



SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES

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January 2004

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Sensitivity Requirements in Public Administration of Developing Countries : with Special Reference to Pakistan.

DR. SADIQ A. GILL

It is difficult to forecast what eventually would be the pattern of public administration of the countries of the world at the end of this century, because the Public Administration of a country depends on the political, social, economic, cultural, as well as the physical and technological environment in which it operates. An attempt to discuss what would happen to Public Administration in the next few years or so, encounters two difficulties :

1. The rapidly changing environment, characterized by its complexity and uncertainty.
2. The divergencies of Public Administration in different national surroundings, with the danger of oversimplification in developing countries.

Considering the diversity of public administrative systems and situations and the rapid, dynamic and often unpredictable environmental changes, one can only identify a few important trends in it, which are expected to have an impact in the next century.

SIZE AND COMPLEXITY

Public Administration in the future will grow in size and in importance. Government activities will expand because certain important

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undertakings and issues can only be handled by government or with its support. In the developed countries these may include outer space exploration, deep-sea exploration and nuclear energy. In the developing countries, the government shall continue to enhance its leading role in the era of economic and social development, with varying degrees of economic and social development, based on different degrees of individual participation, depending on the political and economic system and the prevailing situation in the country.

In low income countries, capital for economic development and funds for social development are to a considerable extent dependent on the government, which either provides the financial resources directly or encourages the flow of funds from external or internal sources, through various facilitative measures. Development of technology, through research and development or transfer from other countries, again involve the government.

In the developing countries, especially Pakistan, the government shall have to increase its role through the creation of Public corporations as a tool for economic development.

Even in areas of economic and social development which are not the direct concern of the government, an increasing need shall be felt for new regulation and control.

As the government alone has an overall view of the economic and social development of a country and the responsibility for development planning, the public administration of the future shall be geared to the requirements of the expanding functions of the government. Hence the percentage of the gross national product allocated to the public section shall continue to increase.

COMPLEXITY OF GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES

The Government activities shall become more specialized requiring highly technical personnel to handle them. They shall be influenced by an extraordinary degree of inter-dependency among individuals and groups involving more than one discipline and cutting across traditional functions, requiring interdisciplinary and multifunctional approaches, needing different levels of government including central, regional and district administration cutting across traditional geographical or political

boundaries. Hence the public administration in the future must be able to respond to the complexity of the future governmental activities.

INCREASING NEED FOR PLANNING, COORDINATION AND CONTROL

Planning is important and essential for total analysis of all aspects and effects and to avoid the unanticipated repercussions of semi-development measures. Government alone are in a position to have an overall view of the economic and social development of the country for comprehensive planning and for using it as a tool for developing public policies, with an emphasis on economic planning. The need of the coming years shall be the broadening of the concept of planning to include non-economic dimension, essential for making its results relevant to national, social and human development. Viewed in this context, development will have to be interdisciplinary in nature and extremely broad based in term of responsibility vis-à-vis development administrations.

To make planning a realistic and meaningful tool of policy, greater attention shall be given to its implementation into programmes and action. This will require a better blend between planning, policy-making and budgeting. Also greater emphasis shall have to be laid on its administration.

Coordination is an outcome of the complex and interdependent nature of public administration, which has to deal with diverse problems involving different levels of government, and cutting across existing political boundaries of a country.

Problems of economic development and social welfare are inter-related and interwoven and require a good deal of coordination to ensure unity of action, consistency in decision for various units, avoidance of contradictions, conflicts and unnecessary complications of effort. Co-ordination thus facilitates the management in achieving its specific objectives.

Better coordination can be effected through better communication and exchange of information or through Central Planning and Control. Coordination is specifically important in the administration of socio-economic development.

Included in the concept of planning is control, which is essential for ensuring that :

1. Steps necessary for plan implementation are in fact carried out;
2. The expected results are achieved;
3. The adjustments required to meet the rapidly changing environments are made in plan targets, strategies, operations and information is available for evaluation of results.

Change in policies, organizational arrangements and procedures are also needed to influence the activities of individual organizations to ensure consistency in actions for achieving pre-planned goals.

POLITICS AND ADMINISTRATION

Public Administration shall have to be increasingly sensitive to the political environment. As public administration operates within a political context, administrative and political tasks can be treated as two distinct and distinguishable activities. National objectives and priorities are set by the political machinery, whereas it is the responsibility of public administration to execute these in accordance with the political directive. The public administrator has to be politically neutral and give continuity to government as a link between the outgoing and an incoming government.

According to the new tendency, administration shall become increasingly involved in politics for the purposes of policy-making and this trend shall continue. This is due to the increasing complexity and technical character of the functions of government, leading to the following characteristics of the administration's functioning :

1. Taking Political decisions on complicated and technical issues, the political leaders shall rely heavily on the knowledge and advice of civil servants;

2. The analysis by civil servants of complex and intricate problems for policy decision shall deeply influence political decisions.

In a complex government set-up, policies have to be often revised during their execution. Experience gained in the past show that the operational decisions taken during implementation have significant policy implications.

As policies can be interpreted in various ways, the administrations responsible for their implementation may have to use their discretion for its interpretation.

THE NON-POLITICAL ASPECTS

The increasing importance of management's role and the national and quantitative (economic-based) approach in the Public Administration of the future shall have to possess a managerial orientation. The public administration shall have to bring benefit of modern technology to bear on the management of public affairs and to develop new managerial concepts and systems. They shall have to familiarize themselves with the potential and the limitations of management technology and apply it to management by increasing the use of their administrative tasks.

The developing countries including Pakistan shall have to adopt, develop and improve their appropriate management technology in order to accelerate their economic and social development.

The below average administrative capability of the developing countries create a disequilibrium in development planning.

The increase in the administrative functions continuously outpace required administrative and management capability, which should not lead to decrease in the planned goals vis-à-vis the existing management capability as part of the development plan, but an increase in management capability should be achieved by adopting the use of scientific methods, modern management technology and techniques.

Use of rationality and quantitative management technology in public administration is difficult. Rationality in problem solving is only possible if there is rationality in system and procedures and the objectives are clear and economic-oriented. This is especially true of public enterprises, where the name of Rational Management Techniques leading towards quality of performance will become increasingly desirable.

THE BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES, MANAGEMENT SCIENCES AND HUMAN WELFARE

The basic task of management is to gather support for its organizational objectives and to provide an environment which releases creative human energies and potential in pursuit of these goals. For this, increasing attention shall be required in the coming years by public administration towards behavioral sciences for the solution of problems concerning human resource development.

Under this trait the motivational horizons of administration and management shall go beyond the horizons of economics, politics, sociology and psychology. Techniques based on the above and leading to participation (informal organization and democratic leadership) shall be used to achieve better individual satisfaction from work by blending the individual interest with organizational goals for creating mutual satisfaction of organizations and the individuals. For releasing the creative forces and potential of personnel, better communications and resolution of conflicts, shall be required to achieve quality performance through improvement of institutional attitudes. It shall therefore be essential to motivate individuals as individuals, as well as members of an organization.

The growth of behavioral sciences is the outcome of experience of developed countries, the relevance and the socio-cultural environments in which it evolved condition its validity. Hence before the use of new technology by the developing countries it is essential that it is adapted to the environmental or ecological conditions of the developing countries, because national management technology and behavioral science technology may be based on different assumptions and may not always be compatible.

The goal of the rational and quantitative management technology is the maximization of production or to minimize cost whereas that of behavioral science technology is to release and channelise ones creative and motivational capacities and to strengthen inter-personal relations. But both have the common objective of improving administrative effectiveness. Thus the public administrator of tomorrow will have to integrate in an institutional system that which is technical and that which is human.

Progress in management technology (both technical and human) many a times give rise to a type of administration that is more oriented to efficiency and effectiveness rather than to human values and human well-being. Some countries are already facing a challenge of preventing the domination of man by machines. Hence behavioral science technology might have an impact even greater than computer technology and other rational technologies on ultimate performance.

Therefore increase in the Demand for the Government to Focus on Human well being as focal point of Public Administration may be the final need and requirement.

This trend may highlight the need to develop formal channels of public participation in decision-making, in other words it is expected that the future will become a decade of involvement and participation.

CHANGE

Change shall be the high mark of public administration in the future. The magnitude and tempo of changes in the next decade will be broad-based and often turbulent. In fact change may be the only constant fact of life in the future.

Among the factors responsible for political, economic and social change, may be mentioned; spectacular advances in science and technology, the knowledge explosion, the increasing efforts to conquer space and distance, utilizing resources hitherto unused, unexploited or unknown, industrial growth, growing nationalism and the rising expectations of people for their betterment in all spheres of life.

The administrative implications of change shall be many. The administrative machinery will have to be flexible to react quickly and effectively to changing environment to be able to deal with changing situations. In other words, public administration shall act as a change agent rather than a maintainer.

INCREASING ROLE OF ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM AND MANAGEMENT IMPROVEMENT

Due to changing environment and the need to improve the administrative machinery for better performance, administrative reform and management improvement shall be a common feature in the future.

Greater emphasis shall be placed on the macro approach because of the complexity and interdependent nature of the problems likely to be faced by public administration; but much will depend on the country environment at a given time. Hence in the future, administrative reform and management improvement at all levels will become more important, as those involved in these comprehensive reforms will have to lay greater emphasis on performance and development of individual organizations and people working therein. Management will have to take a total picture of the organization into consideration and shall base their actions on common principles and framework, so as to avoid inconsistencies, contradictions, conflicts and other possible serious effects.

PERSONNEL TRAINING AND MANAGEMENT

As the ultimate effectiveness of any Public Administration system depends on the quality of its employees, especially in the senior grade. The basic tasks for the public administration of any country shall be :

1. To evolve a personnel system which will attract, retain, reward and motivate competent, dedicated and responsible employees;
2. To develop them through training and career development. This shall be important because of the growth in size and complexity of Public Administration;

3. Public Administration will be increasingly diversified due to new forms of emerging management and its functions which shall require new types of skills;
4. More scientific and technical personnel will have to be inducted into services. As a result, the structure and composition of services will become more complex. New methods and criteria for the career planning and development will have to be devised to meet the demands of an increased variety of categories of staff employed and this shall place new responsibilities on the personnel manager who shall have to organize himself or herself, so as to be able to accommodate new dimensions of personnel policy.

To achieve this objective a universal and broad-based view of personnel problem shall be required which shall enable all employees to maximize their contribution.

These points are not an end to the important and emerging trends in public administration of the coming decade. There are other trends also, but perhaps not so important in my subjective judgment.

In short, "Public Administration of Pakistan in the next decade shall have to be recreated, renewed and revitalized, so as to meet the challenges and the tasks of the future which are to accelerate development and better enable developing countries to make effective use of their scant resources".

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Behavioral Analysis of Iran-Afghanistan Boundary

DR. M.R. HAFEZANIA

INTRODUCTION

Boundaries are lines demarcating the outer limits of territory under the Sovereign jurisdiction of a nation-state (Dikshit, 1995: 54).

Boundary is the factor for distinction and separation of a political unit or country from another (Hafeznia, 2000: 190).

The functions or practices of boundaries change overtime. These functions can be economic, defensive or military, separating of the sovereign jurisdiction of two countries, interacting of the state system, separating of the societies which have closer ties with each other, control of the emigration, etc. (Glassner, 1993:80-84)

Holdich noted that most of the important wars have arisen over disputed boundaries therefore he such lord curzon emphasized on the military role of the boundaries (Dikshit, 1995:68).

Generally we can categorized the functions of boundaries as under :

1. Differentiation between two geographical spaces.
2. Separating between two sovereign jurisdictions.
3. Integrating the nation.
4. Security and war between two countries.
5. Interaction and connection between two nations.
6. Control of flows (Hafeznia, 2000:19)

The most important function of boundary is control on interactions between two countries or nations, for provide them

security and also protection from their national interests. So boundaries are tools on the hand of states and governments for such controls.

Boundary lines have influence on the behavior of the people and governments of their environs. Reciprocally governments and people effect on the behaviour and function of boundaries, and they change the functions and structure of the boundaries as well.

Also behaviour and kind of relation between the two neighboring countries to some extent are under the influence of boundary and reciprocally governments can change the structure and function of the boundary. (Prescott, 1979 : 64-80)

This paper study of the situation of Iran-Afghanistan boundary and its effects on behaviour of the people and states, and furthermore that the boundary how much been successful in the role of control?

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND SITUATION OF THE BOUNDARY

Iran and Afghanistan in their historical perspective are inseparable, due to same natural bed, namely plateau of Iran. Therefore they are homogeneous in many particulars, and they are much closer to each other. The thought of separation between them back to the middle of 18th century. In 1747, Nader the king of Iran was killed, then Ahmad Shah Dorrani who was the eminent commander of Nader Shah, established an independent State in Qandahar which was the centre of Pashtun tribe (A group of Research, 1997:252). But officially Afghanistan obtained its independence from Iran after the Paris Treaty in 1857 (Aliabadi, 1996:124). After that time Afghanistan came under domination of Britain, but in 1919 Afghanistan took its independence from Britain by Amanollah (Centre for Afghanistan Studies, 1991:160).

After separation of Afghanistan from Iran, specification of the boundary came under consideration, then the boundary delimited by three arbitrations as under :

1. The line between Zulfaqar pass to Hashtadan plain, totally 103 miles, including thalweg of Harirud, delimited by General Maclean's arbitration in 1891. He was British consul general at Mashhad. (Mojtahedzadeh, 1995:315-320).

2. The line between MusaAbad to Siahkuh (Pillars No. 39-95). This section of the boundary was defined by the General Altay's arbitration in 1935. He was from Turkey (McLachlan & Mojtahedzadeh, 1994:129).
3. The line between Siahkuh to Kul-e-Maleksiah (Sistan). This section of the boundary defined for two times and by two arbitrations. At first time in 1827, Sistan divided into two sections by Goldsmid, one of them given to Iran and another to Afghanistan. Also the main branch of Hirmand demarcated as the common boundary. Second time in 1903 by McMahon's arbitration. McMahon approved the boundary which had been defined by Goldsmid. Furthermore he gave two-third (2/3) of Hirmand water to Afghanistan and one-third (1/3) to Iran (Mojtahedzadeh, 1999:35).

On the basis of above mentioned arbitrations, common boundary of the two countries delimited and fixed until 1936, and there has not yet been any dispute between two sides, unless the water of Hirmand, that dispute continued in that manner (Mojtahedzadeh, 2000:423), so that this problem has caused 12 diplomatic crisis and 27 bilateral negotiations between Iran and Afghanistan (Karimipour, 2000:138).

In addition to this, the heads of two states (Khatami and Karzai) signed an understanding memorandum at Tehran on 26 Feb. 2002, that in which (Paragraph 13) has been emphasized on division of Hirmand water according to the Treaty of 1972 (Text of document, 2002:4).

Also there is a territorial dispute on a small space in the region of Islam-Qalah, that has yet been reminded indissolved from the negotiations of 1975 (Fuller, 1994:258).

The length of the present common boundary of Iran and Afghanistan from Zulfaqar pass to Koh-e-Maleksiah, is totally 945 Km as under : Harirud 157 Km, Hirmand and Sikhsar 55 Km, Hamun lake 24 Km., land directions 709 Km (Jaafari, 1995:2).

The boundary in the northern area and central section (Qaenat) is mountainous, but there are many vast and some dry plains such as : Sistan, Nehbandan, Patergan, Amrani, Hashtadan, Jam and Taybad.

From human geography point of view the people who are settled in the both sides of the borderlands have cultural, economic, social and religious ties and interactions with each other, and the much of them are Sunni as well.

As we can see, the physical and human geography of the border lands are complicated, therefore control of the boundary is difficult. This boundary among the other boundaries of Iran, during past two decades has had the most informal connections and interactions with outside and Iran has been vulnerable from it.

FACTORS EFFECTIVE ON FUNCTION OF THE BOUNDARY

Functions of Iran-Afghanistan boundary are under influence of the following factors :

- (a) political systems of both countries and the pattern of relation between them.
- (b) Relation pattern of each state with other states in the regional and global level.
- (c) Existence or non-existence of national responsible government in Afghanistan.
- (d) Land-locked situation of Afghanistan and its need to the transit from Iran.
- (e) Location of Iran in the route of narcotics trafficking from Afghanistan to the west.
- (f) Structure of physical geography of the border lands (topography, dry climate, deserts, etc.)

- (g) Public poverty and under developed regions and spaces throughout the boundary.
- (h) Human structure in the border lands and cultural, religious, economic, social and sentimental ties and relations between people who settled near the two sides of boundary.
- (i) The need of Iran to the Hirmand water.
- (j) Sunni's people in the border lands of Iran and Shiite people as well as Tajiks in Afghanistan.

BOUNDARY AND BEHAVIOURS

The year 1979 is a turning point for change in the functions of Iran-Afghanistan boundary. Before that time, due to existence of world power balance and static situation in the geopolitical system of the world, and also existence of integrated State in both countries, there was a kind of normal conditions in the boundary. Coupd'etat by Trakee in 1978 and military occupation of Afghanistan by the former Soviet Union, and also happening the Islamic Revolution of Iran in 1979, had an effective role on the functions of Iran-Afghanistan boundary.

A-Behaviour of Afghans

Existence of Marxist regimes and presence of Soviet Union in Afghanistan, changed it as a centre for pressure and push against the common boundary.

The Afghan Moslems resisted against Marxist regimes as well as military occupation in their country. Emigration, homelessness and refugees were the result of such situation. Then Iran and Pakistan attracted the attention of such people.

From another side, common boundary was not ready for control, therefore, it injected the huge wave of refugees into Iran, that they settled inside the country in various forms. Moreover the Islamic government of Iran on the basis of political, religious and ideologic motives took

position against presence of Soviet Union in Afghanistan, and also welcomed to the Afghan refugees and emigrants.

The prevailing forms of Afghan settlements in Iran are as under :

- (a) In the form of individual throughout the country in the rural and urban areas. The majority of them settled by this form.
- (b) In the form of camping place under the supervision of UNHCR. (totally seven camps existed in the country).
- (c) In the form of small group like as colony in the Iran's border lands such as Torbat-e-Jam, Taybad, Khawf, Zyrkoh-e-Qaenat, Darmeian, Gazik, Nehbandan, Sistan, etc. For example in the year 1987 about 25 such colonies were existed in the townships of Torbat-e-Jam, Taybad and Khawf (Hafezniz, 1987:337).

About the number of Afghan emigrants or refugees, there are no accurate statistics, but according to some official statistics there are about 2.3 million Afghans in Iran. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, (UNHCR), in the framework of Returning to Homeland Project, the number of 214587 refugees should be returned to Afghanistan up to April 2003 (Ettalaat, 28 Aug 2002:3).

Entrance of Afghan refugees to Iran has taken place from all roads and passages. These can be categorized into two kinds of passages :

- (a) Roads and formal passages including : Zarang to Zabul, Farah to Doruh, Shindand to Yazdan, Hera to Taybad.
- (b) Informal passages which are about 15.

In addition to these, there are hidden or secret passages which to be used by the smugglers.

Meanwhile for returning the refugees there are two formal passages :

1. Dugharoon as the route of Taybad to Hera at Khorasan province.

2. Milak in Sistan. This passage officially was opened according to the paragraph No. 8 of the understanding Memorandum signed by the heads of the two countries on 26 Feb. 2002.

Presence of refugees has caused the problems in Iran as under :

- (a) Changing in the landscape of borderlands and forming non-native societies in the land of Iran.
- (b) Demolition of pastures in the borderlands due to grazing their animals and other needs.
- (c) Population problems such as marriage with Iranians and changing in demographic rates near the borderlands.
- (d) Distribution of contagious diseases (human and animal).
- (e) Smuggling of Iranian goods and money into Afghanistan.
- (f) Smuggling of narcotics and weapons into Iran.
- (g) Development of insecurity in the urban and rural areas especially in the form of hostages.
- (h) Development of social abnormals, such as robbery, killing, forgery etc.
- (i) Spying for Kabul regime especially in the time 1980-90.
- (j) Providing manpower for Iran especially in the low jobs and laboury.
- (k) Acquisition of property especially in the boundary areas and forming the ethnical ghettos (Karimipour, 2000:154).

Second kind of behaviour from inside Afghanistan toward common boundary has been smuggling of narcotics. Iran due to its location situated in the route of narcotics trafficking from Afghanistan to the west.

The report of the United Nations Drug Control Programme (UNDCP) shows that production of opium in Afghanistan in 1999 has been 4600 tons, namely two times of 1998. (Lumond, 1999:35)

Also the report of United Nations shows that during 1996-2000 totally 5024 fightings with smugglers have taken place and 720 of Iranian officers have been killed. Meanwhile the trend of statistics during these years have been up going.

The Number of addicted people in Iran have been about one million in 1981, but the number of these people have been reached to about 2.5 million in 2000 A.D. (Karimipour, 2000:151).

In addition to this, smuggling of the other things such as fuel, food-stuff, etc. have been done and be continued in that manner (Haqpanah, 1998:156).

Third kind of behaviour is development of insecurity into Iran especially during 1997-2000. At that time relations of Iran with Taliban was not good. Insecurity appeared in the form of taking hostages and explosion of bomb, that seems had social and political nature.

In recent years taking hostage in urban and rural areas provoked the anxieties of the Iranian people as well as officials, so that resulted a national action. The number of hostages only in Khorasan province during 1997 – mid of 2000 have been 1243 cases.

Three mentioned kinds of behaviours from Afghanistan show that the behavioural pattern of Afghan toward boundary has been actional.

Therefore, Afghanistan as the centre of pressure and push of crisis have penetrated into Iran via common boundary in the forms of refugees, emigrants, narcotic and insecurity.

B-Behaviour of Iran

In the beginning, Iran on the basis of Islamic and humanity motives welcomed to Islamic resistance in Afghanistan as well as entrance of

Afghan emigrants into Iran, but the subsequent effects of this emigration and refugees caused, a changing in the policy and behaviour of Iranian officials. They decided to leave out their expansional policy toward the boundary, and take contractional policy for more control of the boundary. Therefore behavioural pattern of Iran toward common boundary during the past decades has been reactional, for prevention of Afghans penetration.

To this direction Iran has adopted the following behaviours toward the boundary :

1. Evacuation of the villages which had been situated in 5 Km distance from the boundary, and in some cases until 20 Km.
2. Construction of new posts and small towers.
3. to equip and reinforce of the existing posts.
4. construction of boundary network route for better access.
5. construction of canals and embankment especially in the route of narcotic caravans.
6. Erection of fences and barbed and other impediments in the vulnerable places.
7. Re-organizing of frontier control forces.
8. Establishment of electronic control project in some parts of boundary.
9. Participation of frontiersmen and villagers on security of boundary especially in the recent years.
10. Establishment of Staff for fighting against Narcotics in the year 1988.
11. Fulfillment of acquaintance project for Afghan refugees and emigrants inside Iran, and make an effort for returning of them to their homeland especially from 9th April 2002, in collaboration with UNHCR.

12. Intensifying penalties against smugglers of narcotics, goods, weapons and humans.
13. Development of diplomatic activities for attraction of United Nation and other countries attention and cooperation on the affairs of refugees, narcotics, smuggling, etc.
14. To sign an Understanding Memorandum between the two heads of States (on 26 Feb. 2002) in the field of : replacing poppy cultivation, fighting against terrorism and insecurity, non-intervention in the internal affairs of each other, protection from peace and security in the region, development of transportation network in roads (Dugharoon to Hera, and Zeranj to Delaram), and railway (Sangan to Hera).

The politics and actions mentioned above have to some extent been effective and have reduced informal interactions a lot, but unofficial and hidden interactions in the field of human and narcotic traffic, goods smuggling, etc. be continued especially in the mountainous areas. Because by attention to the situation of boundary, its control is very difficult.

Also, according to some unofficial news, the Russia has proposed a control project for the boundary from the side of Iran, and the United States of America has an intention to control of the boundary from the side of Afghanistan as well. If it be true, the Iran-Afghanistan boundary would be the subject to competition in the global level.

CONCLUSION

- (a) In the following of political transformations in Afghanistan and Iran from 1979, the functions of Iran-Afghanistan common boundary changed. Then Afghanistan came as the centre of crisis toward the boundary.
- (b) The Afghans behaviour toward the boundary in the form of emigration, narcotic traffic and insecurity has been actional.

Whereas the Iranians behaviour toward the boundary has been reactionary for the aims of more control and reduction of crisis effects.

- (c) The collapse of State in Afghanistan, especially after the collapse of Soviet Union and also the lack of responsible national government in the country, caused intensification of the boundary crisis.
- (d) Presence of Taliban sovereignty in the main part of Afghanistan especially in Kabul and borderlands, increased the military function of the boundary and intensified the danger of war between the two sides in 1999.
- (e) Iran-Afghanistan boundary is the most crisis boundary for Iran, and it much damaged to Iranian society; About 2.5 million refugees and 2.5 million addicted people are one of the such damages.
- (f) The boundary, due to unilateral actions by Iran, as well as its structural problems, has not been successful for complete control.
- (g) If the national government of Afghanistan to be not stable, and production of narcotics, common poverty, deprivation and underdevelopment of the borderlands be remained, certainly the negative function of the boundary would be continued for Iran in future.

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Bangladesh and SAARC

DR. NASIMA ZAMAN

INTRODUCTION

The South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC) is comparatively a new acronym in the dictionary of politics. The most interesting development in recent international relations is the trend toward regionalism and regional arrangements. The Charter of the United Nation's specifically recognized it and gave it strong endorsement. This trend is in part an outcome of the necessity of pooling national resources for protection in a divided and war-threatened world; but it is also an outgrowth of other pressures which are driving nations together in the present era. Indeed, it may indicate that the nation-state system, which has been the dominant pattern of international relations for some four countries, is evolving towards a system in which regional groupings of states will be more important than the independent sovereign units. Perhaps, as Walter Lippmann said, "the true constituent members of the international order of the future are communities of states."¹

Seven South Asian countries namely—India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, Nepal and Maldives are the members of this association. It is essentially an economic grouping but it also has many other interests and purposes. The concept of an association of independent states can be traced to the Greek word *Foedus* meaning association of city-states formed for the chief purpose of defending themselves against invasion from the outside. For the Greeks shared perception of outside threats, particularly from Asia Minor and Persia, made such alliance possible in spite of inter city rivalry which often led to war.² The need for mutual defense was also the *raison d'être* for

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alliances among kingdoms in ancient, medieval and pre-modern times in Asian sub-continental history.³ Unlike the Greeks, the need for economic co-operation is the *raison d'être* for alliance among South Asian nations, to the exclusion of outside powers. After World War II with the Development of Nationalist movement, decolonization process started in South Asian states like other regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America. With the exception of Nepal, the SAARC countries had British colonial experience. It is believed that the South Asian leaders reinforced by common colonial background decided to make a hopeful and constructive future for South Asian countries, particularly the small states, through an acceptable scheme for regional co-operation. Formation of SAARC in 1985 has filled up a gap long felt in the system of contemporary international relations characterized by various regional and sub-regional groupings. The region of South Asia forms a coherent physical unit with many economic and security considerations peculiar to the region. The nations and the people of the region are also considered to have inherited a common spiritual, socio-cultural and intellectual background nourished by a long rich ancient and medieval civilization. To this has been added a long period of suffering and humiliation that the people of the region experienced together under colonial rule and a common struggle to overthrow that rule.⁴ Though contemporary history of South Asia presents a different picture, the South Asian leaders agreed to institutionalize SAARC in order to maintain their commonalities, to promote regional security and to develop their economy with indigenous means.

Being conscious of her geographical disadvantages, Bangladesh has been pursuing non-aligned foreign policy since her emergence in 1971. Thus, Bangladesh, an old nation but a new nation state, is not only an active member of SAARC but also has the distinction of becoming its initiator. Why was Bangladesh destined to be the initiator of SAARC? Will SAARC bring forth desired results for Bangladesh as well as for other member-states of the Association? Will SAARC continue to move towards true regional understanding and co-operation? This paper seeks to analyze these questions with particular relevance to Bangladesh's perception of SAARC.

Initiator of SAARC

The idea of SAARC is the brainchild of Ziaur Rahman, the third President of Bangladesh (1979-81). The blue-print for the first non-defense related association among all South Asian states was drawn up through the initiative of Ziaur Rahman who sent a detailed proposal to the heads of South Asian countries.⁵ All the states of South Asia had become members of the British Commonwealth Association and the United Nations Organization, when they gained their independence, yet for the first time they now were to have an association, which made up of only South Asian nations. Afghanistan, however, did not join the co-operation movement due to civil war.

The emergence of Non-Aligned Movement, the liberation of Bangladesh, full fledged war between India and Pakistan, serious communal conflicts in India and Sri Lanka and superpower intervention in Afghanistan finally brought a significant change in attitude of the elites of the South Asian region making them look inwardly and to themselves for survival and progress. It was possibly the most opportune moment for the Bangladesh President to address the issue of South Asian regional co-operation before the South Asian leaders. This was the initiative, which eventually led to the establishment of SAARC.

Before the formal call for regional co-operation in South Asia and his proposal for a regional summit, Ziaur Rahman not only elaborated the idea while visiting such neighbouring countries as India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan and Sri Lanka during 1978-80, but also sent personal letters and envoys to the heads of government in all the seven South Asian capitals emphasizing the need for such a forum. After the interim agreement on the sharing of Ganges water at Farakka between India and Bangladesh in November 1977, Zia emphasized the role of co-operation at the regional level and undertook certain moves to make it acceptable to all. The political climate of South Asia during this period i.e. 1978-80, was not at all propitious for such a move.⁶ Moreover, under the shadow of the Cold War the political situation in this part of the world underwent dramatic changes. So the South Asian nations were urgently needed a regional forum in order to harmonize their inter-state relations.

The rationale behind such a move was very clear. President Ziaur Rahman mentioned that while other regions had evolved institutional arrangements for consultations on matters of mutual interest and co-operation in economic, social and cultural fields on a regional basis and had consequently benefited immensely from such co-operation. The only region, which did not have any institutional arrangements for regional co-operation, was the South Asian region, which comprised one-fifth of the world population. In order to generate a climate of mutual understanding among South Asian nations, Bangladesh President in his letter tentatively indicated economic, technical, scientific, social and cultural fields as possible areas for regional co-operation. The institutional arrangements set up for such co-operation would strictly conform to the principles of non-alignment to which all the countries in the region are firmly committed.⁷

The Bangladesh President's call in May 1980 for a South Asian summit to establish a regional forum came against the background of inauspicious economic and political developments. He had mooted this proposal after sounding some of his South Asian colleagues. While the smaller South Asian countries endorsed the Bangladeshi proposal, India and Pakistan expressed strong reservations. Since the Bangladeshi move appeared to be cast in the shadow of the Carter Doctrine, India was not willing to accept it.⁸ Pakistan, which was in a strong anti-American mood, also did not appear too enthusiastic about it. Both India and Pakistan had their specific reasons to be cold towards the Bangladeshi move. India's new regime under Mrs. Gandhi was highly suspicious of President Ziaur Rahman for his past anti-India stance on various bilateral issues. The Bangladeshi proposal was viewed in New Delhi as a new device to institutionalize the neighbours "ganging up" against India to extract concessions on issues individually affecting each of them. On the other hand, Pakistan feared that any South Asian forum would eventually further India's interests and legitimize its regional dominance.⁹ Pakistan's deeper involvement in such a forum could also harm its growing identity with and interests in the Gulf and the Muslim World. In view of these reservations, India and Pakistan adopted 'go slow' tactics. President Zia of Pakistan cautioned his Bangladesh counterpart that economic and political conditions for institutionalizing regional co-operation "are missing" in South Asia; that process should be started not

with "high level meetings" but through gradual approach and that co-operation should be promoted only on the basis of "mutual benefit to the extent possible". India's response was also along these lines as it accepted the proposal for regional co-operation only "in principle".¹⁰ Both these unfriendly neighbours could accept a regional forum only when it did not seek to undermine their respective interests. Accordingly, it was suggested that unanimity in decisions and avoidance of bilateral and contentious issues should constitute the basic norms of the proposed forum. The Bangladesh President displayed remarkable patience and determination in institutionalizing the SAARC idea.

The feasibility of such co-operation was informally discussed in various capitals at different times, but until the end of 1980, no concrete step was taken. The initial proposal of Bangladesh was revised in the light of the suggestions of India and Pakistan. Accordingly, a new working paper was circulated by Bangladesh in November 1980, which became the basis for the regional co-operation move. In this paper, the principles of unanimity in all decisions and exclusion of "bilateral and contentious" issues were incorporated. It was conceded now that a South Asian Summit will be organized later only after doing adequate preparatory work.¹¹ Such preparatory work began at the level of foreign secretaries in Colombo, in April 1981. Four such meetings during 1981-83 paved the way for the first meeting of South Asian Foreign Ministers in August 1983 in New Delhi. This meeting was the milestone in the sense that a Declaration on South Asian Regional Co-operation was adopted at this meeting. Two more such meetings of Foreign Ministers in Male in July 1984, and in Thimphu in May 1985 eventually led to the first South Asian Summit in December 1985 in Dhaka which established SAARC as the first regional forum of South Asia.

Partners in the road to prosperity

SAARC, like ASEAN, is now a reality in South Asia. Regional Co-operation is likely to be more fruitful in the economic sphere but for this political will among the South Asian nations is the first prerequisite. It is politics, which hinders economic co-operation. SAARC is motivated primarily by the purpose of promoting prosperity for its people. It focused on functional areas such as science and technology, and also on

education, sports, cultural exchanges, etc.¹² Thus the basic premise is that if satisfactory relations can be facilitated between states in relatively non-controversial areas such as tourist, travel, student and cultural exchanges, etc. this would, in itself, foster, in the long-run, better inter-state relations in the political realm also.¹³ But a congenial political atmosphere is a precondition to foster cordial inter-state relations. SAARC has launched its journey by keeping "bilateral" and "contentious" issues outside the scope of it. Moreover, compelling political problems such as the crisis in Kashmir, the Tamil dilemma, the Ganges water dispute between India and Bangladesh, etc., have continued to serve as irritants in inter-state relations in South Asia.

Unlike EEC and ASEAN, SAARC has adopted a "go slow" approach. A satisfactory political climate is, however, essential in order to attain economic development. In the context of South Asia, a conducive climate in inter-state relations is imperative for productive economic activity and for attracting foreign investments. Some signs of intra-regional peace and stability in South Asia appear to be visible. In early 1990s, for example Bangladesh has successfully worked out a political arrangement with India on the Tinbigha Corridor, and Bangladesh has achieved significant progress in resolving some outstanding issues with Pakistan, such as the question of assets sharing and the repatriation of Pakistanis. All this is in the right direction for the peace and prosperity of the teeming millions of the region.

In spite of the conflicts and contradictions between the member states of SAARC, in eighteen years it has so far been able to make progress in the following areas.¹⁴

- (i) Activities in twelve agreed areas of regional co-operation identified in the Integrated Programme of Action (IPA).
- (ii) Activities delineated by the leaders of the South Asian countries when they met in Bangalore in 1986. These include SAARC Audio Visual Exchange (SAVE), the SAARC Documentation Centre, organized tourism within SAARC countries, fellowships and scholarships and the SAARC Youth Volunteer Programme. These activities aim

to promote people-to-people contact and are proof that SAARC leaders realise the significance of increased interaction among different sections of the population of South Asia.

- (iii) Activities relating to the setting up of SAARC regional institutions (e.g. the SAARC Agricultural Information Centre and the SAARC Meteorological Research Centre.)
- (iv) Representatives of planning agencies of member states who meet once a year have recommended a group of subjects in which regional co-operation can be promoted (e.g. the South Asian Preferential Trade Arrangement (SAPTA), plan modelling techniques, the establishment of a group on statistics and joint ventures in certain areas.
- (v) Activities and studies on themes/areas recommended by the Third and Fourth Summits are: (a) causes and consequences of natural disasters and their impact on the environment; (b) the impact on the region of the greenhouse effect; and (c) SAARC 2000 AD.
- (vi) The establishment of the SAARC Food Security Reserve; ratification of the Regional Convention of Suppression of Terrorism; agreement on the SAARC Travel Document; and agreement on the Draft Convention on Prevention of Narcotic Drugs.

Eventually, most of these activities have been in the realm of policy or decision-making. Tangible and result-oriented follow-up actions on these decisions are not to be found and therefore do not match the rhetoric of the summits. Despite the fact that the political problems between the two main members of SAARC cast adverse impact on the forum, it has completed much preparatory work with regard to the creation of the policy mechanism for promoting intra-regional trade through the South Asian Preferential Trade Arrangement (SAPTA); it has formulated the regional Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism; it has established the Food Security Reserve; it has established the SAARC Agricultural Information Centre (SAIC); and it has carried out

studies on the causes and consequences of natural disasters and their impact on the environment.¹⁵ But none of these has yet made any tangible impact on the problems required to be alleviated due to lack of adequate financial and logistical support, and no active measures have been taken to implement the recommendations made in various studies. There is no denying the fact that SAARC suffers badly from resource constraint and this prevents the forum from taking much welfare-orientated programmes that would benefit the vast multitude living in the impoverished region.

In eighteen years, the only positive step taken so far is in the trade sector, the most important component of economic co-operation in the region. The proposal of a SAPTA has taken concrete shape in the face of all the difficulties that stand in the way of its ultimate success. Despite all the complexities in business and trade, and the vested interest each country has in respect of its own policy constraints, all the members of SAARC have signed the SAPTA agreement, which promises 'growth and development to eradicate poverty of the common people of the region'¹⁶ SAPTA provides a framework of rules and modalities for gradually encompassing trade between the member states, which will lead to restructuring the tariff and duty regimes of individual countries and eventually the withdrawal of tariff barriers to open the door to a free trade zone in the region if political tension subsides.

In the 11th summit, keeping in line with the ASEAN Free Trade Agreement, the heads of government have decided to turn SAPTA into the South Asian Free Trade Agreement (SAFTA), which has been put into operation in the year 2001. Arguably, the objectives of SAPTA or SAFTA may not be achieved as desired due to inter-state conflicts and hostile bilateral relationships between India and its smaller neighbours.

Compared to EEC and ASEAN, SAARC has achieved only a meager success in tangible terms. In a little less than two decades of its existence, the integrated programme of Action (IPA) and the performance of the technical committees are no mean attainment unless someone has too high expectation from a body like this. In spite of the problematical geo-political realities, SAARC has certainly contributed to creating a better understanding between the governments and its leaders. When relationship between India and Sri Lanka turned sour over the refusal by India to withdraw its troops from Sri Lanka in 1987-89,

SAARC leaders had a role to play in bringing the two countries together. Similarly, despite the strain caused by the nuclear test of India and Pakistan, the SAARC summit in Sri Lanka provided an opportunity for the leaders of both countries to meet and facilitated the immediate beginning of a dialogue. Moreover, SAARC has survived despite the volatile dispute over Kashmir. Thus a co-operative climate is essential for the success of SAARC.

CONCLUSION

Bangladesh played the historic role in the evolution of SAARC. It has special meaning for Bangladesh. Geo-economic and geo-political factors make the regional approach to the solution of her security problems, both economic and political, imperative. It is obvious that the efficient exploration of SAARC potentialities can bring not only economic prosperity to Bangladesh but also a sense of relief as regards her security in general. Moreover, regional co-operation offers a viable alternative development strategy. Collective self-reliance and independence through regional co-operation is not only desirable but also imperative in the face of the present global realities. Thus, the formation of SAARC a masterpiece product of Bangladesh diplomacy, provides a foundation for reevaluation of South Asian perspective and for building true regionalism. The fact, however, remained that SAARC has not yet succeeded in removing mutual distrust. A united approach, based on sincerity and a true desire to promote the concept of interdependent development, is essential for the success of SAARC.

As India is a prominent political entity in South Asia, the future of SAARC depends very much on this mighty member. It should be remembered that keeping political disputes and hostilities alive, economic co-operation will be a far cry. It is the collective responsibility of all seven members to generate a co-operative climate so that political disputes and contentious issues can be solved. It is expected that SAARC must not be bedeviled by bilateral disputes. After all, SAARC events also cast a sobering effect on the contentious relationship among the member states. In order to make SAARC a viable regional forum, all its members would maintain stability, protect democracy, preserve national unity and remain firm to the principles of non-alignments share by all seven-member countries.

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Role of the North-West Frontier Province in the Freedom Struggle

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INTRODUCTION

Lord Curzon, Viceroy and Governor General of the British India who considered himself an expert on Central Asia, created the North-West Frontier Province in 1901 out of the five trans-Indus and settled districts of the province of Punjab and five Political Agencies and tribal areas. It is worth-mentioning here that the Government of the Punjab was not in favour of the severance of the five settled districts, namely, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, D.I. Khan and Hazara from its administration; but Lord Curzon was adamant enough and determined to keep the 'wild' tribes and the tribal areas on the North-West Frontier of the British India directly under the Government of India and not under the Provincial Government of the Punjab. Geo-Strategic importance of the North-Western Frontier of the British Empire, pursuance of the Forward policy and Masterly inactivity in Central Asia were the determining and decisive factors behind the creation of NWFP. But unlike the Presidencies and other provinces of the British India which were headed by the Governors or Lt. Governors, NWFP was made a province with Chief Commissioner as its Chief Executive from 1901 to 1932.

Literature on the Freedom Movement of the South Asian Muslims confirms the fact that NWFP like other Muslim-majority provinces of the

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British India, played a praise-worthy role in the liberation of Muslim India. The present paper is a tribute to the role and sacrifices rendered by the people of NWFP in breaking the clutches of the British Imperialism in India, destroying the designs of the Indian National Congress, taking the political movement of All India Muslim League to its logical consequences and making the Indian Muslims the masters of their own destiny in their motherland.

At the outset of the First World War, Maulana Saif-ur-Rehman, Saddar Muddaris, (Head Master), Madrasa-e-Fatehpur, Delhi, who belonged to NWFP and who was a disciple of Rasheed Ahmad Gangohi, gave a Fatwa in which it was declared that the then ongoing war between the British and the Ottoman Empire was in fact a Jihad (holy war) for the Muslims and not in any sense a territorial war between the two nations.¹ After this anti-British Fatwa Maulana Saif-ur-Rehman, on the advice of Hakeem Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansari, Maulvi Abdul Ahad and some others left Delhi for Deoband. At Deoband he had meaningful meetings with Maulana Mehmood al-Hassan, who convinced him to leave Deoband for Peshawar and join hands with Haji Sahib of Turangzai, then the leading Pan-Islamist of the North-West Frontier Province. After his arrival at Peshawar Maulana Sahib and Haji Sahib after long deliberations, ultimately evolved the plan of migration (Hijrat) from the British territory and launching Jihad against the alien masters.² A report of the British CID, compiled in those days says :

“Maulana Saif-ur-Rehman is the principal Secretary of Haji Sahib of Taurangzai under whose influence, the Haji Sahib has always evoked the independent tribes and the Mujahideen against the British”.

The report adds :

“Maulana Saif-ur-Rehman is mainly responsible for the anti-British operations carried out in the Frontier in 1915”.³

In September, 1916, Maulana Mehmood-al-Hassan, Saddar Muddaras (Head Master) Dar-al-uloom Deoband and Chief organizer of the then ongoing underground Silk Letters Movement was arrested along

with his companions at Makka at the orders of Sharif Hussein of Makka. It is worthy to point out here that before his arrest, Maulana Mehmood al-Hassan had refused to sign a Fatwa which Sharif wanted to secure in his favour for his struggle against the Ottoman Empire. Mualana and his companions were imprisoned in Malta. In the prisoners of Malta, one Mualana Ozair Gul belonged to NWFP. He was the son of Shaheed Gul Kakakhail. An alumnus of *Deoband*, Gul was a great advocate of *Jihad* and *Hijrat*. He was Major-General in the Al-Janud-al Rabina⁴, the force which was organized by the ring leaders of the silk letters movement for carrying out their plans against the British Imperialism in India.

The British accounts make it clear that the tribals of the independent territories of the North-West Frontier Province always posed, Surrender-nots and the never ceasing source of anxiety to the British troops and Militias, particularly before, during and after the 1st World War. For instance, Major G. Dodd, C.I.E., Political Agent, Wana; Captain Brown, 2nd-in-command South Waziristan Rifles and Lieutenant Hickie of the Royal artillery were murdered at Tank in April 1914.⁵ Similarly in 1915 the Mohmands, whom the British have recalled in their accounts' the most priest-ridden of all the tribes' attacked the British troops near Shabqadar. According to a study, in this attack more or less 1000 Mohmands were martyred and wounded. Nothing daunted them, they again attacked in October, 1916 with a similar result⁶.

In the D. I. Khan district, explaining the gravity of the raids made by the Mehsuds on the British troops and Militias during 1915-16, Lt. Col. W. J. Keen records :

"In spite of super human efforts on the part of troops, Militias Constabulary and Police, its Northern half was almost ruined"⁷.

Mr. E. B. Howell is of the view that the concluding months of 1915 were the most critical of the whole War on the Frontier⁸.

During the year 1916-17, consequent upon an ultimatum from the Mohmands, who were pressing hard for the restoration of their allowances, the British masters were compelled to construct a barbed wire fence from the Swat river to the Kabul river with a live wire running

throughout its entire length of 17 ¹/₂ miles (28.15 km) and a system of block-houses at intervals of 400 to 800 yards.⁹

After the 1st World War the Pan-Islamists among the Indian Muslims, while rejecting the treaty of the Sevres of the Allies, started the famous Khilafat Movement. Contemporaneous with the Sinn Fein Revolution in Ireland, Khilafat Movement gave birth to an offshoot, the Hijrat Movement in 1920. Both in the Khilafat and Hijrat Movements, but particularly in the latter, NWFP played an unforgettable role. In the Khilafatists hijrat to Afghanistan in 1920, Arbab Raza Khan of Tehkal, Peshawar, Salim Khan of Teri, Kohat and Akbar Jan of Peshawar were the prominent Qafila Salars from NWFP. It is worth-mentioning that Amir Aman Ullah Khan of Afghanistan became so impressed with the role of Arbab Raza Khan that he donated 100 Jeribs or so of land to him in Khush Gumbat (Afghanistan).¹⁰

L. F. Rushbrook Williams, in his report, 'India in 1920', writes :

"During the year 1919-20, no fewer than 611 raids took place in Peshawar, Kohat, Bunnu and Dera Ismail Khan Districts which resulted in killing of 298, wounding 392 and kidnapping 463 British subjects"¹¹.

Similarly the statistics of the Bray Committee show that from 1906-7 to 1921-22, 3120 raids were committed against the British in the NWFP.¹² It was during the same period, in the autumn of 1920, a gang of anti-British raiders committed the murder of Colonel and Mrs. Foukes at Kohat.¹³

In September 1921 the legislative debate of Sir Sivaswamy and the resolution then passed in the assembly, led to the appointment of Bray Committee on the terms of reference, (i) Separation of the administration of the five administered districts of the North-West Frontier Province from the political control of the adjoining unadministered tracts, (ii) Re-amalgamation of the five administered districts of the NWFP with the Punjab. It is worthy to note here that Mr. Denys Bray, then officiating foreign secretary was the President while Hon'ble Syed Raza Ali, Member of the council of State, Rai Bahadur Tiruvenkata Rangachariar,

MLA, Chaudary Shahajuddin MLA, Mr. Narayan Madhav Samarth, MLA, Khan Bahadur Abdul Rahim, MLA, Mr. A. H. Parker, District and Session Judge Punjab and Mr. H. N. Bolton, Revenue Commissioner, NWFP were the members of the Committee. It is important to point out here that the Hindus, who constituted only 8% of the whole population of the NWFP favoured re-amalgamation of the five settled districts of the NWFP with the Punjab while overwhelming majority of the Frontier Muslims opposed that idea with tooth and nail. On May 23, 1922 Gul Muhammad Khan, President of the Islamia Anjuman of Dera Ismail Khan in his interview with the committee made the following striking demands :

"We would much rather see the separation of Hindus and Muhammadans, 23 crore Hindus to the South and 8 crores Muslims to the North. Give the whole portion of Raskumari to Agra to Hindus and from Agra to Peshawar to Muhammadans. I mean transmigration from one place to other."¹⁴

In April 1923, during a midnight operation, against the army officers, Ajab Khan Afridi, backed by his group entered the residence of Major Ellis at Kohat Cantonment, Killed his wife and carried off his daughter, Miss Ellis. Major Ellis on duty elsewhere and being absent from his home that night did not come across his visitor. Later on the relentless efforts of Mrs. Starr (Mrs. Underhill), Khan Bahadur Rissaldar Moghal Baz Khan and Khan Bahadur Kuli Khan, for many days and nights made the rescue of Miss Ellis possible. Similarly towards the close of the year (1923), the Afridi and his group in an attempt murdered Captain and Mrs. Watts at Parachinar.¹⁵

The Scurrilous writings of Champawati and Mahasha Krishna and its publication in the form of 'Rangila Rasool' pamphlet by Raj Pal in 1924, severely shocked the sentiments of the Muslims and enflamed the whole Muslim India. Consequently 'Rangila Rasool' agitation was started by the followers of Muhammad (PBUH), for condemning and criticizing the heinous act of the Hindus. Like other Muslim majority provinces of the British India in this agitation the tribals particularly of the Khyber Agency and the Muslims of the administered areas of NWFP took part in a befitting manner under the auspices of the local Khilafat Committee

and the Anjuman-e-Ahmadia, Peshawar. The basic aim and objective of this agitation was bringing those to justice who were responsible for injuring the feelings of the Muslims. During the course of this agitation a unity conference was convened under the chairmanship of Nawab Dost Muhammad Khan O.B.E. of Tehkal on September 4, 1927 at Government Mehmankhana, Peshawar. One of the resolutions which was adopted by the conference was as under :

“That this meeting of the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs unanimously condemn scurrilous writing against the founders of all religions, especially Raj Pal, the publisher of Rangila Rasool and realizing that the punishment of section 153-A I.P.C. is inadequate for such offences, recommends to Government that such insults should be made punishable with a heavier sentence”¹⁶.

In 1928 the British government sent Simon Commission to India to get the Montague-Chelmsford reforms 1919 revived and made recommendations for a Constitution of India. Indian National Congress, Central Khilafat Committee and Jinnah League of the All India Muslim League boycotted this purely ‘White Commission’. On February 3 and November 16, 1928, the Commission visited NWFP. On both of these occasions the people of NWFP under the auspices of the local Khilafat Committee, Congress Committee and Sikh League observed Hartal and demonstrated with black mourning banners and slogans, like “Simon go back”, before the commission. On the eve of the 2nd visit of the Commission to NWFP, Allah Baksh Yousufi, in a written poster urged the people of NWFP to keep their black mourning flags ready for the moment of demonstration against the commission. On the other hand while criticizing the attitude of those toadies who were ready to get their statements recorded with the commission, Yousufi observed :

“If their object in doing so is to save their titles and “Jagirs”, they should take a lesson from the honorable stand taken by the Raja Sahib of Mehmoodabad, Sir Ali Imam and Nawab Saif Ullah Khan, the president of the Muslim Association NWFP; who inspite of their being government men, have sided with the boycotters.

The time is, however, not far when they will see their hopes and ambitions, drowned in the depths of unfathomable ocean like those of the Czar of Russia¹⁷

After the unfruitful visits of the Simon Commission to India, the British Government on the proposal of Muhammad Ali Jinnah and others convened the Round Table Conference at London. This conference was the second bid on the part of the British masters for drafting and giving a constitution to India. Indian National Congress boycotted two out the three sessions of the conference. In only one session, i.e. second, only Gandhi participated. The single handed and single minded participation of Gandhi was in fact not a sincere or wholeheartedly participation. In the Muslim delegates, Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayum Khan represented NWFP in the conference. Through his genuine arguments, Nawab Sahib succeeded in convincing the British masters and other delegates that NWFP deserved adequate reforms and upgradation like other provinces of the British India. There is a fascinating account about him; when it was suggested in a session of the conference that the North-West Frontier Province was too small a place for representative government or a Governor, he replied in his inimitable way that a flea might be a small creature but in his country they (British) found it very inconvenient inside their trousers.¹⁸

In 1933, when the 3rd Round Table Conference was in progress at London, a striking development took place. Chaudhry Rehmat Ali a student of the Cambridge University coined the word PAKISTAN but the difficulty, he came across, was that he alone was not in a position to make his coinage public. After a thorough search for supporters, at last Mr. Aslam Khattak and Sardar Inyatullah Khan, illustrious sons of NWFP and ex-students of Islamia College, Peshawar, who at that time were studying in England and were the President and Secretary of the London Khyber Union respectively came to his support and help. It is worth-mentioning here that the London Khyber Union, was the English branch of the Khyber Union, Islamia College Peshawar. Unless and until the original draft which contained the word Pakistan, was signed by Aslam Khattak, Sardar Inyat Ullah Khan, Shiekh Muhammad Sadiq, Sahibzada of Mongrol, with Chaudary Rehmat Ali, the latter did not venture to make that public through their pamphlet, NOW OR NEVER.¹⁹

All India Muslim League held its 27th annual session at Lahore from March 21-23, 1940. It was in this session that Lahore Resolution which is commonly known as Pakistan Resolution was adopted. In this extraordinary session of the All India Muslim League a strong contingent of 240 political leaders and workers from NWFP participated.²⁰ Like the other leaders of the delegates from other Muslim-majority provinces of the British India, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan from NWFP supported the famous Pakistan Resolution.

Under a provision of the June 3, 1947, plan, referendum was held in NWFP from July 6 to 17, 1947 for securing mandate of the people of this Muslim majority province whether they wanted to join the Dominion of India or the Dominion of Pakistan. Brigadier J. B. Booth, Referendum Commissioner was assisted by the British officers of the Indian army in conducting this referendum. Of the total 5,72,798 eligible electorates of the province, 289244 (50.49%) voted in favour of Pakistan and only 2874 (0.50%) in favour of India.²¹ It is important to note here that it was because of the sincere efforts of Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Amin-ul-Hasanat (Pir Manki Sharif) and Pir Abdul Latif Zakori of D. I. Khan that the Muslims of NWFP gave their historic verdict in favour of Muslim League and Pakistan.

Acknowledging the role of NWFP in the Freedom Struggle, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, in his address to the students of Islamia College Peshawar on April 12, 1948, remarked :

“I take Particular pride in the fact that the people of this province have never and in no way lagged behind in the struggle for freedom and achievement of Pakistan”²².

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Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah : Quest for Women's Rights

MUHAMMAD FAROOQ

Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah played a very important role in the awakening of Muslim women during the Pakistan movement. On the one hand, Miss Jinnah took part in the female liberation movement and, on the other, united women on the political platform. After the creation of Pakistan, she urged women to educate themselves. She brought all her energies to bear upon the intensification of the female liberation movement. Undoubtedly, her contribution towards Muslims' National Struggle for independence is undeniable, however, after independence, she became the icon for the forward-looking women of Pakistan. By analyzing her speeches, statements and work, one finds her a staunch promoter of the liberal feminism. The "right must be given precedence over the good," the liberal feminism emphasizes.¹ It stressed for women's social and economic rights. Liberal feminism prescribed that women be provided with real education and should be economically independent. It will groom them as rational and independent women.² The truly educated woman may also manage her household efficiently.³ To be independent, women need the same civil liberties as men have. Miss Jinnah, after independence played a crucial role in the struggle for women's right in Pakistan.

Miss Jinnah groomed in tumultuous period of social upheaval in Subcontinent, when the old structures were being replaced with the new ones introduced by the British colonial Government. She apprehended these changes and advocated the socio-cultural reformation.

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During this period feminist campaigns were started. The forces of modernization forced Muslim Society to readjust and redefine its value system. Initially, growing awareness among the Indian women was confined to common issues, like education, health-care and struggle against social evils, without communal consideration. However, in the second decade of twentieth century, efforts were made to establish women's organization at national level. All-India Muslim League also supported the women cause. The working committee of Muslim League passed, in 1932, a resolution in support of women's rights.⁴ The resolution expressed the hope that all political and social obstacles and disqualifications in the way of female suffrage should be removed and for women's social and political emancipation they should be considered equal to men and be given adequate representation. However, nationalist agenda overwhelmingly influenced the feminist politics of pre-partition Subcontinent. Among the Muslim society, politics of national identity was gaining more and more strength. The growing interest in modern education among the female of elite Muslim families and communalization of 'female political identity' forced Muslim feminists to take interest in the growing politics of Muslim nationalism.⁵ Therefore, on the call of Muslim League, Muslim women actively participated in national struggle for independence. When Muslim League at its Patna session, in 1938, established All-India Women's Sub-committee, Miss Jinnah became a member of it, representing Bombay.⁶ Till the dawn of independence she remained active in Muslim nationalist politics along-with her brother, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

After independence and during the last two decades of her life she devoted herself to the socio-economic and cultural uplift of the society in general and for women's rights particularly. She keenly interested herself in developing the faculties of women in order to build and strengthen the newly created nation. Undoubtedly she had organized All-India Women's Sub-committee of the Muslim League during the last decade of united India but she had avoided coming into the limelight and assuming any prominent role on the public platform, rather, she participated in activities relating to the uplift of the depressed sections of the society, including women. It was only when the Quaid-i-Azam's concept of democracy having been reduced to mockery by the first martial law regime, that she decided to step in politics.

During the Muslims' nationalist struggle she played a very important role in mobilization of Muslim women for the cause. She actively participated in the meetings of All-India Women's Sub-committee of the League. It is a known fact that Mohammad Ali Jinnah had played a very crucial role in the growth of Muslim League and formation of Pakistan, but Fatima Jinnah, sister of Jinnah, had also played a significant role for Muslim League and Pakistan. Due to her political understanding, she helped in establishing Jinnah as a successful leader. After achieving the goal of independence, she campaigned for political rights of the people of Pakistan and for this purpose she agreed to be the presidential candidate of Combined Opposition against General Ayub Khan. She was a staunch believer of democracy, but her concept of democracy was exactly opposite of the religious-orthodox circles' viewpoint. The religious circles were pressing that elections should not be held on adult franchise basis and demanding that right to vote should be granted to all adult male and only to educated females.⁷ On the contrary, Miss Jinnah's philosophy of democracy had broader meanings. She was advocating a gender-neutral political system for Pakistan. She was pressing for a political system in which all have equal opportunities. According to her view, "democracy pre-supposes the existence of an intellectual, cultural, economic and physical level among the people who want government of the people, by the people and for the people, where every one has equal opportunities for development on the basis of equality, fair play and justice", where no one can be exploited.⁸

She was held in high esteem and greatly respected. She was a very active social worker, the head of Girl's Guide and the patron of the nurses; but her active participation in politics had been negligible. However, her nomination as opposition's presidential candidate against President Ayub Khan is a significant event in the political history of Pakistan. She is the only woman having honour of contesting election for the head of the state. If it were not for the strictly controlled indirect election by an electoral college of Basic Democrats, she would have been the country's first and perhaps the only female head of state. Her participation in presidential election showed, on the one hand, the courage of a woman to challenge the incumbent dictator, on the other hand, displays her concern for the people's rights. During the election campaign, Miss Jinnah was drawing enormous crowds throughout the

country from Peshawar to Chittagong. This was another important aspect of the election that being a woman did not make her less popular.

Miss Jinnah supported women's rights and condemned the oppression of women in her speeches and messages. She campaigned for women's rights within the existing structures of state and society. Being an educated and conscious woman, Miss Jinnah considered women as individuals, who have equal duties and rights as men have. She had full confidence in the innate capabilities of women and believed that "women can do a great deal in the uplift of the country."⁹ She further added that women "could change the destiny of the nation if they put heart and soul in the development and reconstruction work."¹⁰

She deplored the conditions in which Muslim women were brought up. According to her, emancipation of women lies in their economic independence, that could be achieved through acquiring the "various arts and crafts by which they may become useful members of society and live with respect."¹¹ Therefore, she worked hard for the betterment and welfare of women and encouraged the establishment of industrial homes, schools and colleges.

For the establishment of an equitable civil society, Miss Jinnah stressed that education is the basic prerequisite, therefore, the Pakistani women must be equipped with education. She considered that "education is the key to all progress and prosperity"¹² and it should develop breadth of vision, strength of will and a sound character. Educated mothers and women are imperative for, not only the uplift and welfare of the women; but also for the socio-economic development of the society. Education would infuse confidence among women and they would become equally important member of the society. Due to her this conviction, she stressed in her speeches and messages that educational system should be devised in such a way that trained them in solving their problems, which the society would face in future, and develop their independent personality. For this reason she said in her speech at the occasion of foundation stone laying ceremony of Khatoon-i-Pakistan Education and Welfare Board High School, in 1955 :

"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 traditions of a community. It is she who maintains the home as the real pivot of all national activity, progress and prosperity."¹³

What did education mean to Miss Jinnah? She defined education as (while speaking at St. Joseph's College for Women in 1958), "the word education does not mean acquiring of a mere examination label : in its real sense it means the attainment of that ability through which you may be able to redirect the forces of events according to your standards of values."¹⁴ Therefore, she exhorted Pakistani women to get education of art and sciences to enhance their mental faculties, in order to discharge the "responsibilities of the citizenship of free state."¹⁵ She struggled hard for women's right to education, in a conservative society of 1950s and 1960s where girls' education was discouraged because they were not supposed to work outside their homes. Miss Jinnah accepted the challenge and attempted to convince people and tried to arrange the educational facilities for women education. She inaugurated several schools and colleges. She always appreciated the efforts of those who worked for the female education.

Miss Jinnah not only encouraged women's education but also accepted women's right of education equal to men. She considered education as "the gateway to all progress and prosperity."¹⁶ She abhorred the tradition of preference of boys over the girls in Pakistani society. Speaking on the occasion of the inaugural ceremony of Madrassa Banat al Quran at Karachi in March 1948, she said "there has been a practice in vogue among the Muslims, that they give more attention to the education of boys and girls' education is not considered important. This practice is erroneous and harmful. The demand of the time is that we must abandon such faulty traditions and must get ourselves on the right track."¹⁷ She herself was equipped with modern education and knew the power of education and knowledge. Therefore, she believed that "knowledge would make them self-conscious, strong, self-respecting, confident, dutiful and broad-minded. It would further help them to discard old retrogressive customs and usages"¹⁸ and this would lead to the establishment of a civil society on the basis of gender parity.

In addition to advocating women's right-to education, she also projected women as the custodians of cultural and spiritual heritage of Pakistani nation.¹⁹ But it did not mean to prevent women acquiring modern knowledge. What Miss Jinnah meant by it was that "women should have a due sense of appreciation and even a sense of pride in their cultural heritage, because it was really the product of their special genius and on its basis should be built their new life, taking advantage of all the good things that modern knowledge and science have to offer."²⁰

Miss Jinnah adopted welfare and conscious-raising approach for promoting the women's rights. She took keen interest in developing skill-training oriented facilities for women. With a view to build confidence among women she encouraged their participation in all walk of life. She attended and addressed the meeting of the Anjuman Tahaffuz Haquq-i-Niswan, held at Lahore in 1949. In her address, she lamented the women's conditions and stressed for the establishment of the institutions that could carry out the task of development of women. She said :

"Now-a-days Muslims are backward socially, educationally, economically and almost in every walk of life. But it was no good to lament over the past losses and present backwardness. The best thing is to study the present situation with an acute mind and earnestly try to resolve the problems. The nation can rise to its zenith only if the economic backwardness was removed. Thousands of women are roaming about aimlessly in tattered rags with their half-starved children in their laps. But nobody seems to take note of them. The more fortunate women who are better placed in life, should rise to the occasion and offer their services. They should actively help all such institutions where destitute women were learning trades to earn their living honourably."²¹

She established Pakistan Girl Guides Association and became its first Patron in 1948. According to her, Girl Guides movement imbued a spirit among girls in tender age which prepared them to take "responsibility in every walk of life and which would be of great value" for both public and private sphere.²² She addressed several Girl Guide rallies, such as at

Lahore in 1949,²³ and Karachi in 1950²⁴ and 1958,²⁵ and laid foundation stone of Girls Guide House, Peshawar in 1962.²⁶

She strived hard to establish facilities for women development and women's rights. In 1948, she inaugurated the Muslim Women Industrial Home and Muslim Ladies Technical and Industrial Institute at Karachi and also regularly presided over the meetings of Khatoon-i-Pakistan Education and Welfare Board with the object of promoting education and welfare of women.²⁷ She attended and addressed the meeting of Anjuman Tahuffuz Haquq-i-Niswan at Lahore, in 1949, and inaugurated World Muslim Conference (ladies session) at Karachi in 1951.²⁸ In 1949, she inaugurated another Industrial Home for women.²⁹ In 1953, she inaugurated another Industrial Home in Karachi founded by Bantya Memon Khidmat Committee.³⁰ She had a clear idea about the objective of establishment of various industrial homes for women. While inaugurating a Women's Welfare Industrial Home in 1960, she said, "the institution is to equip them with some kind of art which will be useful and valuable to them when they settle down in life, either in their own homes or as a means of earning their livelihood. It is necessary,"³¹ that Pakistani women are rightly indebted to her services for the cause of women's rights. However, the ladies of All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) even did not generally recognize the services of Miss Jinnah "in bringing the Muslim women forward."³²

Miss Jinnah paid great attention to the facilities provided to the people. In October 1947 she visited Lahore and felt an urgent need of establishing a medical college for women. Therefore, she suggested that the building of Balak Ram Medical College and its attached institutions that were then occupied by the refugees should be vacated and converted into women's medical college. After that she started a campaign for providing better health care facilities to the people and to women particularly. Miss Jinnah was the active promoter of the extension of health facilities to women and also advising girls to join health and nursing field. She appreciated the efforts "to prepare girls for humanitarian service by giving them training in first-aid and nursing and equipping them in hygienic cooking, handicrafts, fire fighting and citizenship, side by side with character building." She further advocated that it is "a noble and great profession. It is the fulfillment of the mission

of human service... The destiny of the nation lies more in your hands than in any other... Pakistan requires the services of a number of women social workers, women teachers and above all women doctors and nurses.³³ She was concerned about the provision of health care to the people, particularly to women. In 1948, she inaugurated a dispensary for the refugees in Karachi. In 1949, she inaugurated the Fatima Jinnah Surgical and Maternity Nursing Home in Karachi³⁴ and performed the opening ceremony of a dispensary in Karachi under the management of Bantya Memon Khidmat Committee in 1952.³⁵

She deplored the conditions of "national health" and showed grave concern on the "paucity of health and welfare services" in Pakistan. She was very concerned about the maternity and childcare. In her view "the provision of medical services to women and children... will help in checking our infant and maternal mortality which we must admit are one of the highest in the world. Maternal and child welfare services are considered a basic public health requirement and the standard of wisdom and civilization in different nations is often judged from the extent to which they provide adequate care and attention to mothers and children."³⁶ On many occasions she tried to convince women of Pakistan to take interest in medical profession and advised women that they should actively participate "in the field of higher education both in the medical line and in arts."³⁷

Miss Jinnah, having grown up in colonial days, as an educated and enlightened woman was the proponent of liberal feminism, a crusader for women's rights. Nevertheless, the people of Pakistan in general and women in particular should remember Miss Fatima Jinnah's commitment to democracy; a political system that the father of the nation had wanted to perpetuate in the country and her contribution to the cause of women's rights in bringing them forward in the social sector.

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Religious Code of Conduct and Health Status of Elderly in Muslim Family of Bangladesh : A Sociological Inquiry

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INTRODUCTION

Population aging is a consequence of the process of demographic transition. The sharp decline in mortality since 1951 and a steady recent decline in fertility has contributed to the process of population aging in Bangladesh. Along with demographic changes aging of population is taking place in this country. The condition of the elderly is not only determined by inevitable characteristics but also characterized by cultural practices, which happens to be changing at a rapid pace in Bangladesh today. This trend of social change in this society is creating a critical condition for the elderly socio-economically.

Islamic values and beliefs are dominant in Bangladesh society. Islamic beliefs have a central role in the lives of Muslims. In Muslim customs, an elderly person bears an important position in the community. According to the Hadith (Al-Timidhi), Prophet Mohammad (peace and blessings be upon him) said, "He is not of us who does not have mercy on young children, nor honour the elderly". In Abu Musa al-Ash'ari : The Prophet said, "Glorifying Allah involves showing honour to a grey-haired Muslim and to one who can expound the Qur'an, but not to one who acts extravagantly regarding it, or turns away from it, and

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showing honour to a just ruler (Sunan Abu Dowud). The Qur'an states : "Your lord has commanded that you worship none but Him, and that you be kind to your parents" (17:23). First and foremost in the Islamic religion is an understanding of the role of parents, as a friend and an overall provider. A child's duty is to treat his or her parent with the utmost of respect and kindness. The Quran continues to say : "If one or both of them reach old age with you, do not say to them a word of disrespect, or scold them, but say a generous word to them. And act humbly to them in mercy and say, "My Lord, have mercy on them, since they cared for me when I was small" (17:23-24). According to this view, it is a duty for all Muslims to take care of their parents well into old age, as a means of paying back for all the good care that they provided them with in their younger years. The elderly are deemed wise and worthy members of the community, in need of help in terms of health and physical care.

In the context of Muslim customs, the elderly are in the respectful and prestigious position in the society. They usually receive care from the younger members of the family and community. It is the general practice of Muslim families to share accommodation with their extended families. Here, Islam is an important part of life. Virtually, every person belongs to this institution from birth to death in his/her life. So, this paper has given special attention to bridges by informing the conditions of elderly and religiosity.

AIMS AND METHODS OF THIS PAPER

This paper aims to explore the health conditions of elderly people with respect to their religious practices. Specially, the aim of this paper is to examine the relationships between the religiosity and the psychosomatic health conditions of the elderly people in Rajshahi City. The paper based on data gathered from 20 wards (out of 40) in the metropolitan area. Apart from structured interviews on the subjects, informal discussions were conducted in order to collect relevant data. A total of 678 (both male and female) elderly were purposively chosen from the study area.

ISLAMIC CODE OF CONDUCT OF ELDERLY

Islam means submission to the will of God and a Muslim means one who submits. The root is the same as that of the word for peace, *salaam*

(Lippman, 1982). A Muslim is acquired by a conscious act of will – the act of submission, summarized in the profession of faith. This means that there is no god but God, and Prophet Mohammad is the messenger of Allah. To become a Muslim, it is sufficient to make that profession sincerely in the presence of other believers, who will witness it. But to become a Muslim is also to accept a complex, interlocking body of beliefs, practices, and ethical standards. A Muslim believes that an omnipotent, and omniscient God will, (on the inevitable) Last Day, judge each person by his or her acts. Each person's resurrected body will be admitted to Paradise or condemned to eternal hellfire, according to God's evaluation. God is just, but God is also merciful; the sinner who repents may be welcomed into company of the faithful in Paradise, - only if repentance is sincere and timely. On the terrible Day of Judgement repentance will be too late, and no intercession will save the doomed souls of those who disobeyed God's commands (Lippman, 1982).

Islam has basically two forms of worship (*ibadath*) : the internal and external. First, the internal form of worship is referred to as '*imaan*' and has seven facets. Secondly, in the Muslim Ummah (community), there are five basic duties or pollars (*Arkaanul Islam*) which constitute the external form of the worship. Those are :

1. *Shahadah* means a deep understanding and verbal acceptance of oneness of Allah and Prophet Mohammad as the final messenger,
2. *Salahr* means five compulsory daily prayers (*Namaz*),
3. *Zakat* means giving charity to the poor,
4. *Fasting or Sawm* means abstaining from eating and drinking during the month of Ramadan, and Hajj means pilgrimage to Mecca.

It is generally held that religious faith provides a relief for people with ailment. (Ansari, 1992, Hussain, 1999, Badri, 2000). Muslims usually perceive illness occurring in old age by the will of God. This belief and faith are the idea of Al-Quran. God is the architect of destiny

and the advancement of any individual is dependent on His will. All life events are under His control and can be changed by Him along. The belief is fortified in the Holy Qur'an in Surah Al-Taghabun (64:11) :

"No calamity befalls, but with the leave of Allah (i.e. what has befallen him was already written for him by Allah from Q'adar, Divine preordainment)... and Allah is the All-Knower of everything."

STATUS OF THE ELDERLY IN FAMILY AND ISLAM

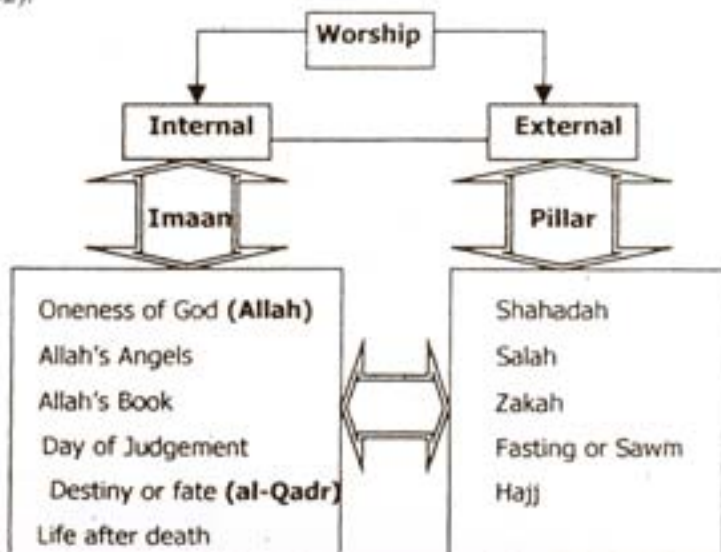
The family in Bangladesh has long been regarded as an element of a solid kinship organization, rather than as an independent group. Family is regarded as a great shelter of every man old woman, and as a protector of its members. In the tradition of Bangladesh, the family is, for most people, an everlasting group beyond individual member's existence. Such a family keeps its own tradition, the continuance of which is the concern of the head of the family. The head of the family controls and trains other family members, so that this tradition continues smoothly through generations.

Family is a fundamental unit in Islam. The family in Islam is considered as a building block of society where measures are taken to ensure that individual's rights are protected. All the things that are enjoined in this religion are elements of a family, which are important for the peace, safety, and spiritual nourishment. This is also important for emotional and psychological health, including physical and social well being of each and every individual in society.

In Muslim Ummah, an elderly is considered as a respected person in a family. Normally, he/she occupies a position of prestige, privilege and power. It is practiced that with age, man acquires knowledge and golden experiences which would direct younger generation in a number of ways. The family system is regulated by Islamic beliefs, rites, norms, and values, activities or functions. It is a matter of obligation for all Muslims to serve their parents well into old age, as a means of paying them back for all the good care that they provided them with in their early age. In

the family of Bangladesh, children always consider their elderly parents mercifully, with kindness. In Islam, serving one's parents is a duty second to prayer. Allah says in the Qur'an : "They ask you (O Muhammad peace be upon him) what they should spend. Say : Whatever you spend of good must be for parents and kindred and orphans and the poor who beg and the wayfarers, and whatever you do of good deeds, truly, Allah knows it well" (Sura Al Baqara 2:215). However, the population aging is in despicable condition and disgrace to humanity. Nowadays, elderly are considered as a social problem.

Traditionally in Bangladesh society, the code of conduct extends beyond the family to recognize certain relationships between family members and the elderly, within the family and community. In this context of population aging, it is customary for instance to respect them with respectable 'kin term' and to render 'assistance' if these need. The tradition establishes social cohesion between the young and the elderly. Touching traditionally both Islamic practice as well as Bangladeshi culture serves the elderly people as resource for young generation, particularly in indigenous knowledge, rites and mental support. However, this situation is changing rapidly and changes in kinship and family organization occur in conjunction with urbanization" industrialization and globalization. The extended family tends to be modified toward the nuclear or conjugal family form these days (Islam, 2002).



NATURE OF ISLAMIC WORSHIP

In the context of Bangladesh, the status of an elderly depends on the role played in the family context. The degree of contacts an elderly person has with his/her family, and in community settings decisions are strong indicators of social well-being. The data in the present study indicates that 30.4% of the respondents played important role for their family of whom 2.6% was female. Moreover, 19.6% of the male respondents and 13.6% of the female respondents played partial role in decision-making process. It is found that their decisions are related mainly to marriage, purchase of some valuable goods, selling property, ritual etc. Thus, virtually reflects the convention of this society. The status of elderly is changing and now they are holding a problematic status because it is based upon all socioeconomic elements in all societies. A significant proportion of the elderly (33.8%) found to have no role in the familial decision making process and 33.2% in conventional stage are also the same condition. Easily we can find out here that the religious code of conduct to the elderly is not playing vital role for maintaining higher status of the elderly virtually.

It has been observed that the traditional idea of well-being of the elderly in Bangladesh is turning flimsy both in the family and social context. A few decades ago, the traditional Muslim families serve an important role for the well-being of the elderly due to Islamic code of conduct. But the traditional practice of this community is gradually breaking down. Moreover, the status of elderly in family is threatened by the socioeconomic, demographic and technological change. This has increased the vulnerability of the elderly.

Nature of the Participation on Decision-Making Process in the Family

MALE RESPONDENTS*									
Age Categories	Properly Accepted			Conventionally Accepted			Non-role		
	Fq	N1=419	N=678	fq	n1=419	N=678	fq	n1=419	N=678
60 - 64	44	10.5	6.5	6	1.4	0.9	5	1.2	0.7
65 - 69	103	24.6	15.2	56	13.4	8.3	22	5.3	3.2
70 - 74	29	6.9	4.3	28	6.7	4.2	18	4.3	2.7
75 - 79	17	4.1	2.5	9	2.1	1.3	12	2.7	1.8
80 - above	13	3.1	1.9	34	8.2	5.0	23	5.5	3.4
Total	206	49.2	30.4	133	31.8	19.6	80	19.0	11.8

FEMALE RESPONDENTS*

	fq	n ₂ =259	N=678		n ₂ =259	N=678		n ₂ =259	N=678
60 - 64	9	3.5	1.3	18	6.9	2.7	30	11.6	4.4
65 - 69	8	3.1	1.2	48	18.5	7.1	50	19.4	7.4
70 - 74	-	-	-	13	5.0	1.8	35	13.5	5.2
75 - 79	-	-	-	7	2.7	1.0	16	6.2	2.4
80 - above	1*	0.4*	0.1*	6	2.3	0.9	18	6.9	2.7
Total	18	7.0	2.6	92	35.4	13.6	149	57.6	22.1
Total (M+F)	224		33.0	225		33.2	229		33.8

*There is only one exceptional case here. These female old-old respondents live with her widowed daughter. Now, she is owner of their home and her daughter has informed that her mother is the decision-maker.

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES OF THE ELDERLY

It is found that the elderly people in Rajshahi City are apt to involve in the beliefs and practices of Islam e.g. internal and external worship within home and community. Table-2 shows that 97.2% of the elderly devoted regularly in their internal and external religious activities except Hajj. A very insignificant proportion could not participate in these activities although they have strong religious faith. The table indicates an increasing pattern in religious practices with respect to old ages. The data reveal that old age is positively correlated with increasing religious activities. Fig – 1 shows the nature of the participation in the Arkaanul Islam (Five Pillar of Islam)

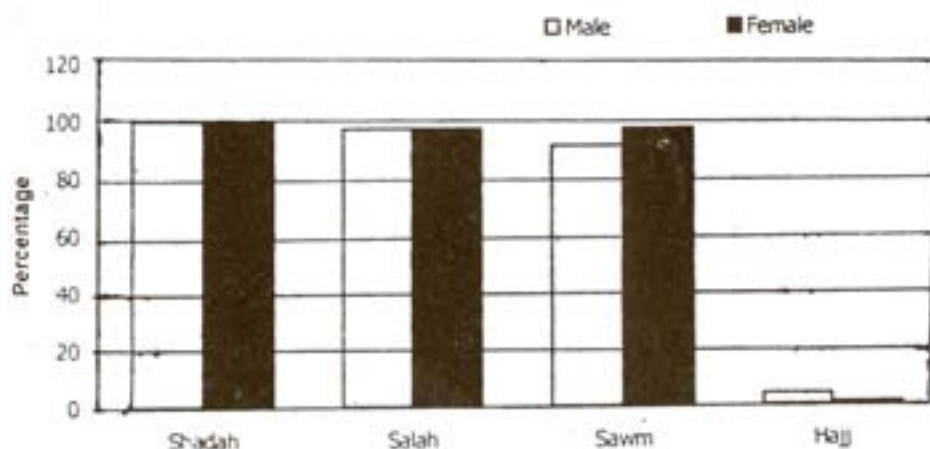


Fig:1 : Nature of Participation of Arkaanul Islam

ISLAMIC COMMITMENT AND HEALTH STATUS OF THE ELDERLY

This study found that Islamic beliefs and practice are associated with better physical and mental health conditions. Practicing the Imaan and Arkaanul Islam have been linked to greater life satisfaction and improved psychological health, to lower incidence of depression, and to lower incidence of psychic problems. Generally, the health is largely based on socioeconomic conditions. But the vast majority of the study shows a relationship between greater religious involvement and better mental health including physical health.

Islamic activities provide many people with comfort in the face of illness, and that there is no ethical objection to discussing medical issues between doctor and patients in the context of a shared faith of Islam. In the context of Muslim elderly, Islamic activities normally reduce high risk health factors, such as smoking and other bad habits. Idler (1987) has pointed that four theoretical mechanisms are a link between religion and health. First, religious involvement may reduce high-risk behaviours, such as smoking, drinking and sexual activity. Second, involvement in religious groups may be a source of support, i.e., in term of being concerned and offering help. Third, through what Adler calls "coherence", religious involvement provides "access to a unique system of symbols... that allows individuals to make sense and cope with the experiences" (Adler, 1987:229). Last, theodicy, or a person's interpretation and understanding of religious doctrine changes perceptions of distress associated with physical suffering. Theodicy allows those that are religiously involved to understand that suffering may exist in the world in one's own life and it also allows them to deal more effectively with problem.

TABLE-2
Nature of the participation of religious activities

Age Categories	Participated		Non-participated		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Femal
60 - 64	52	52	3	5	55	57
	94.5	91.0	5.5	8.8	100.0	100.0
	46.4	46.4	2.8	4.5	49.2	50.8
65 - 69	177	100	4	6	181	106
	97.8	94.3	2.2	5.7	100.0	100.0
	61.7	34.8	1.4	2.1	63.1	36.9
70 - 74	74	47	1	1	75	48
	98.7	97.9	1.3	2.1	100.0	100.0
	60.2	18.1000	0.8	0.9	61.0	39.6
75-above	106	47	2	1	108	48
	98.1	98.0	1.9	2.0	100.0	100.0
	68.0	30.1	1.3	0.4	69.3	30.6
	Total (M+F)		Total (M+F)		Total	
	655	97.2	19	3.8	N=678	100.0%
Chisquare	Variable age		Variable religious activities			
df Asymp.	1451.522		552.425			
sig.	.35		.1			
	.000		.000			

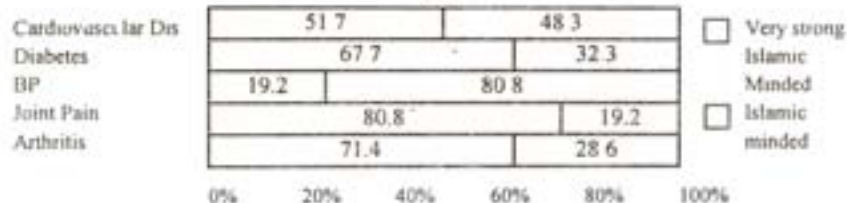
1st step of the cell is the number of Respondents, 2nd step of the cell is the percentage of the gender groups, 3rd step of the cell is the percentage of the total sample.

According to Chart-2, Islamic beliefs and practices provided a great range of mental support for the elderly, who suffered from many diseases. 71.4% elderly patients with arthritis, 80.8% joint pain, 19.2% blood pressure, 67.7% diabetes and cardiovascular problems 51.7% did not want to take a seriously specialized treatment – they were found to be fatalistic, leaving their late life upon the mercy of the Almighty God. A vast majority of the elderly strongly believes that Islamic beliefs and practices can prevent diseases and ability to cope with illness.

This study has observed that Islamic commitment may help many clinical problems including depression, substance abuse. Islamic beliefs and practices are associated with decreased degree of depression. The elderly people reported, depression as an inevitable incidence occurring in the late part of their life. But the vast majority of the elderly reported that only Islamic beliefs and practices could decrease depression. It has been found that the elderly from poor families suffer from depression, mostly due to poor health conditions and financial problems. They believe that this is fate. They also reported that they had overcome the mental depression by practicing Islamic rules, regulations and rituals. A significant number of male elderly opined that they went to Mosque whenever they were in anxiety.

The elderly people of the study area reported that they gave up their bad habits (e.g. smoking, drugs) by engaging themselves in the norms of Islam. They strongly believe that commitment to Islamic norms and values can only help giving up such habits. Individuals with high degree of Islamic values do not usually smoke or take drug.

This study reveals that commitment to Islamic norms and values are associated with a lower prevalence of diseases. It has been found that religious commitment is positively related to the state of physical health. More than half (51.7%) of the elderly, who were suffering from cardiovascular diseases, reported that they did not feel vulnerable to risks as they were involved with regular worship. Muslim elderly, strongly believe that Salah and Roza (fastation) can help to get rid of diseases.



Percentage of Elderly

Fig:2 : Relationship between diseases and Islamic beliefs

TABLE - 3
Condition of Suffering from Diseases of the Respondents

Age Categories	Not Suffering From Diseases			Suffering from Diseases			Total		
	fq	n ₁ =419 %	N=67 %	Fq	n ₁ =419 %	N=678 %	fq	n ₁ =419 %	N=678 %
60 - 64	7	1.7	1.0	48	11.5	7.1	55	13.2	8.1
65 - 69	38	9.1	5.6	143	34.1	21.1	181	43.2	26.7
70 - 74	9	2.2	1.3	66	15.6	9.7	75	17.8	11.0
75 - 79	4	0.9	0.6	34	8.1	5.0	38	9.0	5.6
80 - 84	4	0.9	0.6	40	9.5	5.9	44	10.4	6.5
85 - 89	3	0.8	0.4	12	2.9	1.8	15	3.7	2.2
90 - above	2	0.5	0.3	9	2.2	1.3	11	2.7	1.3
Total	67	16.1	9.8	352	83.9	51.9	419	100.0	61.7

Suffering Conditions of the Female Respondents: (n₁: 259, N=678)

	fq	n ₁ =259 %	N=678 %	Fq	n ₁ =259 %	N=678 %	fq	n ₁ =259 %	N=678 %
60 - 64	8	3.1	1.2	49	18.9	7.2	57	22.1	8.5
65 - 69	10	3.9	1.5	96	37.1	14.2	106	41.1	15.7
70 - 74	3	0.7	0.4	45	17.4	6.6	48	18.2	7.1
75 - 79	-	-	-	23	8.9	3.4	23	8.9	3.4
80 - 84	1	0.4	0.2	10	3.9	1.5	11	4.2	1.9
85 - 89	-	-	-	5	1.9	0.7	5	1.9	0.7
90 - above	-	-	-	9	3.5	1.3	9	3.5	1.3
	22	8.5	3.3	237	91.5	34.9	259	100.0	38.3
	89		13.2	589		86.6	678		100.0

Table - 3 shows that 86.6% of the elderly (N=678) suffered from diseases temporarily or permanently while 13.2% did not. The common denominators of diseases provide a useful framework to look at health status in old age. Most of the elderly people exhibited one or more signs of pathology associated with the aging process. The incapability in old age may arise from these conditions. Moreover, the majority of elderly (86.6%) suffering from various diseases believed that they were the travelers in the passage of eternal phase of spiritual life. Strong commitment to the norms and values of Islam gave them mental support to get a relief from their illness.

DAILY TASK OF MUSLIM AND III-HEALTH PREVENTION

The Islamic code of conduct constitutes the core of the daily programme of Muslim community. The main essence is that these codes of conduct allow the Muslims to live in peace and harmony. This study has observed that a vast majority of the elderly is strongly Islamic minded. They always believe that Islam is not a number of dogmatic beliefs but also a way of life, aiming at the happiness of individuals and groups.

Islamic ethics is suitable for the elderly people. Values and norms in our Muslim community is that the daily task of Islamic ethics is carried out in a group, a context which helps to eliminate depression and curbs looseness. Besides, a man's role in a group context helps learning and how to respect group ethics and values. Thus associating individual with a group breeds in him a feeling of affiliation, integration and cooperation. This process relieves the anxiety and tension of a person. Moreover, the daily task helps to indulge an individual in physical and psychological activities.

The Arkaanul Islam basically Salah (prayer) one of the foundations of Islam which is related to the psychosomatic health of a person. In Salah, the movement of the body concentrates on faith. All this leads to a kind of coordination which helps to decrease anxiety and tension and alleviates depression if it exists. Another issue is that regular meetings among in the mosque constitute a good opportunity for them to find solutions to many problems. This also helps to communicate with others that leads to mental satisfaction. The daily task also facilitates confessing

one's sins, Muslims always feel that they are under the care of the creator that God (Allah) is merciful to them and is willing to forgive their sins. Such a feeling of the elderly is related to their mental well-being. The religious meetings arranged in a mosque are used for social and mental satisfaction of the elderly.

CONCLUSION

The study concludes that Islamic beliefs and practices are commonly used by the elderly in the face of difficult life events. The findings of the study suggest that Islamic commitment might play a vital support in enhancing illness prevention, increasing mental power and coping with illness and depression. While the study could not find a positive correlation between religiosity and well-being in later life to some extent, the general consensus of Islamic code of conduct and all aspects of elderly was found positive. It is very difficult to establish scientifically a significant correlation between religious commitment and health conditions. In this regard, longitudinal studies are needed to depict the effect of religious beliefs and practices on the elderly's health.

In the context of Bangladesh, Islam tends to be more prevalent in the community, particularly in the lower socioeconomic classes. Islam, therefore, may act as a buffer against social and economically deprived people. Sociologically, it is an important aspect of the elderly people, for the well-being condition of their later life. Therefore, further empirical studies are needed to establish a proper analysis in order to increase our knowledge on this issue.

The limitations of the study are that both religious practices and the health of elderly people are measured by the response of the sample interviewed. It is important to consider the possibility that the respondents may not be accurate in all responses they provided. But religious beliefs and practices become particularly important to elderly persons when they become sick. This is often a time in life when other personal resources become exhausted, religious beliefs, however, are seldom affected by changes associated with age but become stronger.

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Forts.... A Cultural Heritage of Cholistan

DR. SHAHID HASSAN RIZVI

The art of the fortification appears to be almost as old as human civilization. Since the pre-historic age, forts were built not only for protection against invasions but also to serve as military encampments, and Thrones of monarchs etc. Regarding the first builder of forts. There is a foggy veil on the pages of the history. But it is said that the art of the fortification is Eastern. In this connection the archeologists give the example of China Wall, built by Chinese, to protect their country from the Mongols.

In Pakistan there was the need of security that induced men to erect forts and strongholds throughout the country. Thus, in the Cholistan desert,¹ rulers built the forts at the riverbanks to protect it from Foreigners.²

The Cholistan occupies about two-third area of present Bahawalpur Division extending over some 10399 sq. miles (6655360 Acres). Administratively Cholistan is divided between the three districts of Bahawalpur Division. i.e. Bahawalpur District 6294 sq. miles (4028075 Acres), Bahawalnagar District 1580 sq. miles (1011178 Acres), and Rahim Yar Khan District, 2525 sq. miles (1615965 Acres)³. It is boarded on the North by the Sutlej River and on the Northwest and West by the Indus River. It measures 300 miles (483 km) from Northwest to Southeast and is 40 to 180 miles (64 to 290 km) wide.⁴

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There exists a chain of about thirty-five forts from East to West, providing a panoramic view.⁵ (Fig-1)

The forts and other cultural sites are generally located on or close to the former flood plain of the Hakra River all along its 300 miles (483 km) long course in former Bahawalpur State. The settlement sites of the Ancient periods (Early Historical) are few in number but a Chain of Medieval forts along the Hakra River bed and beyond, deep into Cholistan, stand majestically like worrier ships in the sea of sand.

Archeologically Cholistan is divided into six periods. i. The Hakra Wares period (CIRCA 3500 B.C. – 3100/3000 B.C.) ii. The early Harappan period (CIRCA 3100/3000 B.C. – 2500 B.C.) iii. The Mature Harappan period (CIRCA 2500 B.C. – 2000/1900 B.C.) iv. The Late Harappan period (CIRCA 2000/1900 B.C. – 1500 B.C.) v. The painted GREY WARES PERIOD (CIRCA 1100/1000 B.C. – 600/500 B.C.) vi. The Early Historical and Medieval Periods). In these periods different settlements⁶ had been built up but we will talk on forts only.

From all accounts, Cholistan seems to be a place of great importance and antiquity. In fact, the entire area of Cholistan is littered with these strongholds and forts. So long as this area remained a Riparian civilization there was no need for such forts, as the two ancient and major cities of Indus Civilization, i.e. Moerjo Daro and Harrapa had no forts, they were open cities. But with the detachment of Cholistan from Riparian civilization the need to build forts were strongly felt. Thus in this part of the subcontinent, the civilization which now flourished was one of the longest in the course of the history. It was also the earliest local civilization and in the field of cultural advancement, it can be compared with the Mesopotamian, Anatolian, Egyptian and Babylonian civilizations.

The most important question of the day is how this great civilization came to an end? In fact, due to abrupt changes in civilization, desert area became the home of some of the more adventurous and sturdy tribes who imbedded indomitable character and love of freedom from the soil wherein during the major parts of the year no protection or Mercy was available from a pitiless sun, crowned with scorching rays and an atmosphere often choked with stifling dust. In order to maintain the

independence, Cholistani people erected many impregnable forts, which now look like a Chain on the Hackra River Bed. The most important are :

DAWER FORT

The Dawer fort is the most impressive and attractive architecture which is still in the possession of the erstwhile Nawabs of Bahawalpur. About its construction a story is found in Tarikh-i-Murad (based on the Shastri Chronicle of Mauji Ram Bias, whose ancestors were the family parohits of the Bhatia rulers of Drawer says: "Jajja and Dera Sidh were two Bhatti Rajas, Dera Sidh being the sister's son of Jajja. In 300 Hijra, Jajja ruled over the Modern Tehsils of Khanpur and Ahmedpur East.) In Sambat 900 Jajja founded the town of Jajja, still a village of considerable importance. The Indus is said to have then flowed close to the town; but it now runs 10 miles west of the village. Dera Sidh, also called Dera Rawal or simply Rawal, built a fort in the bed of the Hakra in the Cholistan, with the consent of Jajja Bhati, in Sambat 909, and gave it his own name.⁷

Sadiq Muhammad Khan Abbasi I snatched Drawer fort from Rawal Rai Singh on 20th Ziqad, 1146 AH. (1733 A.D.) However, after 14 years on 1744 A.D. Rawal Rai Singh retook Drawer from Muhammad Bahawal Khan Abbasi-I.⁸

This story of the capture of the fort was short lived as eventually Rai Singh handed it over to Nawab Mubarak Khan on the condition that the latter paid him half the income from the tolls (Zakat). Until Sambat 1842 (1785 A.D.) Rawal Rai Singh and his son Rugnath Singh received the stipulated sum; but after the Rugnath's death, his son Zalim Singh was content to receive Rs.50 per mensem as a gratuity, which he and his son Bhum Singh continued to enjoy till 1833 A.D. which lapsed on the latter's death.⁹ But when a representative of the family appeared in the court of the Nawab he generally received great respect in the form of a Royal robe (Khillat).

Historically, Drawer also remained the capital of the former Bahawalpur State in the Beginning of the 18th century A.D. But later on, when the city of Bahawalpur was founded on the Bank of the Sutlej river the capital was shifted from Drawer to Bahawalpur city. Drawer during

its period as a capital became a large settlement outside the fort with educational institutions (Madras schools), commercial centers and the most important headquarters of the efficient and swiftly developing Bahawalpur,¹⁰ Camel transport corps. But it lost its importance when it ceased to be the capital of the state.

Geographically it is situated on the map $71^{\circ}-20'-02''$ East longitude to $28^{\circ} 46' 04''$ North Latitude. It was erected in Medieval period of the civilization. It is a square shaped for across 672 maximum length, (NS x EW x HT) across with a gate on its Southern side approached by means of a winding ramp. It has forty bastions originally, a well inside and a large tank outside. Most of its bastions are intact and show geometric designs. They are made with burnt bricks varying in size from one bastion to another, indicating frequent repairs and additions. The wall tower of an imposing height of over 90 feet from outside the ditch had surrounded the fort originally, except at southeast side. On the southeast side of the fort there is a large pool of water which helps to sustain the human and animals life of the inhabitants of the Derawer fort. The surface level inside the fort is more than 60 feet higher than the plain level outside the fort.¹¹ A royal graveyard and marble mosque stands conspicuously outside the fort. In the Royal graveyard the Nawabs of the former state are buried.

Due to negligence, the massive wall and bastions are falling. This fort shows the bravery of those warriors who erected and occupied this strategic stronghold. Now it has become the symbol of the past but on the southeastern residential building for the Nawabs, a flag fluttered high above its roof as if to remind one of its glorious pasts.

MAROT FORT

Marot derived from the Sanskritian word means death.¹² The interior region in which it exists is known as "Marustholi" (The region of death). The last in the corrupted dialect of these countries become 'Thul' the converse of the Greek Oasis denoting tracts particularly sterile.¹³ The fort Marot was probably erected by Mahrut, a king of Chittor, an opponent of Rai Chach, the Brahman usurper of the throne of Sind. It is he, who is said to have checked the advance of Chach in Rajasthan.¹⁴

Unfortunately, throughout the history, we have not been able to trace the time as to when fort Marot was built. We find an Argument from Tod, who says, "Rajasthan and Saurashtra are the cradles of the Budhist or Jain faith, and three out of their five sacred mounts, namely Abu, Palitana and Girnar are in these countries. The offices of the state and revenue are chiefly of the Jain laity, as are the majority of the bankers (the people who lived on the banks of the river) The Chief magistrate and assessors of justice in Udaipur and most of the towns of Rajasthan are of this sect"¹⁵ Some years ago 19 ancient stones have been removed from Marot fort and brought to Bahawalpur Museum for preservation. Some out of them are even older than 1900 years.¹⁶

Marot is situated on the map 72° 26' 10" Eastern longitude to 29° 11' 09" Northern Latitude.¹⁷ It lies on the Southern bank of the Hakra which is situated on the brink of the "Greater Cholistan Desert"¹⁸ Its old route was via Maujgarh and Drawer connecting Delhi to UCH and Multan. But it is now also accessible via Phulra (Fort Abbas) and Yazman. The old route was in fact on the dry bed of river Hakra which always formed a line of defence against the enemy troops. Not only Marot fort is situated on this route but also a Chain of all forts is on this route. Dr. Saif-ur-Rehman Dar says; "formed an outer Ring to guard with hawk's eye all routes to the main-land India from Punjab and Sindh through Cholistan Desert. But due to gradual decline of this route, both militarily and commercially, and its final disruption in 1947, Marot finally lost its significance and today it is nothing more than a tiny desert village slumbering under the shade of lofty walls of its fort which itself is in a terribly advanced stage of decay".¹⁹

In December 1926 A.D., Moulvi Aziz-ur-Rehman, a historian of Bahawalpur visited the Marot fort. At that time it was a village of some importance because of the wealthy Hindu Community living there and their well-built dwellings inside the fort. According to him, "The settlement of the Marot is situated on the high mound. The historic fort of the Marot is now in complete ruins. The fort has an area of about one square mile and most of its walls are made of Kaccha bricks. The members of the wealthy Bahra Hindu Community still reside within the four walls of the fort in their excellent pacca houses. There are even three storied buildings with basements. Among them the house of one Seth

Chandu Lal is worth mentioning. Some houses belong to Brahaman Community. The Qadhi of the village, some masons and few members of Daya Community also reside there. The houses of the Muslims are made of Kaccha bricks. In the residential area of the fort are two Pacca wells; one still is in working condition. About this well, it is reported that its foundation slab consists of copper. Wells are about one hundred and fifty (150) feet deep. One of the Eastern portions of the wall of the fort is decorated with veneering (Choli), this task having been under-taken by Umar Sumra. It was in this portion that entrance gate of the fort was situated. It has now crumbled down but its mark of existence can still be seen in the shape of beautiful carved stones lying nearby.²⁰ They are the master-pieces of the art of stone carving belonging to Hindu period. In the western portion of the fort there are ruins of a place which once belonged to Maharaja Surat Singh of Bikaner, when he lived there. The eastern portion of the wall of the fort which is made of Pacca bricks has two bastions, one of them is still known as the Burj of Surat Singh".²¹

In 12th century A.D. Marot gained strategic importance and emerged as a strong military outpost. At that time Nasir-ud-Din Qabacha was the local ruler of Uch, stationed at Marot. The famous historian Minhaj-uddin-Siraj visited Marot in 1250 A.D. During Akbar's rule, a contingent of 200 horsemen and 1,000 infantry was stationed at Marot. It is written in Aain-e-Akbri that 54,560 Bigas of land was attached to Marot which yielded annual income of 204,000 sikas.²²

Perhaps the founder of the Marot was Mahrut, the ruler of Chittor, who fought with Chach, the usurper. An ancient road from Multan to Delhi via Sarsuti (Sirsa) and Hansi to Marot was laid, facilitating Marot to be visited by the historian Minhajud-Din in 648 A.H. (1250 A.D.). The fort was conquered by the Nawab Mubarak Khan from the Raja of Jaisalmer in 1749 A.D. There is a story that commandant of Marot, having been dismissed for malpractices, petitioned Nawab Bahawal Khan - III to be reinstated in the charge, with the words "Ya Maut Ya Marot" meaning "Either death or Marot".²³

In 1974, a comprehensive archeological survey was completed by Dr. Rafiq Mughal in 4 seasons. He presented the face of the forts of Cholistan. In the words of Dr. Mughal, "At present, the entire fort is in

advanced stage of ruins and most of its original layout has disappeared. The fort shows rectangular plan measuring 464 feet on the southern side and 820 feet on the west externally. Two of the surveying bastions at southwest and northeast are 30 feet in diameter. On the western side, the surveying height of walls is 89 feet from the surrounding plain level. The burnt bricks used in the fortification walls are of varying size, some measuring $12^{1/2} \times 8$ and $8 \times 5^{1/4} \times 1^{1/4}$ inches".²⁴

It is interesting that at one side the history of the fort is insufficient for want of necessary details, on the other hand Marot is no more the same as described by visitors. Even its relics have been removed. It is a small village now with few kacchi huts. Every vestige of its past greatness has vanished with its few deserted dwellings without high walls and lofty bastions, it resembles an old and tired sentinel deprived of its Armour and left alone in the desert, waiting for its death.

MOJGARH FORT

This fort is situated on the world map on $72^{\circ} 08' 30''$ Eastern longitude to $29^{\circ} 0' 50''$ Northern latitude.²⁵ Mojgarh Fort was erected by Wadera Maruf Khan in 1743 A.D. on the ruins of a ruined town called Lodhra.²⁶ It was only half built when the Wadera (Chief) died on 15th of Rabi-ul-Awwal 1171 A.H. (1757 A.D.) During his lifetime, he had built a tomb about 400 yards to the south of the fort and was buried in this tomb. His son Jan Muhammad continued this task, distinguishing the new work from the old by inserting two lines of projecting bricks in the walls. It was not quite finished when he died. After his death his successor Umar Khan completed it. The present situation of the fort is in ruins. "The outer burnt brick facing has collapsed at numerous places and the material is re-used by the local inhabitants. The fort is almost square in plane, measuring 325, 315 and 238 feet on the southern, western and northern corner, supplies water to the inhabitants. A door which forms the interior gateway of the main portico, has many iron plates fixed on it, on one of it is the following inscription in Persian :

"ملک وزیرہ جان محمد خاں و محمد معروف خاں داد پوترو کھرائی سائیں دروازہ
ساخت کردہ کسی سرئی رانم آہنگر در ماہ شوال ۱۱۳۲ھ"²⁷

The walls are strengthened with a series of semi-circular bastions. Eight are built on the south and north excluding corner bastions, and an equal number are on the western side including two at the corners. The bastions are 40 to 487 feet in diameter. The eastern side has an elaborate gateway system showing a nearly 10 feet wide arched opening through a 72 feet long passage from southeastern end. Closeby stands a mosque measuring 54^{1/2} x 33 collapsed, but exposing the mud-brick core”²⁸

The famous traveler Masson in his travel to Afghanistan writes about Mojgarh as follows :

“Mojgarh (Mojgarh) is not so large a town as Murut (Marot) but its contiguous fortress is a lofty structure, built of Kiln-burnt bricks, on the western face the walls have been perforated with cannon balls. Which we are told, happened in the siege it endured from the first Bahawal Khan. The apertures have never been repaired, being supposed evidences of the obstinacy of the defence and of the strength of the fortress. They, however, show its weakness, for they enable us to detect the slightness of the walls. East of the fort is a pool of water, shaded by a grove of trees, amongst which is a huge pipal an object of veneration to the Hindus of the town. At a slight distance to the north is a Muhammadan tomb, handsomely decorated with lacquered blue and white tiles”²⁹

PHULERA FORT

It is also an ancient fort which is said to have existed long before the domination of the vikas, the founder of Bikaner. In 1166 A H (1759 A.D.) it was almost in ruins but later on it was repaired and strengthened by Karam Khan Arbani (son of Qaim Khan, the founder of Qaimpur). The exterior and interior of walls is made of Pakka bricks and the inner part is filled with mud. Near the western wall inside the fort has a Pacca well, 118 feet deep and 4 feet in circumference, the water of which is surprisingly sweet, a rare thing of the Cholistan.³⁰

At each corner of the fort is a tower with an inner chamber. The northwestern tower is of burnt brick. On the southeastern part of the fort is a three storied house, whose upper storey forms a small bungalow, inscribed with the following words :

” مالک محل محمد اکرم خان داؤد پوتہ در شہر رمضان ۱۱۶۶ھ ”³¹

Famous author Masson says : “The portion of desert stretching eastward of Bahawalpur to Bikanir is ofcourse little productive, yet, as in many parts of it the surface has more soil than sand, there are amongst other inhabited localities, the bazaar towns of Phulra, Marot and Mozgarh which derive a considerable trade in grain with the neighbouring states.” “Pularah (Phulera) on the frontier of Bikanir, has a good bazaar, but is not perhaps very commercial. The fortress adjacent has been a superior building, for these parts, but is now sadly in decay. There was once a good trench; the walls were very high, and the battlements were tastefully decorated. The Killedar’s house soars above the ramparts, and the whole has an antique and picturesque appearance, particularly from the northern side, where the walls are washed by a large expanse of water, in which is a small island studded with trees. There are three guns at Pularah.”

Colonel Tod a well known author says, “Phulera and Marot have still some importance, the first is very ancient and enumerated amongst the ‘Nakoti Marooka’ in the earliest periods of Pramara (vulg. Powar) dominion. I have no doubt that inscriptions in the ornamental mail-headed character belonging to the Jains will be found here, having obtained one from Lodra in the desert, which has been a ruin for nine centuries. Phulra was the residence of Lakha Phoolni, a name well known to those versed in the old traditions of the desert. He was contemporary with Sid Rae of Anhulwara and Udyadit of Dhar.”³²

JAMGARH FORT

Jamgarh fort was built by Jam Khan Marufani in 1203 A.H. (1788 A.D). It is 30 miles east of Bahawalpur.³³ On the map its location is 72° 32’ 56” East longitude to 29° 10’ 05” North Latitude.³⁴ Its exterior is also Pakka. It looks like its original appearance. It is square in plan,

measuring 114 feet and is strengthened by circular bastions at the corners, 31 to 35 feet in Diameter. An arched entrance nearly 9 feet wide, was provided through the eastern wall.³⁵ Its main gate is Pakka. No timber was used in the fort, except in the main gateway and one smaller gate. The water is bitter. It lies between Marot nad Mirgarh.³⁶

ISLAMGARH FORT

The Islamgarh fort is located at the core of the desert near the Pak-Indian border. Its old name was Bhimwar, built by Rawal Bhim Singh in Sambat 1665 (1608 A.D.)³⁷ as the following character inscription on its gate in the Bhabri character, proves".

”سبست ۱۶۶۵ سوج وادی ۲، مہاراج راول سری بھیم سنگھ جی مہاراج“³⁸

In 1180 A.H. (1766 A.D.) Ikhtiyar Khan Mundhani, chief of Garhi Ikhtiyar Khan, took the fort by a stratagem. Two military officers named Jalal Khan and Shujat Khan were appointed by Rawal Mulraj (son of Rawal Akhi Singh) to command the garrison and they were regarded as too loyal to be mistrusted. They often went, however, to Garhi Ikhtiyar Khan to provide themselves with necessaries and Ikhtiyar Khan conspired with them there and promising them a pair of gold bangles and money, obtained the keys of the fort from them. Having got possession of the fort he changed its name to Islamgarh.³⁹

The fort has been lying in disrepair for the last one-century. "It is a square shaped fort. Its measurement is 315 feet on the Eastern and Northern side. There is a series of Bastions varying in number on each side. Five bastions are on the north and eight on the east, including corner bastions. There are three each on the west and the south including two turrets, each 9 feet in diameter and located in between the bastion on each side. Both corner bastions on each side are 50 feet in diameter. But those on the east and north vary in diameter between 39 and 42 feet. The fortification walls are 10 to 12 feet thick on top and survive to a maximum height of 45 feet above the surrounding plain surface. Main way to the fort is provided through a projecting structure on the East having a 9 feet wide doorway flanked by two bastions. The entrance passage takes a turn at a right angle in a westerly direction, which joins

the eastern wall with a reduced width of nearly 5 feet. A small mosque $49 \times 28^{1/2}$ feet stands in the Eastern half of the fort. Nearby is a double – ringed well, the small ring measuring $4^{1/2}$ feet in diameter which is enclosed by an outer ring 11 feet in diameter. A row of rooms was built in the northwestern corner along the western wall. One of the wells outside the fort is 130 feet deep (noted on 18 December 1977....25 years ago) with a 10 feet diameter. The burnt bricks used in the construction of the fort are $7^{1/2} \times 5^{1/2}$ inches in size".⁴⁰

KHAIRGARH FORT

Khairgarh fort is located twelve miles southeast of Bhutta Sheikhan in Bahawalpur District.⁴¹ It was erected by Haji Khan son of Ikhtiyar Khan in 1189 A.H. (1775 A.D). It was a Kachha fort and was named Khairgarh.⁴² Near the gate of the fort are two Pakka vaulted chamber and a Pakka tank. Now it is a ruined fort.

KHANGARH FORT

It is located on $71^{\circ}.43'.00''$ Eastern longitude to $28^{\circ}-21'-50''$ northern latitude.⁴³ It is 36 miles southwest of Derawar and directed that the merchandise of Khurasan etc., going to Hindustan through Moujgarh should in future go via Khangarh, to ensure the safety of the carvans.⁴⁴ About its Archeology Dr. Mughal says; "It is square in plan with semi-circular bastions at each corner and an entrance on the East. It measures 128 feet on each side. The walls and bastions, which were built on mud-brick facing, have fallen down leaving only piles of burnt – bricks and signs of old walls. The walls measures 10 feet wide. The burnt bricks are $8^{1/2} \times 6 \times 1^{1/4}$ cms in size. At the Northwestern corner is a square tower of burnt-bricks, while at the distance of 80 feet to the Southeast there appears to be a brick kiln".⁴⁵

MIRGARH FORT

Mirgarh fort is located on $72^{\circ}-33'-15''$ Eastern longitude to $29^{\circ}-10'-27''$ Northern latitude.⁴⁶ In 1214 A.H. (1799 A.D.), Nur Muhammad Khan, son of Jam Khan, founded this fort and completed it in 1218 A.H.

(1802 A.D.) in three years. The exterior of the fort is Pakka with seven towers and a main gateway.⁴⁷ Nur Muhammad Khan was the disciple of Gilani Makhdums of Uch as recorded in the Persian inscription seen on its gate in 1874 A.D. :

”نگاه براد لطف یزدانی است
 در سائے شاه جیلانی ” است
 قلم میر گزوه زد بنائے گرفت
 کہ ہر کس بدین ثنائے گرفت
 شود نموت اعظم حکیمان او
 بداندیش خوار و پریشان او“⁴⁸

In the fort was a Pakka well of sweet water which has filled up.

It is a square fort measuring 92 feet on each side. At the corner, each bastion has a diameter of 38 feet at the base and standing 39 feet high. An elaborate entrance is provided on the Eastern side measuring 9^{1/2} feet wide with a 47 feet long passage flanked by domed rooms on either side.⁴⁹ It is also in ruined form.

Names of some other important forts are as follows :

1. Bhagla fort – It was founded by Ali Murad Khan in 1767 A.D.⁵⁰
2. Fateh Garh fort – It was erected by Nawab Muhammad Bahawal Khan-II in 1214 A.H. (1799 A.D.).⁵¹
3. Kandera – It was built by Fazal Khan, son of Bhakhar Khan Pirjani and is 125 miles south west of Bahawalpur. It was built in 1178 A.H. (1754 A.D.).⁵²
4. Liyria fort – Sabzal Khan the founder of the Kot Sabzal built this fort with a Pakka wall round it on the wins of liyria in 1195 A.H. (1780 A.D.).⁵³

5. Muchki fort – It was erected by Lal Khan, son of Ikhtiyar Khan Kehrani In 1191 A.H. (1777 A.D.) on the wins of an old mound.⁵⁴
6. Munde Shaheed – According to colonial Minchin, It is “the resting place of one of the Arab leaders”.⁵⁵
7. Murid Wala fort – It was founded by Haji Khan in 1191 A.H. (1777 A.D.).⁵⁶
8. Runk Pur – This fort was built by M. Murad Khan in 1190 A.H. (1778 A.D.).⁵⁷
9. Sahibgarh fort – This fort was built by Fazal Ali Halamir in 1191 A.H. (1777 A.D.).⁵⁸
10. Sardar Garh – Nawab Mubarak Khan took the area of wallhar on lease from the Raja of Bikaner in 1277 A.H.⁵⁹ (1763 A.D.) and soon began to construct a fort on the ruins of wallhar fort.
11. Sarwahi (Seorai) fort – It was one of the six forts repaired by Ral Sihasi in the 6th century A.D.⁶⁰

CONCLUSION

The forts of Cholistan are the cultural signs of this area, like Pyramids of Egypt, Alford Tower of France, Wall of China etc., are the cultural signs of their nationality. These forts and fortified settlements that still survive are historical landmarks as well as impressive creations of military architecture. At no other place in Pakistan except Cholistan there exist a chain of about thirty-five forts along the Hakra river bed in a line. Unfortunately, many of them had fallen to ruins. The massive walls and battlements of these forts are falling under the weight of neglect. The brave and loyal warriors who built and occupied these strategic strong hold from time to time, are the figures of the past. Now they no more

serve the purposes for which they were originally built. But are still a part of the splendid history and glorious architect of Cholistan, the great and mysterious desert which was once the focal point of one of the longest, earliest and largest civilization of the world. So it is the duty of the Archeological Department to save the symbols of the Hakra Civilization.

REFERENCES

1. Cholistan consists of dry, green and wetland at the same time. Its major portion is a deep mass of sand in which wells fail to reach a sub-stratum of clay; and at some places over laid with deposits of amorphous soleplate of lime, while its succession of sand-dunes, rising in places to height of 400 feet. It is covered with the vegetation peculiar to other sandy tracts of he Punjab and Sind. (Auj, Nur-ul-Zaman Ahmed, *Cholistan Land and People*, 1991, Carvan Book Center Multan Pakistan, P.14).

2. Once Cholistan was a well-watered and fertile land. Hakra River flowed throughout its length and breadth between 4000 and 1000 B.C. As its remains of various settlements show, it was fertile and populated.

Mughal says : "The Hakra flood plain was densely populated between the 4th on 2nd millennium B.C., and supported one major city, Ganweri Wala (long than Harappa) which was almost as large as Mohenjodaro, all suggestive of stable means of substance...around the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. hydrographic changes that were operative since at least the third millennium had substantially reduced or cut off the river supply to the Hakra". (Mughal, Rafique Ahmed Dr. *Ancient Cholistan Archeology and Architecture*. Feroze Sons Lahore. 1997, pp.22).

3. *A Report on Cholistan official* 1998, Cholistan Development Authority Bahawalpur.

4. Mughal, Rafique Ahmed Dr., *op. cit.*, pp.20.

5. In a very heart of Cholistan desert, there are thirty-five forts providing a panoramic view. Bara, Bijnot, Bhagla, Drawer, Falji, Islam Garh, Jam Garh, Kandra, Khair Garh, Liara, Machki, Marot, Mojarh and Phulra fort etc. have world renowned reputation due to there architect and ancient history.

6. Mughal, Rafiq Ahmed Dr., *Genesis of Indus Valley Civilization*.

7. *Punjab States Gazetteers*, Volume xxxvi A, Bahawalpur State 1904, Government of Punjab, The Civil and Military Gazette Press 1908, pp.360.

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10. Shihab, Masud-ul-Hassan, *Khita-e-Pak Uch*, (in urdu) 1964, Urdu Academy Bahawalpur. pp.314, 315

11. Mughal, *op. cit.*, pp.128, 153.

12. Raverty, Major, *The Mahran of Sind*; (quoted from Tabqat-Nasri) pp.14-15.

13. Auj, *op. cit.*, pp.95.

14. Aziz-ur-Rehman, Maulavi, *AASAR-E-QADIMA Number*, in Urdu (Archeological No.) 1974, Urdu Academy Bahawalpur. Pp.69.

15. Ravery Major, *Annals of Rajasthan* Vol.II, Notes...pp.603, 604.
16. Dar, Saif-ur-Rahman, Marot...*A One-Time Guardian of the Cholistan Desert*. The Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan, No.2, 1982. pp. 59.
17. Mughal, op. cit., pp. 128, 149.
18. Geologists argue that, Cholistan (Rohi in local dialect) is the part of Thar or Great Indian Desert. It is bordering the Bikaner and Jaisalmer Districts of India in Rajasthan State. Its Northwestern portion is relatively flat with low sand dunes. That is why it is known as Lesser Cholistan. To the South and Southwest the sand dunes gradually rise to an enormous height, which is more than 500 feet. It is mostly formed of stable sand dunes with vegetal cover peculiar to its sandy tracts. It is known as Greater Cholistan.
19. Dar, op. cit., pp. 38.
20. At the time of its glorious past river Hakra flowed beneath the walls of the fort Marot. The fort used to enjoy the site of the flowing waves. There is a folk song about the Marot : UCCha Kot Marot da talley Wahay darya Main Macchi darya di toon bagla bun key Ahda (Lofty is the fort of Marot beneath which flows the river. I am fish of water (Oh my beloved) fly on to me like a heron. (Tahir, Sadiq;... *Cholistani Kahaneian (Cholistan stories)* "Ucha Kot Marot Da" Alzubair Cholistan number. 1979. Urdu Academy Bahawalpur. pp. 135.)
21. Alzubair, Aasar-e-Qadima number, op. cit., pp. 69, 70.
22. Shihab, op. cit., pp. 418, 419.
23. State Gazetteer, op. cit., pp. 372, 373.
24. Mughal, op. cit., pp. 133.
25. *Ibid* pp. 150.
26. State Gazetteer, op. cit., pp. 373.
27. Tahir, Sadiq, 1993, *WADI-E-HAKRA AUR ISS KEY AASAR*, (Urdu). 2nd Edition Urdu Academy Bahawalpur. pp. 134.
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29. Massons, Charles, Notes...pp. 9.
30. State Gazetteer, op. cit., pp. 379.
31. Tahir, Sadiq, op. cit., pp. 127.
32. Masson, Charles Notes...pp.23.
33. State Gazetteer, op. cit., pp.367.

34. Mughal, *op. cit.*, pp. 149.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 129.
36. Gazzetter, *op. cit.*, pp. 367.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 366.
38. Aziz-ul-Rehman, Maulvi, *Qila Marot*, Monthly Al-Aziz, (in Urdu) December 1941, Maktaba Azizia Bahawalpur.
39. Gazzetter, *op. cit.*, pp. 367.
40. Mughal, *op. cit.*, pp. 128, 129.
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 130.
42. State Gazzetter, *op. cit.*, pp. 367.
43. Mughal, *op. cit.*, pp. 131.
44. Tahir, Sadiq, *op. cit.*, pp. 137.
*State Gazzetter, *op. cit.*, pp. 368.
45. Mughal, *op. cit.*, pp. 131.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 145.
47. Gazzetter, *op. cit.*, pp. 375.
48. Tahir, Sadiq, *op. cit.*, pp. 133.
49. Mughal, *op. cit.*, pp. 133.
50. Gazzetter, *op. cit.*, pp. 359.
51. Tahir, Sadique, *op. cit.*, pp. 132.
52. Mughal, *op. cit.*, pp. 130.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 131.
54. Gazzetter, *op. cit.*, pp. 376.
55. *Ibid.*
56. Mughal, *op. cit.*, pp. 134.
57. Gazzetter, *op. cit.*, pp. 382.
58. *Ibid.*
59. Tahir, Sadique, *op. cit.*, pp. 131.
60. Gazzetter, *op. cit.*, pp. 383.

(Fig. 1)

Location of the Ancient Forts in Cholistan



Media's Influence on Foreign Policy : The Coverage of Kashmir by Elite English Press of Pakistan

AZMAT RASUL

INTRODUCTION

There is no denying the fact that media influences the process of framing of foreign policy in all societies and this article is an endeavor to explain the relationship that exists between media and foreign policy of Pakistan. Mass media these days affect all important segments of the society and foreign relations of a nation are no exception. The world has greatly shrunk owing to the rapid developments taking place in the media industry. The news media shoulder the responsibility of creating certain images about the societies beyond our direct experience. Jack Shaheen (1985) is of the view that the greater the distance we are from any group, the greater the reliance upon preconceived images about that group. A glaring example of the media's role in framing our images of foreign nations could be seen from the fact that the Pakistanis viewed Chinese as their friends and Russians as their enemies although both the nations believed in the same ideology that is communism (Rasul: 2000).

Mughees (1993) comments that in forming our images and beliefs about the world of international affairs, our reliance on the mass media is exacerbated. The remoteness of international affairs from our daily life causes us to be even more reliant on the media for the substance of our mental pictures of the world. Cohen (1963) was the first to conduct an

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empirical study to explore the relationship between media and foreign policy. He was of the view that most of us gather our impressions of other countries and societies from the media. He says that generally the external world, the world of foreign policy, reaches us – or those of us who are interested or attentive via the media of mass communication, and for most of the foreign policy audience, the really effective political map of the world – that is to say their operational map of the world – is drawn by the reporter and the editor, not by the cartographer (Cohen, 1963:13).

Nearly everywhere, the media are expected to advance national interests and to promote certain key values and behaviour patterns, but especially so in times of war or other crisis (McQuail, 1983).

The Kashmir issue has been an apple of discord between Pakistan and India since 1947 and a vigorous armed struggle is going on in the held Kashmir for more than a decade. This has brought tremendous tension in the area and this crisis can ignite the flames of a nuclear war in the region as both the countries have become members of the nuclear club. All this made it necessary to study the behaviour of Pakistani elite English press in order to discover whether Pakistani press plays an advocative or adversarial role on the foreign policy front.

The media impact on the formulation of foreign policy has many facts. A foreign policy formulation in order to be dynamic must embrace five essential elements : One, prioritizing national interests; two, evolving a strategy or a number of strategies to achieve those interests; three, eliminating any obstacle that might arise in pursuit of those interests; four, creating friendly regimes in the neighbouring countries; and five, understanding and utilizing international climate in pursuit of those national interests. Keeping in view all these factors, one may wonder whether media can shape foreign policy.

The answer is yes as well as no. Yes, in the sense that it can create euphoria for an anticipated event; it can also evoke anger, disgust or fear on a certain foreign policy postulate or issue, but to say that it can shape a foreign policy on its own would be a naivety. Even in the "freest of the free" democracies in the world, the media is excluded as the sole arbiter

of foreign policy (Jan, 1993). In fact, everywhere establishment uses media to project a preconceived foreign policy.

Tarik Jan has found out that Pakistani media has been deviating from the official standpoint of the policy makers. Jan (1993) noted the following important points :

1. The substitution of word Bharat of India;
2. The contextual use of concept of Indian continent;
3. Using phrases like partition instead of independence;
4. Stressing oneness of the Sindh and Ganges civilization;
5. Extolling secular humanism and demeaning Muslim identity; and
6. Branding the freedom fighters and other Jahadi forces as outmoded negative-minded people who are a danger for peace.

This article would also explain the question whether mass media are independent or in any way controlled by the government machinery. Altschull (1984) has been of the view that media are controlled by the powerful elite in a society and they are heavily dependent on them for their existence. But answering this question is not easy as media-government relationship varies throughout the world – ranging from conflict to cooperation. Various scholars have treated this issue differently. Even in one country, the behaviour of one newspaper is different from the others. In Pakistan too, the newspapers belonging to the NPT in the past used to toe the government line while other newspapers had a policy of their own. Therefore, it becomes clear that the treatment of an issue may be handled differently by different newspapers.

Pakistan's official stand on Kashmir is that it is a disputed area which was forcibly occupied by the Indian forces in 1947 and the

Kashmiris should be given the right of self-determination through an impartial plebiscite according to the UN resolutions (Jan : 1993). Pakistani officials in the Foreign Ministry do not talk about any third option on Kashmir issue, which they believe is the brainchild of the Indians in order to divert world attention. Pakistan concedes the fact that Kashmiris are an important actor in the dispute and they should be included in almost every dialogue held to resolve this issue, however, Pakistan believes that they must decide their future either by joining India or Pakistan through a plebiscite to be held under the aegis of United Nations.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature available on the media-foreign policy relationship clearly indicates that no set pattern of relations exists between media and policy makers. Press behaves differently in various press systems. Ramaprasad's study (1984) indicates that in a free press system, the press is not supposed to be an actor in inter - government interaction, but only an objective observer of these interactions. Similarly the press in an authoritarian system like former Soviet Union and China cannot go against the policy of the government on external relations. While in countries like Pakistan, where press system oscillates between free and authoritarian, the press is likely to sometimes support and sometimes oppose the government line, although it would be difficult to prove the veracity of this view-point with empirical research. As we have already discussed that media-foreign policy relationship can be monolithic, adversarial and indifferent, it is difficult to generalize the huge body of literature available on this issue. However the type of literature can be characterized with the help of available indicators as follows :

“Most of the studies in the 50's, 60's and early 70's (Cohen, 1963, etc.) support the advocative role of the media on the subject of foreign policy. The reason may be that during 50's and 60's cold war between America and USSR was at its peak and the US media was emotionally attached with the national interests defined by the policy makers. During this phase, the American media was portraying a negative picture of the communist countries while advocating government

policies and its role was monolithic (Mughees : 1997). The media played the role of consent manufacturer during this era. Owing to the beginning of détente between America and Russia and then between China and US, the American media softened its tone and words like 'confrontation' were changed into 'contestation' when relations with the communist world were discussed. The opening up of the US media and after the publication of Pentagon papers and Watergate scandal, the media became more democratic and rejected Cohen's (1963) paradigm that media follows government lines."

The Afghan war erupted in the early 80's and owing to Gulf war of 1991, the media in US and its allies again followed the dominance paradigm. The Russian invasion of Afghanistan revived cold war and as McQuail (1983) has elaborated that media almost everywhere supports the national interests of the nations in which it operates. So, Afghanistan, Panama, Libya, Hostage crisis in Iran and Gulf War were the issues that caused the re-emergence of Cohen's model.

Therefore, several studies like those of Cohen, 1963; Frances, 1967; Mills, 1969; Liu, 1969; Dewey, 1967; Kam, 1979 show that media of a country and especially the US media supports government policies. On the other hand, there are a few studies like those of Becker, 1977; Ramaprasad, 1983; Mughees, 1993 etc., which show that the media do not necessarily support official point of view because in pluralist societies media are free to make their own judgments. This makes it incumbent on researchers to find out a new model or mixed approach, which could help researchers assess the intricate nature of relationship between media and foreign policy.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

After a careful study of communication theories having a nexus with media foreign policy relationship, the researcher has found the following theories relevant which would work as a theoretical framework for the study.

INFORMATION THEORY

Information theory is relevant to this study as the attitudes of the people are changed and shaped by the information they receive from various media sources. People process information in their minds and then make their decisions, judgments etc. A different discourse around media content originates in the information theory approaches popularized by the work of Shannon and Weaver (1949). The roots are intermingled with the basic transmission model, which conceives communication as essentially the international transfer of information for sender to receiver, by way of (physical) channels, which are subject to noise and interference. According to this model, communication is judged by the efficiency (volume and cost) and effectiveness in achieving the planned 'transfer'. The concept of information has proved difficult to define, because it can be viewed in different ways, but the central element is probably the capacity to 'reduce uncertainty'. Information is thus defined by its opposite (randomness or chaos).

CONCEPT OF FRAMING

Framing is an important concept which helps us understand as to how an incident is projected or portrayed in the media content. This concept has been used by notable media scholars (Gitlin (1980), Mughees (1993), Saleem (1998) etc.) and is becoming increasingly popular for the purpose of research. This concept would be beneficial in explaining the relationship between Pakistan's foreign policy and the policy of the elite English press. How the elite press frames Kashmir issue in its editorials would help to understand that what kind of relationship exists between elite press and Pakistan's foreign office. Gitlin (1980) defines media frames as "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual". He suggests that if the media are to be seen as mirrors, it ought to be as "mirrors in a fun house". He says that the framing of an issue is

influenced by which many bits of information are included in or excluded from a story. He (1980) says :

“Media are mobile spotlights, not passive mirrors of the society; selectivity is the instrument of their action. A news story adopts a certain frame and rejects or downplays material that is discrepant. A story is a choice, a way of screening from sight”

METHODOLOGY

In this study, both quantitative and qualitative methods of content analysis have been used. Mughees (1993) citing Stuart Hall (1975) points out both qualitative and quantitative methodologies begin with “a long preliminary soak” in the material. Attempting to combine in content analysis the qualitative and quantitative approaches seem to provide the possibility of combining the advantages of the two approaches and of reducing their weaknesses, not just as a compromise between two extremes (Hall, 1975 cited in Mughees, 1993:78).

A qualitative strategy of analyzing contents is used to explain the quantitative data and to interpret various frames. This combination of the two methods offers the possibility of better understanding of the research questions (McQuail, 1987:187). The results of the quantitative analysis are followed by a thorough qualitative analysis. Key categories of contents were identified and within those categories the framing of editorials of *The News*, *The Nation* and *the Dawn* was analyzed. In order to reduce and avoid the bias of the qualitative approach, the researcher rereads the material several times so that the inference was in consonance with all of the relevant portions and characteristics of original communication material.

In addition, a method suggested by Tankard et al (1991) was applied. According to this method, a list of possible frames has been established for the analysis of editorial contents. The list of frames might not be exhaustive, and, in fact, the list for a particular topic to some extent is shaped inductively by looking at the contents of the editorials. This approach helped to interpret the latent meaning of the text.

Firstly, in this text-based study of *The News*, *The Nation*, and the *Dawn*, frames were developed like ideologies, idioms, phrases, catchy words, key words or slogans, tone (many of them take the form of pro and anti), descriptive phrases and adjectives (e.g., right of self-determination, massacre of Kashmiris) or sentences like violation of human rights in Kashmir, Mujahideen fighting against Indian occupation forces etc. used by journalists are identified as "frames" and classified into four main subjects, i.e., rights of self-determination of Kashmiris, 'A', third option for Kashmiris which means an independent Kashmir, 'B', the need of a dialogue for peaceful settlement of Kashmir issue, 'C', and violation of human rights in Indian Held Kashmir 'D'.

All the unsigned editorials of *The News*, *The Nation* and the *Dawn*, which were related to the above mentioned A, B, C and D issues and portrayed the Kashmir issue, were selected as the samples for study.

FINDINGS

TABLE - 1
Comparative topical coverage of the editorials of *The News*,
The Nation and the *Dawn* during 1998 to 1999.

Newspapers	No. of Editorials	A	B	C	D
<i>The News</i>	N= 73	22 30%	2 2.7%	37 50.6%	12 16.4%
<i>The Nation</i>	N= 166	58 35%	1000 0.6%	82 49.3%	25 15%
<i>Dawn</i>	N= 71	31 44%	1000 1.4%	32 45%	7 9.8%
Total	N= 310	111 36%	4 1.2%	151 48.7%	44 14%

N = Number of editorials.

A = Right of self-determination of Kashmiris:

B = Third option for Kashmiris.

C = Need of a dialogue for the peaceful settlement of Kashmir issue.

D = Violations of human rights in the Indian Held Kashmir.

TABLE - 1A

Comparative Topical direction of the editorial of The News,
The Nation and the Dawn during 1998 to 1999.

News paper	No. of Editorials	A			B			C			D		
		+	-	0	+	-	0	+	-	0	+	-	0
The News	N= 73	22 100 %	0	0	0	0	2 100 %	29 78.3 %	0	8 21.6 %	12 100 %	0	0
The Nation	N= 166	58 100 %	0	0	1 100 %	0	0	74 90.2 %	0	8 9.7 %	25 100 %	0	0
Dawn	N= 71	31 100 %	0	0	0	0	1 100 %	28 87.5 %	0	4 12.5 %	7 100 %	0	0

N = Number of editorials.

A = Right of self-determination of Kashmiris.

B = Third option for Kashmiris.

C = Need of a dialogue for the peaceful settlement of Kashmir issue.

D = Violations of human rights in the Indian Held Kashmir.

+ = Positive

- = Negative

0 = Neutral

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

The editorial coverage of the Kashmir issue during 1998 to 1999 in the elite English press of Pakistan was helpful in moulding the public opinion as it was overwhelmingly supportive. The press kept on condemning the use of brutal force by the Indian army against innocent Kashmiris and it bitterly criticized the violations of human rights in the Indian Held Kashmir. The Indian government decided to go nuclear in May 1998 and Pakistan had to follow suit. The elite press extended full support to the official standpoint and urged on the need to reduce tension in the region by peacefully solving the Kashmir issue through a meaningful dialogue. After becoming a nuclear power and owing to the fundamentalist BJP in power in India, the Indian government's hegemonic and threatening attitude was depressing Pakistani public. The elite press helped to keep the morale of the public high who were the sole supporters of the freedom fighters in Kashmir in the entire world.

The elite press also showed its indignance whenever it found that the policy makers are deviating from the traditional standpoint of Pakistan. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif had a soft corner for India and wanted to improve trade relations. But the press time and again warned him and termed his desire to improve relations with India a "naivety" until the Kashmir dispute was not be solved according to the will of the Kashmiri people. The press also recognized the Kashmiris as a third very important party whose future should be in their own hands and this was totally harmonious with the official policy. After the overthrow of the Nawaz government in October 1999, the Chief Executive of Pakistan, General Musharraf, adopted an explicit and stern policy on Kashmir and declared that there is only one core issue between India and Pakistan, i.e. Kashmir and without resolving this dispute, normal relations between Pakistan and India cannot be established. The press extended full support to the views of the chief Executive of Pakistan. There is a reason to believe that messages stemming from an authoritative and credible source will be relatively more effective, as will those from sources that are attractive or close to the receiver (McQuail : 1983, P. 183).

Another important aspect of the elite press supportive involvement is that Pakistani public is emotionally attached with this issue. No

newspaper in the world can afford to lose its readers by opposing an issue which enjoys public support. Tunstall, cited by McQuail, indicates that in a case of conflict of goals within the newspaper, the audience revenue goal (increasing the circulation by pleasing the audience) provides the 'coalition goal' on which most can agree (McQuail, 1983). This study also proved the validity of this notion as during the Gulf war, Nawai Waqt sided with the government's policy (opposing Iraq), but has to join the band wagon as other newspapers were reflecting the public sentiments which were in favour of Iraq. This example shows that the newspapers' most cherished concern is its economy, and this can be a vital force behind elite press' fullest support to the Kashmir issue'.

The study also indicates that the elite press has also adopted a new role for itself and that is the role of a guide and advisor. The elite press, throughout the period of study, has been advising and guiding the government on various situations. It even criticized Pakistani government, whenever it felt that a particular step would go against the national interest. For example, the elite press opposed trade relations with India until the core issue of Kashmir was not addressed. Similarly, it advised the government to be cautious while talking to India and not to be much optimistic about the future of talks. However, the elite press' tone was sober and serious and it along with advocating the standpoint of the policy makers, criticized, advised and guided them whenever it was necessary. To sum up, the study confirmed Cohen's (1963) and Mughees' (1993) studies and it is concluded that Pakistani media fully supported the views of policy makers on a vital foreign policy issue.

The Nation with its more than 90% supportive coverage of Kashmir was the staunch advocate of government policies while The News and Dawn were also overwhelmingly supportive. The News and Dawn were neutral on certain issues, however, their level of neutrality was not conflicting with the basic features of the foreign policy. The News and Dawn wrote 144 editorials collectively while The Nation alone published 166 editorials which shows that its level of interest was higher in Kashmir issue. The reason may be that the News and Dawn focus more on international affairs while the focus of the Nation is the national affairs. On Kashmir issue, the ideologies of the three newspapers converged with the ideology of the policy makers. This was also a period

of crises, as both the countries had gate crashed into the nuclear club and a limited war was being fought at the heights of Kargil. In this hour of turbulence, the press showed solidarity with its people and government.

Keeping in view the findings, it can be concluded that the elite press supported the policy of the government and played an advocative role. McQuail's (1983) Thesis also stands proved that media of a country supports its foreign policy during a crisis period. The elite press framed the Kashmir issue according to the official policy and kept on providing information to the people regarding uprising in Kashmir. The elite press also played the watchdog role and did not allow the policy makers to deviate from Pakistan's traditional stand that reflects emotional attachment of people with Kashmir. In this way, media was not only active in the making of foreign policy, but it also played a pivotal role in supplementing and supporting the official view and people's sentiments about Kashmir.

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Trends, Growth Rate and Share in the Production of Crude Oil, Natural Gas and Coal in the Major Provinces of Pakistan

MUHAMMAD PERVEZ WASIM

INTRODUCTION

Pakistan lacks an adequate physical and social infrastructure. Its population is increasing. The industrial sector has partially completed the primary and intermediate phases of import substitution and a reasonable start has also made in the establishment of heavy industries. The urbanization and modernization is taking place at a rapid rate. All these factors indicate a need for greater commercial energy supplies. Unless these supplies are forthcoming – the growth process will suffer.

Adequate availability of energy supplies is the pre-requisite and life blood for sustained economic growth of a country. Pakistan is endowed with enormous potential of energy and natural resources. But unfortunately these resources have not been fully explored and exploited to meet the energy requirements of the country. Due to these reasons the country is facing shortage of energy supplies. The growth of the economy combined with high population growth rate and rising urbanization has put tremendous pressure on the present energy resources. As a result, the energy supplies remained deficient to offset the out stripping demand of domestic, industrial, commercial, agricultural and power generation needs. The growth of energy sector remained slow mainly due to inadequate institutional framework, financial constraints, high risks and heavy cost etc.

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The roles which energy plays in the life of a nation as well as between nations have increased manifold in the twentieth century. Countries which are generously endowed with energy resources are considered stronger, both economically and politically. The major sources of commercial energy supplies in the country are oil, gas, coal, liquefied petroleum gas (LPG), hydel power, thermal power and nuclear power. The importance of these sources for the supply of energy has been changing with the passage of time. Before industrial revolution the energy for operating the machines was mainly supplied by animals, human power and wind. With the scientific advancement, coal, oil, gas and waterfalls are used as the principal sources of energy. Although Pakistan has large reserves of fossil fuels and is rich in natural resources; but these resources have not been tapped mainly due to financial constraints. The result is that Pakistan is an energy deficient country. For Petroleum and Petroleum products Pakistan is mainly dependent on imports. The coal produced in the country is not of good quality and is mostly used in brick kiln industry. At present (2002) in Tharparkar, a good quality coal on a large area is found. According to some estimates this coal field is sufficient for 100 years. The coal requirements of Pakistan Steel Mills are met through imports. The total energy supplies in the country remained at 43.2 million tons of oil equivalent (TOE) in 1999-2000. The share of various primary energy sources in supply mix in 1999-2000 was, oil : 43.5 percent, gas : 40.5 percent, LPG : 0.5 percent, coal : 4.7 percent, hydro electricity : 10.7 percent and nuclear electricity : 0.2 percent. Natural gas production reached the highest ever level of 2236 million cubic feet per day, while the oil production was maintained at 55723 barrels per day during the year 1999-2000. The production of crude oil increased to 20395 thousand barrels in 1999-2000 against thousand barrels in 1998-99, natural gas production increased to 818342 million cubic feet against 738828 million cubic feet, and coal production decreased to 3167854 tonnes in 1999-2000 from 3461444 tonnes in 1998-99. In Pakistan energy consumption by final users in 1999-2000 amounted to 25.3 million tonnes of oil equivalent on an energy supplied basis. Consumption of energy has risen by about 4.6 percent in 1999-2000 over the year 1998-99. In 1999-2000 out of total energy consumption, share of oil was 47.3 percent, gas 32.0 percent, coal 5.0 percent, electricity 14.7 percent and LPG 1.0 percent.

Out of the total energy consumption, 34.7 percent was consumed in transport sector, 34.3 percent in industrial sector, 22.5 percent in

domestic sector, 3.1 percent in commercial sector, 2.7 percent in agriculture sector and 2.6 percent in other government sectors 1999-2000.

Petroleum energy consumption increased by 6.30 percent, gas consumption increased by 11.04 percent and coal consumption increased by 4.91 percent in 1999-2000 as compared to 1998-99. The import of crude oil decreased by 0.69 percent in 1999-2000 as compared to 1998-99.

In the light of the problem discussed above in the growth of energy sector, the present study has, been undertaken to examine the status of crude oil, natural gas and coal in the major provinces of Pakistan. The study has the following objectives :

1. To examine the trend, growth rate, and share in the production of crude oil, natural gas and coal in Pakistan and in its major provinces.
2. To make major province-wise comparison of trend and growth rate for production of crude oil, natural gas and coal.

In Pakistan there are only few studies on energy sector and they are also on demand and supply side. This study is the first study on trend and growth rates in the production of crude oil, natural gas and coal.

Pakistan comprises a large on-shore and off-shore sedimentary areas of about 800,000 square kilometers with thick sedimentary sequences. The exploratory efforts have however, not been commensurate with the size and petroleum potential of these vast sedimentary basins. Pakistan still has to import about 80 percent of this requirements of petroleum and petroleum products.

The history of oil exploration in the regions that now constitute Pakistan is as old as that of any other part of the world. The first well for search of oil was drilled at Kendal in the district of Mianwali, Punjab in the year 1866 just seven years after the world's pioneer oil well drilled in Pennsylvania in 1859. At the time of creation of Pakistan in 1947, two

oil companies namely Burmah Oil Company and Attock Oil Company were conducting oil exploration and by that time 28 structures had been drilled resulting in the discovery of four oil fields namely Khaur (1915), Dhullian (1935), Joyamair (1944) and Balkassar (1946). At the end of 1999-2000, there were 81 fields of oil, 73 fields of gas and 14 fields of coal in the country producing oil, gas and coal. Dabhi (Sindh) is the biggest oil field, Sui (Balochistan) is the biggest gas field and Lakhra (Sindh) is the biggest coal field.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

Data used in this study is compiled from Pakistan Energy Yearbook, Government of Pakistan. The study covers a period of 26 years spanning from 1974-75 to 1999-2000 for which published data on production of crude oil, gas and coal were available.

The compound growth rates are estimated by using loglinear functions on the time series data on production. The equation fitted to analyze growth rate is semi-log exponential form.

$$\text{Log } Y_t = a + bt$$

where,

- Y = production of crude oil/gas/coal
- a = constant
- b = expresses the rate of change and when multiplied by 100 gives the percentage growth rate
- t = time variable in year (1,2,.....,n)

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Trends in Production

Trends in crude oil, natural gas and coal production are presented in Table 1 along with Bar Diagram-1.

Crude Oil

The production increased from 1959 thousand barrels in the base year to 20395 thousand barrels at the end of the study period. Punjab and

Sindh are the two major provinces for this energy. In Punjab the production during 1974-75 to 1990-91 kept fluctuating. After that up to the end of the period it kept on decreasing. Sindh on the other hand, showed, an increasing trend.

Natural Gas

The production of natural gas in Pakistan shows an increasing trend. Production which was 179849 million cubic feet in the base year had gone up to 818342 million CFt at the end of the study period. Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan are the three major provinces of natural gas production. In Punjab, the production kept fluctuating during 1974-75 to 1999-2000. The highest production of 55543 CFt was recorded in 1995-96. In Sindh and Balochistan the production shows an increasing trend. The production which was 11275 and 154798 CFt in Sindh and Balochistan in 1974-75 increased to 393376 and 370501 CFt respectively in 1999-2000. The trend of increasing pattern is more pronounced in Sindh as compared to Balochistan.

Coal

Pakistan has large deposits of coal which can be classified as highly volatile to sub-bituminous with relatively high ash and sulphur content. In Pakistan the production of coal during the study period showed fluctuating trend and recorded the highest production of 3637825 tones in 1995-96. Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan are the three major provinces of coal production. Punjab recorded the fluctuating trend during 1974-75 to 1999-2000. The highest production of 595807 tonnes was recorded in 1986-87. Sindh and Balochistan also recorded fluctuating trend. Sindh recorded the highest production of 1284159 tonnes in 1993-94 and Balochistan recorded the highest production of 1827719 tonnes in 1996-97. The production in Sindh was more pronounced as compared to Balochistan.

Comparison between Provinces

The share of crude oil production in Sindh recorded an increasing trend while, Punjab recorded a decreasing trend. Punjab's share which

was 100 percent in 1974-75 decreased to 37.5 percent in 1999-2000. Sindh's share which was only 7.0 percent of Pakistan's oil production increased to 62.5 percent in 1999-2000. It means that the share of Sindh increased by 7 times in 19 years. The natural gas share of Punjab and Balochistan in Pakistan's total natural gas production decreased. The share of Punjab which was 7.6 percent in 1974-75 decreased to 6.6 percent in 1999-2000. Balochistan's share which was 86.1 percent in 1974-75 decreased to nearly half ; 45.3 percent in 1999-2000. Sindh is the only province whose natural gas share increased from 6.3 percent in 1974-75 to 48.1 percent in 1999-2000. This share increased by 8 times. It means that in natural gas also Sindh has an edge over Punjab and Balochistan. In coal production Balochistan has largest share as compared to Sindh and Punjab. Though Balochistan has largest share (53.1 percent) but its share decreased from 58.3 percent (base year). Similarly the share of Punjab also decreased to half ; from 28.7 percent in 1974-75 to 14.3 percent in 1999-2000. Here also Sindh has an edge over Punjab and Balochistan, because its share increased from 11.7 percent in 1974-75 to 31.1 percent in 1999-2000. Its share increased nearly three times.

Growth Rates in Energy Production

Growth rates in crude oil, natural gas and coal production are presented in Table-2.

The production of crude oil increased at the rate of 0.10 percent per annum, natural gas at 0.06 percent per annum and coal at 0.05 percent per annum. In Sindh and Punjab the production of crude oil increased at the rate of 0.14 and 0.06 percent per annum respectively. The natural gas production increased at the rate of 0.05, 0.15 and 0.03 percent per annum respectively in Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan. Similarly the coal production increased by 0.01, 0.1 and 0.03 percent per annum respectively in Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan.

Comparison between Provinces

Sindh has an edge in the production growth rate of crude oil, natural gas and coal. In crude oil its growth rate is 0.14 percent per annum, in

natural gas 0.15 percent per annum and in coal 0.1 percent per annum. In crude oil Punjab has only 0.06 percent per annum growth rate in production. In natural gas production, Punjab and Balochistan have only 0.05 and 0.03 percent growth per annum. In coal production also, Punjab and Balochistan have only 0.01 and 0.03 percent growth rate per annum.

The above results show that Sindh is endowed with enormous potential of energy and natural resources, and these sources have been fully explored and exploited to meet the energy requirements of the country. Due to these reasons Sindh is not facing as much shortage of energy supplies as compared to other provinces. Sindh also has a Geological advantage as compared to other provinces. Most of the foreign companies are searching natural resources here. Recently many new gas and crude oil fields have been found. The growth of energy sector in other provinces remained slow mainly due to inadequate institutional framework, financial constraints, high risks due to geological conditions and heavy cost etc. The Government of Pakistan is making an all out effort to mitigate the current shortages and speed up development of the energy sector specially in Punjab and Balochistan.

CONCLUSION

This study was mainly to find out trends, growth rates and share in the production of crude oil, natural gas and coal in Pakistan and its major provinces. The study reveals that the share of Sindh in the production of crude oil, natural gas and coal increased, while the share of other provinces (Punjab and Balochistan) decreased during the study period. Sindh has also an edge in the production growth rate of crude oil, natural gas and coal as compared to other provinces. In crude oil, natural gas and coal production its growth rates are 0.14, 0.15 and 0.1 percent per annum respectively. While in the provinces of Punjab and Balochistan the per annum growth rates are very low. This clearly shows that Sindh is endowed with enormous potential of energy and natural resources and these resources have been fully explored and exploited to meet the energy requirements of the country. Sindh also has a Geological advantage as compared to other provinces. Therefore most of the foreign companies are searching natural resources here and do not have risks in the process. In other provinces the growth remained slow mainly due to inadequate institutional framework, financial constraints and high risks due to the geological conditions and heavy cost etc.

POLICY SUGGESTIONS

Due to rapid population growth in Pakistan its consumption of energy (specially oil) is also increasing day by day. It has to import about 80 percent of its requirements of petroleum and petroleum products. Pakistan comprises a large on-shore and off-shore sedimentary areas of about 800,000 square kilometers with thick sedimentary sequences. The exploratory efforts have, however, not been commensurate with the size and petroleum potential of these vast sedimentary basins. The political instability, lack of capital and technical expertise has made oil gas development corporation (OGDC) almost ineffective. The political instability, law and order situation and lack of incentives (based on average cost criterion) have brought foreign exploration to a virtual halt.

The major policy suggestions include mobilization of existing resources, analyzing internationally competitive terms, attractive framework for foreign investment, simplification of procedures, creation of a domestic corporate securities market, development of an efficient and transparent management, deregulation of downstream petroleum marketing sector, rationalization of prices and most importantly solving the law and order situation in the country. These suggestions are directed at achieving cost effectiveness, reduction in import dependence, promotion of self-reliance through accelerated exploitation of energy resources and minimum environmental degradation.

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Table - 1
Production and Share of Crude Oil, Natural Gas and Coal in the Major Provinces of Pakistan

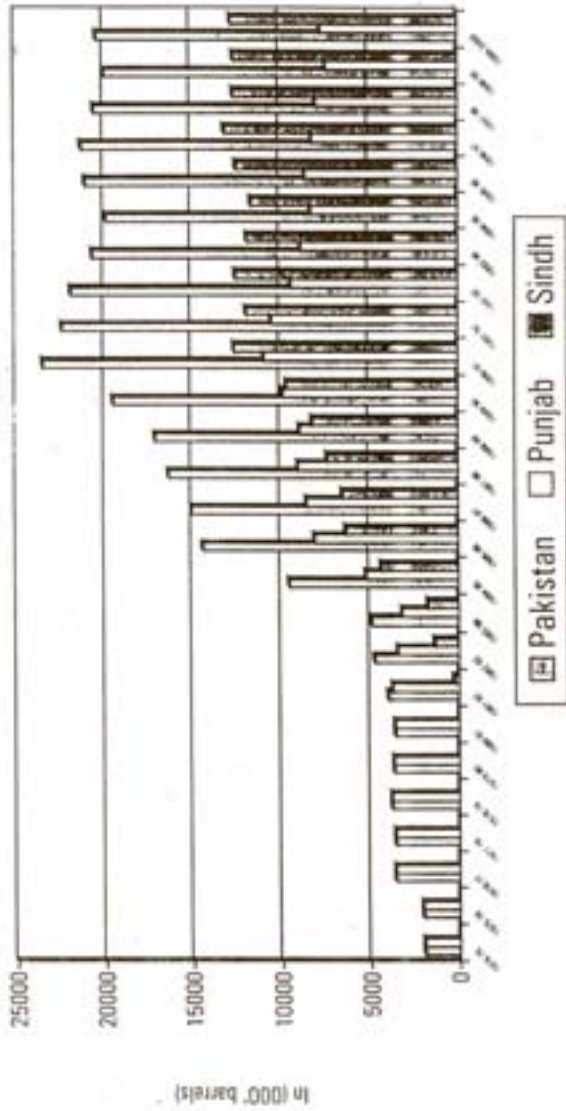
Year	Crude Oil		Natural Gas		Coal		Crude Oil Share		Natural Gas Share		Coal Share	
	Production	Share	Production	Share	Production	Share	Production	Share	Production	Share	Production	Share
1974-75	1700	0.0	1853	0.0	54739	17843	377574	15283	100.0	0.0	7.8	0.3
1975-76	7320	0.0	7020	0.0	55000	17883	376996	15255	100.0	0.0	8.9	0.2
1976-77	7576	0.0	7196	0.0	56265	18617	400676	16255	100.0	0.0	11.2	0.2
1977-78	8678	0.0	7966	0.0	58179	19667	420223	16739	100.0	0.0	13.5	0.2
1978-79	790	0.0	5368	0.0	59451	21263	378365	15173	100.0	0.0	11.7	0.2
1979-80	2629	0.0	2645	0.0	75831	26181	46350	16259	100.0	0.0	11.9	0.2
1980-81	2623	0.0	2645	0.0	78737	26794	43355	16255	100.0	0.0	12.5	0.1
1981-82	3027	0.0	2965	0.0	81770	28717	46754	16739	100.0	0.0	11.7	0.1
1982-83	3542	0.0	3361	0.0	84881	29695	48654	17637	100.0	0.0	11.5	0.1
1983-84	3943	0.0	3762	0.0	88216	30686	50854	18523	100.0	0.0	11.4	0.1
1984-85	4341	0.0	4244	0.0	91767	31667	52723	19272	100.0	0.0	11.2	0.1
1985-86	4548	0.0	4438	0.0	94766	32662	54769	19962	100.0	0.0	11.0	0.1
1986-87	4913	0.0	4805	0.0	97859	33668	56823	20729	100.0	0.0	10.8	0.1
1987-88	5317	0.0	5210	0.0	100768	34677	58873	21482	100.0	0.0	10.6	0.1
1988-89	5820	0.0	5713	0.0	103796	35688	60928	22241	100.0	0.0	10.4	0.1
1989-90	6424	0.0	6317	0.0	106804	36699	62983	23000	100.0	0.0	10.2	0.1
1990-91	7028	0.0	6921	0.0	109812	37710	65038	23759	100.0	0.0	10.0	0.1
1991-92	7632	0.0	7525	0.0	112820	38721	67093	24518	100.0	0.0	9.8	0.1
1992-93	8236	0.0	8129	0.0	115828	39732	69148	25277	100.0	0.0	9.6	0.1
1993-94	8840	0.0	8733	0.0	118836	40743	71203	26036	100.0	0.0	9.4	0.1
1994-95	9444	0.0	9346	0.0	121844	41754	73258	26795	100.0	0.0	9.2	0.1
1995-96	10048	0.0	9949	0.0	124852	42765	75313	27554	100.0	0.0	9.0	0.1
1996-97	10652	0.0	10553	0.0	127860	43776	77368	28313	100.0	0.0	8.8	0.1
1997-98	11256	0.0	11157	0.0	130868	44787	79423	29072	100.0	0.0	8.6	0.1
1998-99	11860	0.0	11758	0.0	133876	45798	81478	29831	100.0	0.0	8.4	0.1
1999-2000	12464	0.0	12356	0.0	136884	46809	83533	30590	100.0	0.0	8.2	0.1

Source: Pakistan Energy Yearbook (various issues), Government of Pakistan, Islamabad.

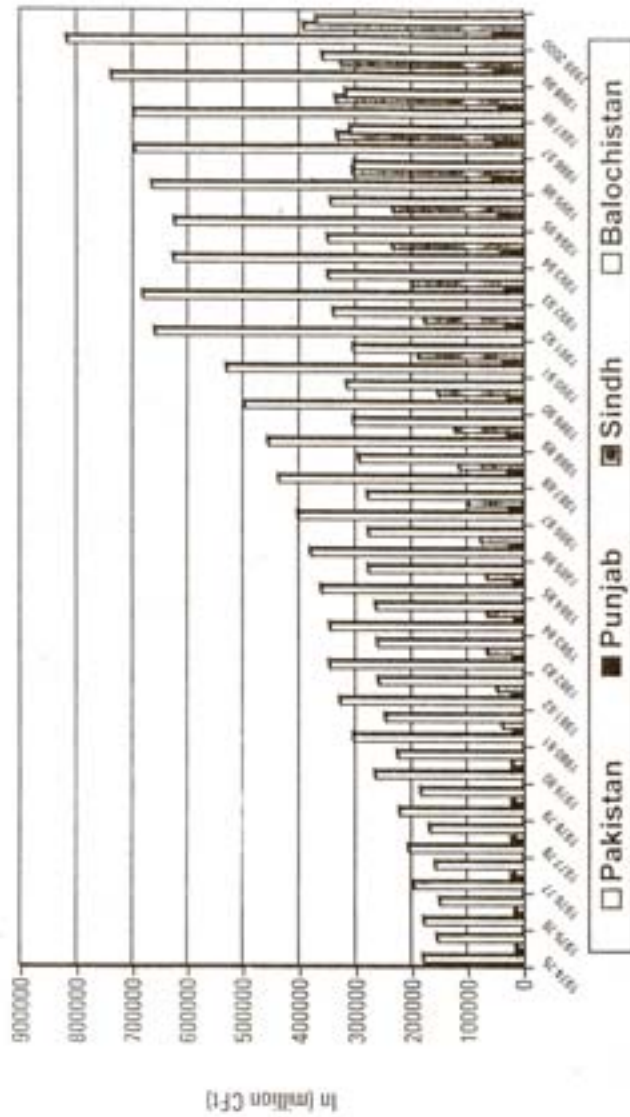
Bar Diagram - 1

Bar-Gram Showing Production of Crude Oil, Natural Gas and Coal in Pakistan and Its Major Provinces

Crude Oil



Natural Gas



Coal

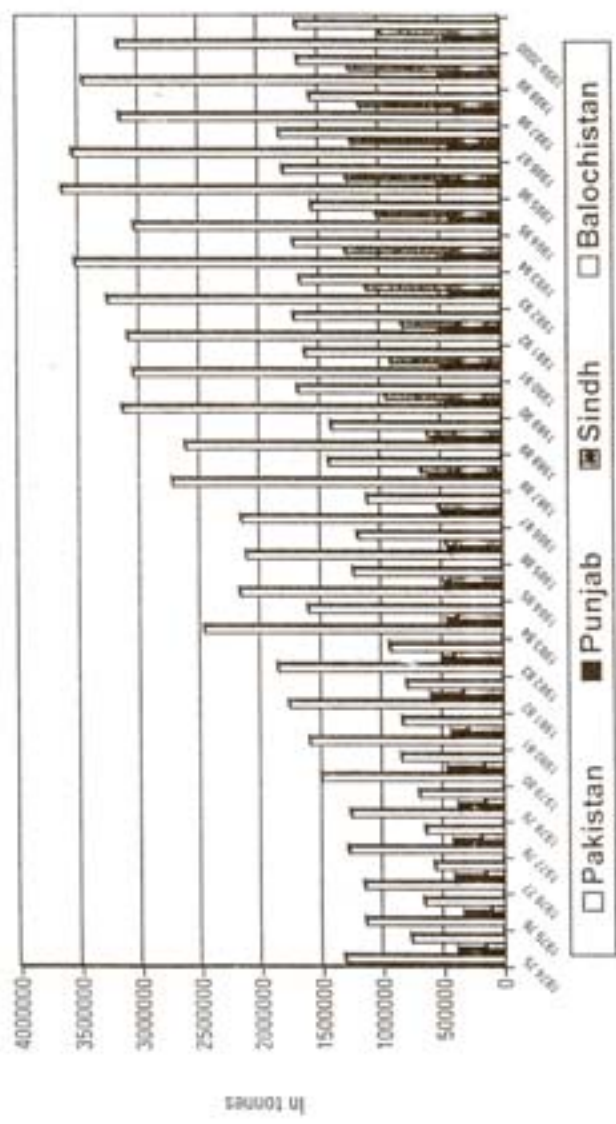


TABLE -2

Compound Growth Rates of Crude Oil, Natural Gas and Coal in the
Major Provinces of Pakistan, 1974-75 to 1999-2000

Percent per annum

	PUNJAB	SINDH	BALUCHISTAN	PAKISTAN
Crude Oil	0.06 (7.21)*	0.14 (5.19)*		0.10 (11.35)*
Natural Gas	0.05 (11.64)*	0.15 (24.21)*	0.03 (10.27)*	0.06 (25.92)*
Coal	0.01 (1.44)	0.10 (15.73)*	0.03 (2.61)**	0.05 (14.03)*

Note : *, ** Significant at 1 and 5 percent level respectively.
Figures in parentheses are 't' values.

Book Review

"War at the Top of the World"

Eric S. Margolis

by

Dr. Sadiq Ali Gill

The author gives a vivid background to the Kashmiri's War of Independence and its impact on the Unity of India in 4 parts. Each dealing with an important aspect of the Kashmir dispute.

According to the author, the disputed border of Jammu and Kashmir, along-which Indian and Pakistani forces have exchanged fire daily for the last 57 years is considered the most likely place for a nuclear war to begin, which would kill 2 million people and cause 100 million casualties and contaminate South and Central Asia with radioactive fallout.

In May 1998, when India shocked the world by detonating 5 nuclear devices and testing intermediate-range missiles aimed at cowing down Pakistan and giving China a warning to behave.

Pakistan reciprocated by testing its own nuclear-capable missiles and China accelerated its numerous intermediate missile programs and warned India against aggressive action.

Any war between India and Pakistan would according to the author result in a major Pakistani defeat unless China intervened in support of Pakistan. Which China has made clear that it would.

The author starts by briefly explaining the historical past of Afghanistan leading to the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and their ouster and ultimate control of Afghanistan by the Taliban. Which were a product of the inventive military minds of Pakistan's Inter-Service Intelligence and led by sheik Omar.

In the 2nd part of the book the author explains the atrocities committed by the Hindus and the Sikhs on Kashmiri Muslims as a result of which 200,000 Muslim population out of a total of 500,000 were slaughtered. As a result of which the Muslims in self-defence turned against the Hindus and the Sikhs, Initiating the communal fighting over entire Kashmir. This resulted in Pakistan's regular army units joining the fighting in 1984. When the fighting ended on the behest of UN involvement, 2/3 of Kashmir was under India and 1/3 under Pakistan.

After its 1971 dismemberment, Pakistan emerged from the 1971 war with India badly shaken militarily, morally and politically. In 1972 Simla Pact was signed by India and Pakistan under pressure from U.S.A and U.S.S.R. The interpretation given by India to the Simla Agreement according to the author was as under :

“India, basking in its successful war, regarded the Simla Agreement as a final end to the long dispute. Pakistan, in India’s view, had accepted the permanent division of Kashmir and recognized Delhi’s rule over two-thirds of the state and equally important. Pakistan agreed that Kashmir was to remain a bilateral issue, not subject to any outside intervention or mediation, particularly that of the UN. Kashmir was now an entirely internal Indian matter with no UN interference and a plebiscite would be legal under the Simla Agreement. Delhi adamantly maintains this position even to this day”.

Pakistan, negotiating from a position of weakness at Simla, portrayed the accord in a different light. Though on rather shaky legal ground, Islamabad held that the pact left the door open for UN intervention, and did nothing to preclude a referendum. Ever since 1972, Pakistan’s diplomatic strategy has been to get India to admit that Kashmir is a “disputed” territory, and to involve the UN and friendly foreign powers in the issue. India has just as resolutely used its considerable diplomatic power to keep the United Nations and foreign powers out of the Kashmir dispute.

Kashmir war according to the author was the outcome of the violations and abuses of Human right by the Indian Army and Paramilitary units. By 1997 Indian security forces blanketed Kashmir, giving Delhi a feeling to proclaims the end of insurgency in sight. But it was not.

Kashmir evokes deep existential fears in Delhi, though few Indian leaders will ever admit it, their dirtiest unspoken fear is that the loss of Kashmir might lead to the unraveling of the complex, fragile, often maddening diversity of modern India, just like the multi-ethnic empire-the late Soviet Union in 1991. Use of force is the only option for India to control and retain Kashmir against the wishes of the Kashmiris. As every potential peaceful solution is replete with problems and Dangers. But Kashmiris have made plain, they will not longer accept the status Quo.

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.