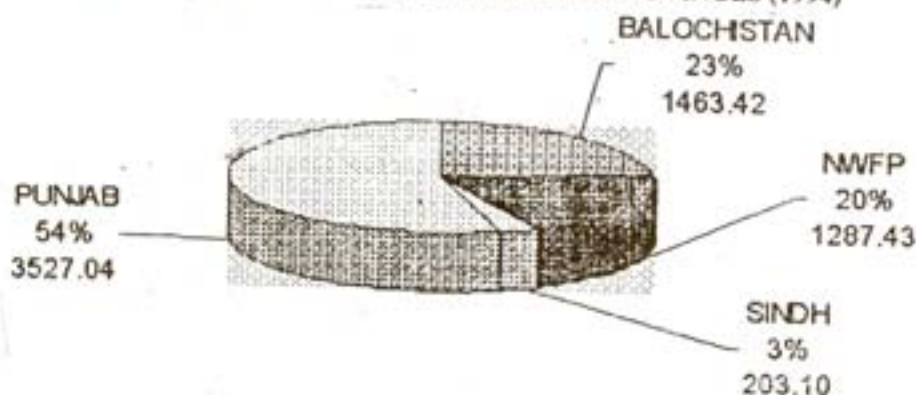
DIG=5, SP=53, DSP=131, PSs=131, PPs=227, P. Lines=11⁴¹

There is a lot of difference in the facilities provided to Sindh Police as compared to police of other provinces in Pakistan. The facts are given below:

T.A./D.A. Facilities:

Funds are shockingly low for the last 4 years for Sindh Police as compared to other provinces, as given in the following figure:

FIGURE 8
POLICE T.A./D.A. FACILITIES IN FOUR PROVINCES (1994)

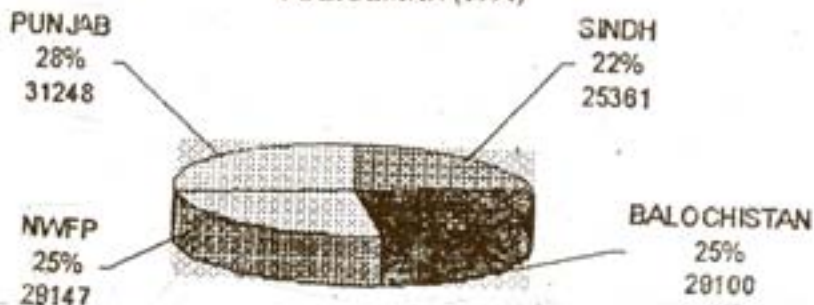


Source: Sindh Police Over Years, Special Branch CPO, Karachi.

Cost Per Policeman

If comparative cost per policeman is considered for the last five years the result would come as given in the following figures:

FIGURE 9
COMPARISON AMONG FOUR PROVINCES FOR COST AS PER POLICEMAN (1994)

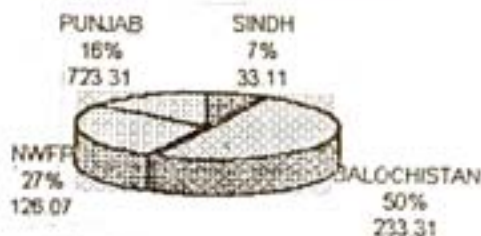


Source: Sindh Police Over Years, Special Branch CPO, Karachi.

Cash Rewards

There is also a difference in cash awards facility among the four provinces as compared to Sindh Police. The following figure reveals the difference:

FIGURE 10
COMPARISON AMONG FOUR PROVINCES FOR CASH REWARDS
AS PER POLICEMAN (1994)



Source: Sindh Police Over Years, Special Branch CPO, Karachi.

Sindh Police Budget:

To understand yearly budget of Sindh Police a table of facts is given below:

TABLE 11
YEAR WISE BUDGETARY ALLOCATIONS FOR SINDH POLICE
(1984-1994)

| YEAR | TOTAL ALLOCATION | % INCREASE |
|------|------------------|------------|
| 1984 | 532171670 | 20.90% |
| 1985 | 549343290 | 3.13% |
| 1986 | 771301470 | 28.78% |
| 1987 | 910648600 | 15.30% |
| 1988 | 973782260 | 6.48% |
| 1989 | 1164216810 | 16.36% |
| 1990 | 1436967420 | 18.98% |
| 1991 | 2527096430 | 43.14% |
| 1992 | 2204547000 | 14.63% |
| 1993 | 3227552600 | 31% |
| 1994 | 2582354465 | 20% |

Source: Sindh Police Over Years Special Branch CPO, Karachi.

Conclusion:

After the above study it is proved that Sindh police has become a part of crime. Sindh police played a major role in producing of dacoits and works contrary to the cause for which it exists.

The main cause behind it is the role of government, which has failed to make neutral and powerful with provision of well-educated and well-trained manpower.

The amount which is being spent on the other agencies for law enforcing purpose may be spent on the police. Hard and revolutionary steps should be made to give a new shape to police from top to bottom. Under a proper planning new persons with bright vision should be appointed and Thana level changes may be made, even the uniform of the police may also be changed so that people get justice in the society.

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Economic Integration Among Muslim Countries

DR. RASHID A. NAEEM*

Abstract

The article analyses the need and importance of the formation/activation of economic integration among the Muslim countries. It also highlights the areas where the economic cooperation can easily be formed and strengthened. They are trade, investment, and financial assistance. The article evinces that the formation of economic integration will be beneficial for Member countries with increased trade, aid, and investment flows. This will also enable them to protect themselves from the external economic as well as political exploitation by participating in the international forums with joint stand in global economic issues. The Non-Member countries will also benefit from the formation/activation of economic integration among the Muslim countries. The dynamic effects of economic integration will lead towards the creation of external trade that will benefit them in the long run. However, strong political will and determination is prerequisite to be meaningful of economic integration among the Muslim countries.

1. Introduction

The Muslim countries, along with other developing countries, have been subjected to exploitation by the developed countries on a massive scale. In the past few centuries, most of this exploitation was effected through the well-known policies of colonialism and imperialism. At present, despite the political independence achieved by the Muslim countries, exploitation continues to occur, although more indirectly and subtly. There is, in effect, an unceasing transfer of resources from the developing countries, including the Muslim countries, to the industrialized nations. Some of the important mechanism for this transfer of resources are the adverse and unequal terms of trade, invisible payments, international monetary system, operation of multinational

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corporations, transfer of skilled manpower, and foreign exchange balances of the Muslim and other developing countries held in the financial institutions of the industrialized countries. In this situation, there is need for Muslim countries to establish economic integration. The struggle in this regard is already in the way i.e., with the formation of "ECO" or more recently with the establishment of D-8. All these struggles show that the Muslim countries are striving for the establishment/activation of the economic integration among themselves. What is required that is to establish new institutions and strengthen the existing ones in order to faster the economic integration process.

This article intends to analyze the need and importance of establishment/activation of economic integration among the Muslim countries. The article is arranged in the following manners: Section II analyses the theoretical aspects of the theory of economic integration. It also highlights the static and dynamic benefits of economic integration. Section III provides the justification of the study and highlights problems being faced by the Muslim countries individually and collectively. Section IV provides some guidelines for the economic cooperation among the Muslim countries. Section V identifies some major areas of great concern of Muslim countries to be considered as cornerstone of economic integration. Finally, Section VI provides summary, concluding remarks and recommendations on the issues.

2. Theoretical Consideration: Effects of Economic Integration

For a long time it was simply taken for granted that the formation of a customs union would increase the welfare of its members. Free trade was seen as the optimum form of trade, so that any movement towards free trade would be a movement towards greater welfare. This belief was somewhat shaken when Viner (1950) argued that a customs union with its discriminatory tariff changes represents both a move towards free trade and a move towards potentially greater protectionism through the common external trade policy. This leads towards two separate effects: 'trade creation' and 'trade diversion'. The former improves the international allocation of resources and increases welfare while the latter has the opposite effects. Whether the customs union, on balance,

will increase or decrease welfare for its members, therefore, depends on the net effect of trade creation and trade diversion. The process of trade creation and trade diversion is shown in Chart 1.

As a consequence of abolishing tariffs resulting from the formation/enlargement of customs union, the home expensive products are replaced by similar low cost products within the customs union. This is the case of trade creation – the positive trade and welfare effect of customs union formation. It consists of a production effect, in the production of a quantity of products switched from inefficient sources to more efficient sources within the customs union thereby saving resources. This change towards a more retinal pattern of international specialization improves the allocation of resources since products are produced within the customs union more efficiently. In addition, it will also have a positive welfare effect as a result of an increase in consumer surplus (Wilson, 1990).

Trade diversion, on the other hand, occurs when the tariff changes that follow the creation of a customs union result in price changing in such a way as to lead member to buy goods and services produced relatively less efficiently in partner countries in place of those produced more efficiently and cheaply in non-member countries. In this instance, the source of imports is shifted from a more efficient source outside the customs union to a less efficient one within the customs union. This would be the case of trade diversion – the negative trade and welfare effect of a customs union. To the extent that a customs union frees trade within the bloc and causes a reduction of inefficient production within the union, there is a trade creation. To the extent that a customs union discriminated against non-members it has a trade diverting impact (Williamson, 1991).

Trade diversion, which is considered to be a short-run static phenomenon, may be expected to take place under the following circumstances. In the case of a non-member country whose export composition is such that a major part of it is produced in the union for duty-free intra-union trade, diversion in a trade is likely to be pronounced, adversely affecting the non-member country's export

earnings. Similarly, if the export composition of a non-member country is such that a greater proportion of it faces high tariff rates of the union, the magnitude of diversion is likely to be large. If the export composition of a non-member country does not conform to the above-mentioned pattern, then trade diversion is unlikely to be significant. Again, a non-member developing country may be made to face diversion if the union allows privilege access to products of other developing countries into its market by virtue of special trade arrangements. Thus, in the case of non-member country, whether a significant trade diversion has in fact taken place is an empirical question.

Chart 1. Process of Trade Creation and Trade Diversion

The process of formation, promotion or enlargement of economic integration leads towards two separate effects: trade creation and trade diversion. The former improves the international allocation of resources and increases welfare. The latter has the opposite effects. Thus one can evaluate the trade effects of economic integration by comparing the relative dimensions of these two effects.

Let A be the home country, B the free trade partner and C the rest of the world. It is assumed that country A and B form a customs union together and C remains outside.

| | A | B | C | A | B | C |
|-------------------|--------------------------|----|----|-------------------------|----|----|
| | <u>Before tariff cut</u> | | | <u>After tariff cut</u> | | |
| Production costs | 35 | 26 | 20 | 35 | 26 | 20 |
| 100 % Tariff in A | | 26 | 20 | | | 20 |
| Price in A | 35 | 52 | 40 | 35 | 26 | 40 |

Before freeing of trade with country B, consumers in country A only bought and consumed the home produced goods. After establishing free trade with B, tariff free imports would reach in country A at a price lower than the home-produced goods. This will displace the home products by the low cost product within the customs union. This is the

case of trade creation – the positive trade and welfare effect of customs union formation.

Trade diversion occurs when with the formation of economic integration tariff are changed in such a way as to lead members to buy goods and services produced relatively less efficiently in partner countries in place of those produced more efficiently and cheaply in the non-member countries. Again, the previous example can illustrate this. If the initial tariffs were 50% instead of 100%, a different situation would emerge:

| | <u>A</u> | <u>B</u> | <u>C</u> | <u>A</u> | <u>B</u> | <u>C</u> |
|-------------------|---------------|-------------------|----------|--------------|-------------------|----------|
| | <u>Before</u> | <u>tariff cut</u> | | <u>After</u> | <u>tariff cut</u> | |
| Production costs | 35 | 26 | 20 | 35 | 26 | 20 |
| 100 % Tariff in A | – | 13 | 10 | – | – | 10 |
| Price in A | 35 | 39 | 30 | 35 | 26 | 30 |

Prior to the formation of a customs union demand in country A was entirely met by imports from C after the formation of a customs union with country B, its imports would be shifted from the efficient and cheapest source C to less efficient B within the customs union due to tariff cut. This would be the case of trade diversion – the negative trade and welfare effect of a customs union formation.

The theory of customs union pioneered by Viner argues that there is no general presumption about whether a customs union or free trade area increases or decreases the real income of member countries and the world. The outcome depends on the balance between trade creation and trade diversion. For a customs union to be beneficial to participants, trade creation effect must outweigh trade diversion effect, so that on balance, following the formation or enlargement of a customs union, the suppliers are shifted from high-cost sources to low-cost sources.

Although mainstream static customs union theory gives us some important insights into the economic effects of a customs union, it should be treated with certain caution for various reasons. For instance, the

assumptions on which the static analysis is based are clearly somewhat less than totally realistic. Factors such as monopoly power, scale economies, transport costs, information deficiencies, unemployment, adjustment costs, and non-tariff barriers are conveniently ignored (Hodgson, 1993).

Recently, the analysis of customs union effects has shifted away from those static effects to the dynamic effects. This area of customs union theory concentrates on the effects of a customs union referring to the long-term changes occurring in the economic structure of the countries participating in customs union, rather than on the once-and-for-all effects outlined above (Johnson 1957, Scitovsky 1958, Balassa 1963 and Cooper and Massell 1965). There is some debate among economists as to what exactly constitutes a true dynamic effect. However, the explanations of dynamic effects normally include expansion of production in many sectors, reduction in unit costs, creation of new and competitive industries, faster technological progress and also benefits from internal and external economies of scale. Under these conditions, the share of investment in GNP is permanently raised and a higher growth of the economy is attained. Accordingly, the main channels through which a scheme of economic integration leads to economic gains may be regarded as the specialization of production according to comparative advantage, economies of scale arising from the potential utilization of production units due to enlarged size of the integrated market, improvement in terms of trade resulting from a stronger bargaining position in the international market, enhanced economic efficiency brought about by intensified competition and changes in the rate of growth attributed to changes in both the quantity and quality of factors of production (Lipsy, 1975).

With the formation of economic integration not only member countries are benefited as mentioned above, but the non-member countries may also be benefited by potential benefits from the formation of a customs union, such as increased output and consumption within the union, which would increase the demand for imports into the union, although such benefits will take time to materialize. In the short run the

static effect of customs union on non-members is expected to be of adverse nature. However, an appropriate change in the common external tariff could avoid this. Indeed, this external tariff could be adjusted in such a way that trade between the customs union and the non-member countries involves more or less the same collection and quantities of goods as before the formation of the union.

To sum up, the examination of customs union theory suggests that in a static framework, while trade creation is generally welfare improving, trade diversion need not necessarily reduce welfare. Occasionally, a customs union may generate 'external trade creation' resulting in an increase in imports from non-member countries. This occurs if non-member country's goods are complementary to goods whose internal demand is increased by the union. In this case, the non-member countries' exports are expected to increase as a consequence of the formation or enlargement of customs union, trade creation must by definition the outcome.

Today, the Muslim countries individually find it very difficult to protect themselves from external exploitation by the advanced economies, especially since the latter are in control of financial, trade and other institutions through which they can maintain their dominant position in the world economy. To counter this, the Muslim countries, as a group, need to establish/form an economic integration. Efforts towards this objective are underway. However, there is need to activate the process of economic integration if "ECO" or more recently formation of D-8 group are considered a form of economic integration. This will enable the Muslim countries to safeguard their common interests by achieving the static as well as dynamic benefits of economic integration. The examination of economic integration movement in the world shows that the developing countries have been less successful due to many reasons (Wilson 1990). However, it must be acknowledged that cooperation among the developing countries on a global scale presents a number of problems due to regional differences and, at certain times, differences in their priorities and interests. Such difficulties do not affect the Muslim countries. First, the feeling of brotherhood and equality among the Muslims, as inculcated by Islam, cuts across the barriers of

geography, race, colour and language. Second, most of the Muslim countries are either geographically contiguous or are in close proximity to each other. This geographical contiguity makes for savings in transport costs and, with proper development of communication, goods and people could be moved easily between them. Third, as a result of their particular historical backgrounds the Muslim countries, by and large, are neither identified politically or culturally with nor bound economically to any of the opposing blocs among the advanced countries. They are desirous of evolving their own independent identity and social, economic and political systems. Fourth, despite the differences in their financial positions, the Muslim countries are all under-developed and this, together with the above factors, assures considerable harmony in their overall objectives.

There are, broadly speaking, two categories of cooperation which the Muslim countries can pursue in the economic field. The first is the pursuit of a joint strategy in the economic relations and negotiations with the advanced countries in order to eliminate the external constraints to their economic and social development. The second kind of cooperation that is required from the Muslim countries is to utilize their combined assets including human, technical, mineral, financial, etc., - to promote rapid development of all the Muslim countries. The Muslim countries are, as stated above, all under-developed. This, of course, does not imply that each of them faces identical obstacles to its development.

As far as the petroleum exporting Muslim countries are concerned, the underlying economic problem is to offset the depletion of their natural resources by the accumulation of a stock of productive capital assets, so as to ensure future growth in their real incomes. For most of these countries, this can be achieved mainly by using the growing proceeds from petroleum exports to finance domestic investment and other development expenditure. For other petroleum-exporting Muslim countries, particularly those with small populations in relation to their oil revenue, domestic investment on the scale implied by likely future levels of export proceeds would not be feasible. They would, therefore, have to have recourse to international lending and rapid accumulation of foreign assets. An important consideration for them would be the quality of the

foreign assets they obtain. For the rest of the Muslim countries, the underlying problem is how best to reverse the secular adverse trend in their terms of trade so that foreign trade becomes an instrument for quick diversification and industrialization of their economies.

Thus, the petroleum-exporting Muslim countries require technology, skilled manpower and markets for rapid industrialization. While the more sophisticated technology would no doubt be obtained from the advanced countries (at a price), other less sophisticated techniques and the skilled manpower are available in the other Muslim countries. These countries also provide convenient markets for the processed goods and manufactures of their industries. At the same time, those among the Muslim countries which are financially at a disadvantage, could be enabled to increase their levels of production and consumption through increased financial assistance, increased investment, equity participation, etc., by countries having surplus revenues.

In individual Muslim countries, these problems, peculiar to their particular resource endowment and history, may seem intractable at the national level. But the Muslim countries, as a group, are in a much better position. Their manpower and material resources are enormous. As a group they are not lacking in capital, technical manpower, land or any other resources. They may not be having the latest sophisticated technology in some fields, but such technology can be purchased having the vast financial resources. However, some Muslim countries like, Turkey, Egypt, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, Malaysia Indonesia, etc., have enough sound industrial base. With the establishment of economic integration arrangement can be made with common efforts to enhance the research and development activities in the areas of scientific, technological and industrial research to keep abreast of the times. Individually some of the Muslim countries may be economically weak. But as a group, due to intensive cooperating with one another, they can be very strong. Forms of cooperation can be devised in which benefits and costs, both tangible and intangible, can be equitably shared and the national objectives of each country can be safeguarded. All that is required is the will to cooperate, integrate their economies and establish

some institutions as instruments for the desired cooperation. The existing arrangements seem insufficient. There is need to establish new ones and strengthen the existing ones.

Table 1. Imports and Share of 29 Muslim Countries: 1996
(Value in Million US\$)

| S.No. | Countries | Imports from MC* | Total Imports from World | Share % of MC* in Total |
|-------|--------------|------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. | Algeria | 626 | 9106 | 6.87 |
| 2. | Azerbaijan | 365 | 916 | 39.85 |
| 3. | Bahrain | 2015 | 4093 | 49.23 |
| 4. | Bangladesh | 317 | 6225 | 5.09 |
| 5. | Chad | - | - | - |
| 6. | Cameroon | 786 | 1204 | 65.28 |
| 7. | Egypt | 963 | 13020 | 7.40 |
| 8. | Iran | - | - | - |
| 9. | Indonesia | 1669 | 42929 | 3.89 |
| 10. | Jordan | - | - | - |
| 11. | Kazakhstan | 571 | 4261 | 13.40 |
| 12. | Kirgyzstan | 338 | 838 | 40.33 |
| 13. | Libya | - | - | - |
| 14. | Lebanon | 360 | 7571 | 4.75 |
| 15. | Malaysia | 2079 | 77905 | 2.67 |
| 16. | Murituus | 224 | 2277 | 9.84 |
| 17. | Morocco | 914 | 8254 | 11.07 |
| 18. | Oman | 1471 | 4578 | 32.13 |
| 19. | Pakistan | 3662 | 12141 | 30.16 |
| 20. | Saudi Arabia | 2058 | 27765 | 7.41 |
| 21. | Sudan | 326 | 1073 | 30.38 |
| 22. | Syria | 727 | 5380 | 13.51 |
| 23. | Tajikistan | 337 | 668 | 50.45 |
| 24. | Tunis | 485 | 7698 | 6.30 |
| 25. | Turkey | 3826 | 42930 | 8.91 |
| 26. | Turkmenistan | 258 | 1314 | 19.63 |
| 27. | Uganda | 88 | 816 | 10.78 |
| 28. | Uzbekistan | 1088 | 4712 | 23.09 |
| 29. | Yemen | - | - | - |
| | Total | 25553 | 287674 | 8.88 |

*MC denotes for Muslim Countries; - Not available

Source: Compiled and calculated obtaining data from International Statistical Year Book 1997.

Table 2. Exports and Share of 29 Muslim Countries: 1996
(Value in Million US\$)

| S.No. | Countries | Imports from MC* | Total Imports from World | Share % of MC* in Total |
|-------|--------------|------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. | Algeria | 764 | 11099 | 6.88 |
| 2. | Azerbaijan | 325 | 631 | 51.51 |
| 3. | Bahrain | 545 | 4602 | 11.84 |
| 4. | Bangladesh | 70 | 3539 | 1.98 |
| 5. | Chad | - | - | - |
| 6. | Cameroon | 44 | 1758 | 2.50 |
| 7. | Egypt | 299 | 3535 | 8.46 |
| 8. | Iran | - | - | - |
| 9. | Indonesia | 1448 | 49815 | 2.91 |
| 10. | Jordan | - | - | - |
| 11. | Kazakhstan | 571 | 6231 | 9.16 |
| 12. | Kirgyzstan | 262 | 7571 | 3.46 |
| 13. | Libya | - | - | - |
| 14. | Lebanon | 409 | 1020 | 40.10 |
| 15. | Malaysia | 3201 | 78315 | 4.09 |
| 16. | Murituais | 5 | 1699 | 0.29 |
| 17. | Morocco | 468 | 4742 | 9.87 |
| 18. | Oman | 875 | 7222 | 12.12 |
| 19. | Pakistan | 1166 | 9322 | 12.50 |
| 20. | Saudi Arabia | 2456 | 56510 | 4.35 |
| 21. | Sudan | 111 | 273 | 40.66 |
| 22. | Syria | 724 | 3999 | 18.10 |
| 23. | Tajikistan | 246 | 770 | 31.95 |
| 24. | Tunis | 393 | 5518 | 7.12 |
| 25. | Turkey | 2256 | 23048 | 9.79 |
| 26. | Turkmenistan | 467 | 1693 | 27.58 |
| 27. | Uganda | - | - | - |
| 28. | Uzbekistan | 430 | 4211 | 10.21 |
| 29. | Yemen | - | - | - |
| | Total | 17535 | 287123 | 6.11 |

*MC denotes for Muslim Countries; - Not available

Source: Compiled and calculated obtaining data from International Statistical Year Book 1997.

IV. Guidelines for Cooperation

Greater cooperation amongst the Muslim countries in various economic fields is both possible and desirable. The volume of foreign trade, for example, among the Muslim countries is very small at present. Imports from the Muslim countries constitute barely nine percent of the

total imports of the Muslim countries. The Muslim countries' exports are even a smaller proportion of their total exports that is, only six percent in 1996. Table 1 shows the trends of 29 Muslim countries' imports in value terms. It also shows the share percentage of Muslim countries in the total import of the individual countries. The share of Muslim countries' imports vary from country to country. Similarly, Table 2 shows trends of exports of individual Muslim country to Muslim countries. The examination of data presented in Tables 1 and 2 confirms the smallness of foreign trade among the Muslim countries both in share percentage and value terms. Conversely, Table 3 (see Annex), bespeaks that the Muslim countries are highly dependent on the markets of USA and the European Union both in the case of exports and imports. For instance, the share of USA and the European Union in the 23 Muslim countries' imports is 13 percent and 31 percent in 1996. While their share in the Muslim countries' exports is 9 percent and 32 percent respectively in the same year. Overall the examination of data shows the high level of dependency of Muslim countries on the markets of the USA and the European Union both in the case of exports and imports.

Lack of sufficient diversification in the economies of the Muslim countries is an important reason for the smallness of foreign trade amongst them (see Tables 1 and 2). If positive measures are taken by the Muslim countries, individually as well as collectively, to overcome the various constraints to faster economic growth and diversification of their economies, the volume of foreign trade amongst them is bound to increase. The process can be accelerated with the preparation/harmonization of development programmes of individually Muslim countries. The development programmes of individual countries' are meant to achieve national objectives in various economic and social fields. While, in formulating collective programmes countries can take into account the import needs of other Muslim countries which their own development programmes are not designed to meet. Through such well formulated/integrated actions, foreign trade among the Muslim countries would increase without involving any sacrifice of material welfare of any individual Muslim country. It would only mean the diversion of a part of the future trade of some Muslim countries from the rest of the world to other Muslim countries as suggested by theory of economic integration as examined earlier in section II.

Several areas of mutually beneficial cooperation among the Muslim countries can be identified through a study of their individual development programmes and concrete results achieved through harmonization of their plans. However, the major areas of economic integration among the Muslim countries can be suggested as cornerstone like, the trade, aid and investment.

4. Areas of Cooperation

(i) Trade

In the field of trade, greater and mutually advantageous exchange of goods and services amongst the Muslim countries will result in an increase in their export earnings and a consequent improvement in their balance of trade and balance of payments. The economic integration will tend to increase the bargaining power of Muslim countries, improve the quality of products through efficient allocation of resources, help in diversification of their exports both the country and commodity wise, achieve the economies of extended market, etc. This will lead towards the improvement of their terms trade vis-à-vis the developed countries. They are large producers of some commodities, such as rubber, olives, textile, carpets, etc., which are subject to wide fluctuations in prices to great detriment of their economies. Long term commodity agreements between the producing and consuming countries could help stabilize prices and prevent exploitation of the producers by ensuring fair prices to them. But such agreements are often very difficult to negotiate, the consumers sometimes not being very much interested in price stabilization. However, the producing countries themselves could achieve a measure of stability in prices by agreeing on the quantities to be produced by each of them and by establishment of buffer stock. So far such stocks have not been established for lack of necessary financing arrangements. But the Muslim countries, by cooperation amongst themselves and with other developing countries, can arrange the required financing.

The establishment/activation of economic integration among the Muslim countries in the form of common market* is desirable. This will surely pave the ways of increased trade amongst the Muslim countries.

This will also prevent them from the international economic exploitation, help in reducing their dependence on the markets of advanced countries. At present, all the Muslim countries are highly dependent on the markets of advanced countries both in the case of exports and imports as the examination of data presented in Table 3 indicates (see Annex).

(ii) Investment/Production

In the field of production, economic integration of Muslim countries can help to achieve the economies of scale generated by the market extension and improved market access, especially where the market in a single country is too small to support a minimum economic unit. Cooperative measures like joint ventures or location of production units of different industries in different countries according to division of labour would ensure equitable distribution of costs and benefits in the sphere of investment and production more fruitfully.

Encouragement of private investment by nationals of one country in other Muslim countries is another area of mutually beneficial cooperation. Countries which have a substantial surplus in their balance of payments could easily remove all controls on investment by their nationals in productive undertakings in other Muslim countries. To encourage such investments, all the Muslim countries may conclude agreements for avoidance of double taxation and guarantee unrestricted remittance of profits on such investments to the country from where they originated. Further, greater mobility of capital funds in the form of loans, credits, aid, assistance, grants, donations, etc., among the Muslim countries can also be fostered. Consideration may be given to the removal of all restrictions on the free flow of funds among the Muslim countries. Countries having a substantial balance of payments surplus may allow their banks and other financial institutions to lend to business

* In Customs Union, member countries agree to dismantle all internal tariffs and other trade impediments as in the case of free trade areas; additionally they agree to practice a common and coordinated trade policy towards the rest of the world. In a Common Market, member countries agree to take the customs union a step forward by additionally promoting the free movements of labour and capital. Thus, a common market is an area of internal mobility of goods, services, and factors of production.

enterprises in other Muslim countries under normal financing arrangements. In short, the friendly environment for trade, investment, insurance, capital flows, etc., may be ensured by the Muslim countries among themselves. The formation/activation of economic integration among the Muslim countries is supposed to accelerate the process of capital formation among the Muslim countries.

(iii) Transportation

The Muslim countries depend greatly on the Western shipping lines for the movement of the bulk of their foreign trade. The freight rates of these lines have been constantly rising. The shipping fleets of the Muslim countries are too small to offer any effective competition. The national fleets of the Muslim countries could be substantially increased if they could secure business from other Muslim countries. The establishment or activation of economic integration among the Muslim countries will ease the necessary financial and manpower resources. Consequently, a joint shipping corporation with adequate tonnage could be established to supplement the shipping fleets of individual countries. It would not only promote trade amongst the Muslim countries but also secure business from the rest of the world. If properly organized, it can be a very profitable enterprise. The establishment of a joint tanker fleet would help reduce the dependence of the Muslim oil exporting countries on the oil companies for the movement of their oil. Similarly, the Muslim countries can be connected with the development of Railways where applicable. The railway being the most economic, cheap and safest way of transportation will surely increase the trade flows between the Muslim countries and will also ease the mobility of factor endowments. This will be the most effective method of integrating the Muslim countries economically, politically and socially.

(iv) Financial Institutions

The next important area of cooperation among the Muslim countries can be the financial field to reduce their dependence on the Western financial institutions. Such cooperation could open up avenues for safe and profitable investment of the surplus resources within the member countries, on the one hand. On the other hand, the financial

cooperation will help the Member countries to curtail their dependency on the international lending institution, reduce their indebtedness and improve their credit worthiness in the international arena. The Islamic Development Bank is making good progress in this regard. However, with the activation of economic integration, IDB is required to be restructured. The working capital of the bank should be increased in order to enhance the level of investment and financial assistance in the core sectors of the economy in the Member countries. Nevertheless, the ultimate objective of the bank should be the operation of international monetary system among the Member countries.

The possibilities of cooperation suggested above do not exhaust the scope of mutual cooperation among the Muslim countries. There are many other areas which can be explored and for which further studies would need to be undertaken.

(v) Summary, Recommendations and Concluding Remarks

The article examined the need and the possibilities of formation/activation of economic integration among the Muslim countries. It appraised both the static and dynamic benefits and costs of such integration. Further, it identified some areas where the integration can easily be formed and strengthened. The suggested major areas of economic integration are trade, investment and financial sectors. Nevertheless, it is suggested that economic cooperation among the Muslim countries, in order to be meaningful, will require to be pursued step by step with strong political will and determination. The will to promote such cooperation undoubtedly exists among the peoples and governments of the Muslim countries which is evident from the functioning of ECO and the establishment of D-8 group. What is needed at present is an objective assessment of the possibilities and potential for such cooperation in the light of the enlightened self-interest of each of the Muslim countries. The obstacles (both economic and political) that have to be overcome and the institutions that need to be set up to make economic cooperation a continuing and, indeed, an automatic process is the need of the time.

There are a host of issues which this paper has attempted to identify, even if not fully, on which the Muslim countries need to reach well-considered agreements. These issues include those involving the relations of the Muslim countries with other nations, particularly the developed countries, as well as those concerning the enhancement of their mutual economic relations. The issues identified at the national levels are: the establishment of common market, enhancement of joint industrial ventures with increased financial aid, assistance and establishment of joint shipping line, tanker fleet, construction of railway etc. While at the international level the steps should be taken towards (i) the evaluation of a joint stand on trade negotiations in multilateral forums so as to obtain fair prices for their exports of primary and finished goods and greater access to the markets of the developed countries (ii) agreement on a joint policy together with other developing countries for a code of conduct to regulate the activities of multinational corporations in the sphere of trade and investment.

The study highlights that with the formation of economic integration both the member and non-member countries will benefit. The dynamic effects of economic integration will lead towards the expansion of production in many sectors, reduction in unit costs, creation of new and competitive industries, faster technological progress and also benefits from internal and external economies of scale. Under these conditions, the share of investment in GNP is expected to rise permanently and a higher growth of the economy is to be observed. The main channels through which a scheme of economic integration would lead to economic gains may be regarded as the specialization of production according to comparative advantage, economies of scale arising from the potential utilization of production units due to enlarged size of the integrated market, improvement in terms of trade resulting from a stronger bargaining position in the international market, enhanced economic efficiency brought about by intensified competition and changes in the rate of growth attributed to changes in both the quantity and quality of factors of production. The economic integration among the Muslim countries will also generate 'external trade creation' resulting in

an increase in imports from non-member countries. This will lead the non-member countries to gain from the potential benefits of economic integration to be established/strengthened among the Muslim countries.

ANNEX

Table 3. Imports and Exports of Muslim Countries with the USA and European Community: 1996

| S.No. | Countries | Imports from | Share % MC* | (Value in Million US\$) | |
|-------|----------------|--------------|----------------|---------------------------|------------|
| | | | | Total Exports from MC* | Share % |
| 1. | ALGERIA | | | | |
| | USA | 1644 | 18 | 2718 | 25 |
| | European Union | 5692 | 63 | 6659 | 60 |
| 2. | AZERBAIJAN | | | | |
| | USA | 25 | 1.7 | 5 | 0.3 |
| | European Union | 85 | 14 | 59 | 9.0 |
| 3. | BAHRAIN | | | | |
| | USA | 375 | 9 | 111 | 3.0 |
| | European Union | 772 | 19 | 74 | 2.0 |
| 4. | BANGLADESH | | | | |
| | USA | 985 | 16 | 1250 | 35 |
| | European Union | 684 | 11 | 1604 | 45 |
| 5. | CAMEROON | | | | |
| | USA | 136 | 11 | 50 | 3.0 |
| | European Union | 644 | 54 | 1261 | 78 |
| 6. | EGYPT | | | | |
| | USA | 3261 | 25 | 475 | 14 |
| | European Union | 47 | 36 | 1613 | 46 |
| 7. | INDONESIA | | | | |
| | USA | 6935 | 16 | 7939 | 16 |
| | European Union | 9234 | 22 | 7723 | 16 |
| 8. | KAZAKHSTAN | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|-------|----|-------|-----|
| | USA | 78 | 2 | 78 | 1 |
| | European Union | 552 | 13 | 1145 | 19 |
| 9. | KIRGYISTAN | | | | |
| | USA | 133 | 16 | 18 | 4 |
| | European Union | 93 | 11 | 20 | 4 |
| 10. | LEBANON | | | | |
| | USA | 958 | 13 | 39 | 4 |
| | European Union | 3317 | 49 | 166 | 19 |
| 11. | MALAYSIA | | | | |
| | USA | 13602 | 18 | 15847 | 20 |
| | European Union | 11295 | 15 | 10737 | 14 |
| 12. | MAURITUS | | | | |
| | USA | 107 | 5 | 242 | 14 |
| | European Union | 752 | 33 | 1316 | 78 |
| 13. | MOROCCO | | | | |
| | USA | 1243 | 15 | 315 | 7 |
| | European Union | 4468 | 54 | 2916 | 62 |
| 14. | OMAN | | | | |
| | USA | 444 | 10 | 75 | 1 |
| | European Union | 1158 | 25 | 55 | 0.8 |
| 15. | PAKISTAN | | | | |
| | USA | 1599 | 13 | 1858 | 20 |
| | European Union | 2529 | 21 | 2810 | 30 |
| 16. | SAUDIA ARABIA | | | | |
| | USA | 7161 | 26 | 9738 | 17 |
| | European Union | 9579 | 35 | 8810 | 17 |
| 17. | SYRIA | | | | |
| | USA | 625 | 12 | 22 | 0.6 |
| | European Union | 1740 | 32 | 2479 | 62 |
| 18. | TAJKISTAN | | | | |
| | USA | 18 | 3 | 11 | 5 |
| | European Union | 108 | 16 | 266 | 35 |

| | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|-------|----|-------|----|
| 19. | TUNIS | | | | |
| | USA | 541 | 7 | 121 | 2 |
| | European Union | 5570 | 72 | 4419 | 80 |
| 20. | TURKEY | | | | |
| | USA | 4395 | 10 | 1873 | 8 |
| | European Union | 22705 | 53 | 11468 | 50 |
| 21. | TURKMENISTAN | | | | |
| | USA | 395 | 30 | 45 | 3 |
| | European Union | 143 | 11 | 101 | 6 |
| 22. | UGANDA | | | | |
| | USA | 34 | 4 | — | — |
| | European Union | 226 | 28 | — | — |
| 23. | UZBEKISTAN | | | | |
| | USA | 439 | 9 | — | — |
| | European Union | 925 | 20 | — | — |
| | Total: | | | | |
| | USA | 45133 | 13 | 42830 | 9 |
| | European Union | 82318 | 31 | 65461 | 32 |

*MC denotes for Muslim Countries; — Not available

Source: Compiled and calculated obtaining data from International Statistical Year Book 1997.

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All India Muslim League and Indian National Congress Reapproachment: A Case Study of Lucknow Pact 1916

IQTIDAR KARAMAT CHEEMA

Muslim League in the beginning had started as a moderate organization to promote among the Muslims of India a feeling of loyalty to the British Government and to remove any misconceptions that may arise, as to the intentions of government with regard to any of its measures becoming in the course of time a revolutionary body. It had tried to abstain from any kind of political agitation and to rely upon constitutional methods. It differed from Indian National Congress in its methods of acquiring Political Reforms and had refused to join hands with the Congress Leaders in "Swadeshi" and "Boycott" movements, but circumstances compelled the Muslim League to change its path. It had to withdraw its loyalty from the British Government, who had disregarded the sacrifices made by the Muslims and had not fulfilled the promises made to them. The Muslim League therefore had to look towards its sister communities, with whose help it could, it was thought, press its claims. Many developments in the Anglo-Muslim relations in India also from outside are responsible for this drift towards the Congress.

Before the annulment of the partition of Bengal, in 1911, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Chairman of the Reception Committee, at the annual session of the League at Delhi, had declared the possibility of Hindu-Muslim unity. In his address he said,

"Although by the grace of God we are in the good books of the Rulers, yet there is considerable scope for the improvement of our relations with the fellow inhabitants of the country"[1].

The Nagpur session of Muslim League of 1910 was presided over by Syed Nabiullah. The real change in the League's policy starts from here. Syed Nabiullah, in his presidential address made an attack upon "Bureaucracy" and held the civil servants responsible for the dissensions. He also suggested while criticizing the defence expenditure, that it

should be reduced as much as possible and that the army stationed at the Frontier should also be reduced[2].

The Hindu-Muslim conference held at Allahabad on January 1, 1911, was attended by sixty Hindus and forty Muslims, the most prominent among whom were men like Surendera Nath Bannerge, Maharaja Bahadur Darbhanga, Madan Mohan Moaviya, Moti Lal Nehru and Gopal Krishana Gokhale while the Muslim leaders included Viquar ul Mulk, Rahimtullah, Mohammad Aziz Mirza and Syed Mahmood[3].

Nothing beyond the appointment of a sub-committee could be done by this conference. The committee could not hammer out solutions to such issues as the cow slaughter, playing of music before the mosques and the Urdu-Hindi controversy. As a result it had to abandon its efforts[4].

The break out of First World War created a minor revolution in India, although India as a whole remained loyal to the British government and no efforts were made to embarrass the British in her hour of travail, or to take advantage of their weakness in order to obtain political concessions. All parties supported the British and even those who later vociferously advocated the cause of Khilafat waged no antiwar campaign. It must not be thought for a while that the basic differences between the League and Congress were forgotten when rapprochement was being talked of. It was under the stress of political exigency that the differences were momentarily forgotten. The causes behind the basic Hindu-Muslim animosity were still there[5].

The Muslims of India considered the support of Congress valuable for the cause of Khilafat. Religion could not be divorced from politics[6].

The basic Hindu-Muslim feelings did not change. The Bande Matram was still the national anthem of Hindus. This anthem was contained in the "Anandmath", a novel by the Bengali Communalist Bankim Chandra. He preached in his novel complete annihilation of the Malecha (Muslims)[7].

The political situation was gradually bringing the League and Congress nearer. Gandhi quickly perceived that the Muslims needed the Congress support badly and such an opportunity may not recur. He lent his influence and prestige to the Khilafat movement and carried most of the Congressmen with him. The Muslims were amazed at this unexpected help and found that the chances of success were much brighter now. Ever since war started the British had been giving out that Britain was fighting for the cause of freedom and the right of self-determination. The Indian intelligentsia took this publicity as a solemn promise. The Indian leaders reminded the government repeatedly that although India's support to the British cause was not conditional yet a radical installment of reforms was desired at the end of the war.

There were certain sections which wanted to take advantage of England's preoccupation with the war, several revolutionary societies were formed possibly under the sponsorship of Germany, Turkey and Russia. It was widely propagated that it was a splendid opportunity to liberate India from British rule. An organized revolt was planned for 1918 with the support of Afghanistan, Turkey and Russia. The Sikhs and Pathans were encouraged to rise in rebellion. Disorder broke out at several places resulting in widespread political dacoities and murders. The bid was unsuccessful. The British had, however, learnt that the rising tide of nationalism could not be stopped and had to be met halfway. The British not only curbed all revolutionary and violent movements but also held out the promise to grant constitutional reforms with the pledge to lead India to the status of self-governing member of the Commonwealth[8].

At the seventh session of the League at Agra (December 1913), Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola said in his presidential address: "Our policy towards the British Government should be one of unswerving loyalty, and towards the Hindus one of brotherly love and regard." Congress welcomed the new trend in the League's policy and at the twenty-eight session at Karachi (December 1913) responded by the following resolution. The Congress places on record its warm appreciation of the adoption by the All India Muslim League of the ideal of self-government for India, within the British Empire, and expresses its complete accord

with the belief that the League has so emphatically declared at its last sessions that the political future of the country depends on the harmonious working and co-operation of the various communities in the country, which has been the cherished ideal of the Congress. The Congress most heartily welcomes the hope expressed by the League that the leaders of the different communities will make every endeavor to find a modus operandi for joint and concerted action on all questions of national good and earnestly appeals to all the sections of the people to help the object we all have at heart[9].

In December 1915 Jinnah with the approval of local Muslim leaders sent a letter inviting All India Muslim League to hold its annual session in Bombay to coincide with the time and place of Congress session. The Muslim League consequently met on December 30, 1915 at Bombay. It was for the first time that Congress leaders attended the League session. Mazharul Haq, a moderate leader was the president. Congress leaders like Gandhi, Mrs. Annie Besant and Sarojini Naidu sat with Jinnah in the session[10].

In December 1916 the Muslim League and Congress held joint session at Lucknow[11]. The Joint Committee of the League and the Congress which had been appointed at the 1915 session succeeded in arriving at a unanimous decision[12]. This scheme was ratified by the League on 31 December and by the Congress on December 29, 1916[13].

The Lucknow Pact was the first joint demand by the two political parties for constitutional reforms. The scheme was divided in seven parts. The more important parts were as follows:-

Provincial Legislative Councils

- 1) Provincial Legislative Councils shall consist of four-fifth elected and one-fifth nominated members.
- 2) Their strength shall not be less than 125 members in the major provinces, and from 50 to 75 in minority provinces.

- 3) The members of the Councils should be elected directly by the people on as broad a franchise as possible.
- 4) Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and the Mohammadans should be represented through special electorates on the provincial legislative councils in the following proportions.

| | |
|------------------|------------------------------------|
| Punjab | 50% of the elected Indian Members. |
| United Province | 30% of the elected Indian Members. |
| Bengal | 40% of the elected Indian Members. |
| Bihar | 25% of the elected Indian Members. |
| Central Province | 15% of the elected Indian Members. |
| Madras | 15% of the elected Indian Members. |
| Bombay | 33% of the elected Indian Members. |

Provided that no Muslim shall participate in any of the other elections to the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Councils except those electorates representing special interest. Provided further that no bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution, introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other communities in the Legislative Council concerned shall be proceeded with, if three-fourth of the members of that community in the particular council; Imperial or Provincial oppose the Bill or any clause thereof, or the resolution.

- (a) Except customs, post, telegraph, mint, salt, opium, railways, army and navy and tributes from Indian States, all other sources of revenue should be provincial.
- (b) There should be no divided heads of revenue. The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions from the provincial governments, such fixed contributions being liable to revision when extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary.

- (c) The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with matters affecting the internal administration of the province including the power to raise loans and to impose and alter taxation and to vote on the budget.
- (d) A resolution passed by the Provincial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Executive government, unless vetoed by the Governor in Council, provided, however, that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.
- (e) A Bill, other than a money bill, may be introduced in the Council in accordance with the rules made in that behalf by the Council itself and the consent of the government should not be required.

Imperial Legislative Council

1. The strength of the Imperial Legislative Council is 150.
2. Four-fifth of the members shall be elected.
3. One-third of the Indian elected members should be Mohammedans, elected by separate Mohammedan electorates in the several provinces, in the proportion, as may be, in which they are represented on the Provincial Legislative Councils by separate Mohammedan electorates.
4. The Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India's direction of the Military affairs and the foreign political relations of India including declaration of war, the making of peace and entering into treaties.

The Government of India

The Governor-General of India shall be the head of the government in India. He shall have an executive council which shall comprise of 50% Indians. The Indian members shall be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

The Secretary of State in Council

The Secretary of State for India's Council shall be abolished. The cost of his office shall be met from British estimates. He shall be assisted by two permanent under-secretaries of state one of whom shall be an Indian. The military and naval commissions shall be thrown open to Indians[14].

Thus the entire scheme prepared and agreed upon by the Muslim League and Indian National Congress was not accepted by Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu and the only part of it, which they agreed to, and adopted in their Reforms was the "Communal Settlement" but "even this was not adopted in its entirety"[15].

There was now complete accord between the Congress and the Muslim League. The League session of 1916 was presided over by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, whose Presidential address, became the "foundation for the edifice he built a quarter of a century later. He said: "we have a vast continent inhabited by 315 million people sprung from various social stocks inheriting various cultures, and professing a variety of religious creeds. This stupendous human group, thrown together under one physical and political environment, is still in various stages of intellectual and moral growth. All this means a great diversity of outlook, purpose and endeavour." He also emphasized that Indians were "determined to prove their fitness for self-government; the Hindu-Muslim rapprochement was the sign of the birth of a United India." Muhammad Ali Jinnah said that the Hindus and the Muslims had similar political objectives. But he "did not forget to emphasise that the Muslims should be allowed their own caliph" and he "claimed that he himself and other Leaders of the Muslim League were the chosen Leaders of the seventy million Muslims of India"[16].

Importance of the Pact

The Indian National Congress had not uptill now recognized the principle of representation of Indian Muslims through special electorates granted to them by the Indian Councils Act of 1909. From that time onward the Congress Leaders made open attacks upon the validity of the

separate electorate and called this measure as "Unjustified and improper" and which had divided the Indians into two communal worlds. Now for the first time since then the "Separate electorates received the support of the Indian National Congress, even though the Muslims had to pay a disproportionate price in the shape of the conversion of their majorities in the Punjab and Bengal Legislatures into minorities[17].

The signing of Lucknow Pact marks a landmark in the History of League-Congress relations. "This event, says Rajput, "Stands as a landmark in the political History of India, for, while on the one hand it brought the Muslims face to face with the British Government, on the other, it also established the independent and a separate entity of the Muslims in the sub-continent of India[18].

From the signing of the Lucknow Pact the attitude of the British government towards Muslims underwent a complete change "for the Muslims were no longer living up to the reputation of loyalty." The Hindu-Muslim unity gave a death blow to the British conception of Muslim loyalty. It made a farce of the myth of Muslim loyalty which had been engendered and sustained so far by the Anglo-Indians and their conservative allies" On the other hand, it made the British and Congress group to welcome the "new developments, partly to justify their theory about the fundamental unity of India and partly to show how wrong the other side had been[19].

The signing of the Lucknow Pact showed that the Muslims gave up their pledge of loyalty towards the government. They also gave up double representation and accepted limits and fixed representation[20]. The pact represents the high water mark of Hindu-Muslim relations, and the culmination of constitutional approach to rationalism[21].

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Major-General Hakeem Arshad Qureshi:

The 1971 Indo-Pak War

Oxford University Press,

London-2002.

Price n.m.

A SOLDIER'S NARRATIVE

Major-General Hakeem Arshad Qureshi was commander of an Infantry battalion (26FF) in East Pakistan (Saidpur-Rangpur-Dinajpur) and served during 1970 general elections, civil disobedience movement, the insurgency, the counter insurgency, and the 1971 War. In recognition of his services he was awarded Sitara-i-Jurrat (Military). Despite his immense suffering and humiliation as P.O.W. he was appointed, after his return home, Director-General Pakistan Rangers guarding the 1400 miles long border with India. He also served the Punjab Public Service Commission from 1990 to 1995 as member, a position of distinction and honour offered only to the intellectuals and erudite.

Apart from a preface at the beginning, an Annexure, Bibliography and Index towards the end, the Soldier's Narrative is spread over twenty five chapters covering a wide range of Political and the maneuvered debacle which befell the distant eastern wing of Pakistan for a couple of years before 16 December 1971 the fall of Dhaka. Major-General Hakeem Arshad Qureshi was not an eyewitness to all the happenings during the years, but he indeed was involved in many of them directly or indirectly with first hand knowledge of most of the fateful and tragic events, in particular the surrender of the Eastern Command. He observes, "I was a participating witness to both the creation and the bifurcation of my homeland and unusual experience" (Preface). He is also aware and conscious of his responsibilities in recording these events for posterity so that "similar situation in the future could be handled in a pragmatic manner..... as centrifugal forces are active in different parts of this unfortunate land. It is necessary, he adds, "that the bitter experience of the loss of East Pakistan and the circumstances leading to it are dissected

dispassionately and corrective measures initiated in the right direction to harness the dangerous trends currently gaining grounds”.

The Major-General has not apprised the reader with his academic background but his keen observation and critical appraisal of the situation with strong nationalist feelings, patriot soldierly devotion to the country's security and solidarity make his masterly narrative exciting and instructive. In particular he highlights casually, the administrative and policy mistakes, which if avoided, could result differently. Infact he possesses a historian-like pen and insight which so frequently appears in his analysis of situations in East Pakistan Crisis. Going through the pages of the "Soldier's Narrative, and under the charm of his literary style and expression, I recalled a similar reminiscent of Brig. Siddique Salik's

میں نے حاکم اور سپاہی دیکھا

published by Qaumi Publishers, Lahore in 1979. The quality of the book was and still is that once in hand it was difficult to part with it covering more than two hundred pages. I found the same reading romance in nearly three hundred pages of the Book in hand. The Major-General does not let loose his grip on the reader's mind and his inquisitiveness increases pages after pages. And yet another great quality of the General is that he takes you in the midst of the geo-political scenario and the disruptive anti-Pakistan activity of the enemy in East Pakistan, letting you feel as one of the defenders, alongwith the civil and military personnel fighting for Pakistan's solidarity and integrity.

The analysis of the surrender branded as "the Ultimate Shame" is a natural corollary of the preceding tragic events, he examined under different heads. Beginning from the political crisis following the General Elections of 1970 and the failure of transfer of Govt. to the elected leadership, it multiplied the already existing tension and mistrust between the two wings of Pakistan, a situation which the hostile neighbouring country exploited to its favour, thus encouraging anti-Pakistan elements in the eastern wing to go independent. India's military interference in 1971 war was a successful mission irrespective of the fact that Indian forces were defeated at a number of fronts in different sectors suggesting that fall of Dhaka in December 1970 was not a military defeat but a foreign political maneuver and machination under vicious and

disorganized military Government in Pakistan. The Indian propaganda of the military success at different sectors are denied through the factual details alongwith the Indian version shown in Appendix revealing the distortion which the Indian Press and electronic media made, highlighting their successes.

The Narrative of the P.O.W's camp is all the more revealing in many ways. It examines and explains human psyche and conduct of different age groups under pressure. The General reveals some futile attempts to escape through prepared tunnels under great duress and the harsh treatment, which Pakistani soldiers received in return. But demoralization did not come on the faces of Pakistanis despite inhuman treatment meted out to them against the Geneva Convention.

The most important part of the book is the chapter A Reappraisal, an analysis of the causes of Pakistan's failure in East Pakistan and the military defeat in 1971 war. The Hamoodur Rehman Commission Report remained a 'Sacred' document until it was made public with some reservations as its important chapters were withdrawn. Similarly Bangladesh Documents which were published everywhere around the globe remained a Secret Document in Pakistan. Under such awful situation the revelations of an eyewitness do carry immense value and his analysis of the causes of Pakistan's defeat also appears to have enough weight. In this context it seems necessary that a statement from Major-General H.A. Qureshi be quoted to suggest that self-analysis is pre-eminent before criticising others. He says:

"The conclusions drawn from the interrogation reports must have helped the authorities to determine fairly accurately a pragmatic view of events as they had unfolded during 1970-71, revealing flawed decision-making by the managers of National Affairs. Delayed attempts at resolving political enigmas, misconceived operational plans, indifferent execution of offensive missions, and over-confidence had apparently dragged us into a quagmire. (P. 257)

How a political problem was mishandled from 1950 (Language issue) to the six points of Sheikh Mujib and how it remained unattended and unsolved because of political emotionalism instead of grounding

political trust between the people, is well-known to all knowledgeable of the East Pakistan Crisis. Even if Sheikh Mujib's six points were against Pakistan's solidarity why was he allowed to contest elections of 1970 on this basis? When he swept the elections and became a representative of the majority he was mistrusted for the transfer of power. The mistrust was multiplied manifold with the delayed tactics bringing the civil disobedience movement. But the most tragic effect of the development was the assaults on the Pakistan Army by 'Mukti Bahini' resulting into the Military action in East Pakistan and the consequent Indo-Pak War of 1971 which brought the 'Surrender' and the creation of Bangladesh.

The General rightly concludes "To blame an individual or individuals like Gen. A.A.K. Niazi, Yahya Khan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto or Mujibur Rehman or institutions like the Army for the worst set-back of our history..... is quite in keeping with our traditions. It is infact to avoid truth and to mislead posterity.... Unless we probe, discover and remove the drawbacks in our modus operandi. for the advancement of genuine leadership in public institutions of national importance, we shall continue to throw up new incompetents to torment us."

I only wish, such reminiscences are produced more by civil and military men of literature who have had the opportunity of witnessing fall of Dhaka and experiencing the life of P.O.W's in camps. This might enable some historians to build up a new version of history of the making of "Bangladesh" different from what it presently exists on record. I am sure "The 1971 Indo-Pak War, A Soldier's Narrative" will be greatly welcomed in literary circles of Pakistan and abroad and shall also be a valuable contribution for the historians of the country.

S Ali Abbas

Notes to Contributors

Manuscripts, articles, book reviews and notes or letters on themes of contemporary or historical interest, with particular reference to South Asia, will be welcome.

Manuscript should be clearly typed on one side of the paper only, and should be double-spaced. Two copies should be submitted.

Bibliographies and footnotes should be placed at the end of the article. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively, and bibliographies should be arranged alphabetically. Foreign words should be underlined.

Bibliographical references should be completed in respect of the title of the book, the name of the author, the year and the place of publication.

Utmost care should be taken to prepare statistical data for publication. All headings, columns, rows, symbols, units of measurement, periods, political and geographical areas, and sources should be clearly stated in each statistical table, instead of giving such explanations in the text.

Tables, maps, and diagrams should be numbered and given at the end of the article, each on a separate sheet of paper. They should be clearly drawn so that they are suitable for photocopying as submitted.

Abstracts

Authors should submit abstract of their articles, not exceeding 100 words. The first page of the paper should include the title of the paper as well as the name and institutional affiliation of the author.

The Editor reserves the right to make editorial revisions.