



SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES

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Peace between Pakistan and India can bring Prosperity to South Asia : A Ray of Hope

DR. SADIQ A. GILL

India and Pakistan are involved in more than half a century old issue of legacy, animosity and conflicts. Mistrust and apprehensions on both sides are deep-rooted and will not evaporate simply by blowing out the flames. They will have to go beneath the fire to eliminate its source.

The nuclearisation of South Asia has altered the fundamentals of Pak-India relations and deepened global stakes for early restoration of durable peace between the two nuclear states. The world community too, has realized that genuine and lasting peace in South Asia can come only through the elimination of root-causes of instability and conflict in the region.

The estimated total war casualties as a result of the conflicts in 1947-48, 1965, 1971¹ and 1999 (a limited war in and around Kargil), have been 8733 for India and 13896 for Pakistan. In Siachen, where not even a blade of grass grows, India lost 913 soldiers and Pakistan 456 in the same period. Looking at the appalling economic cost of Siachen alone, it was Rs. 40 million a day for India and Rs. 10 million a day for Pakistan. If this is not insanity, one needs to know what it is? The Pakistani argument that it is more harmful for India than Pakistan, is morally flawed, because people of both sides suffer and nothing

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can justify the sufferings of ordinary people anywhere in the world. Thus, this in no way can be justified. The multiple and conflicting religious identities of India and Pakistan are deeply and unavoidably implicated in the Kashmir² dispute. In 1950, Article 370 was inducted in the Indian Constitution, which guaranteed the special status to Jammu and Kashmir among the Indian States: non-Kashmiris may neither seek residence nor purchase property in Kashmir.³ But after 1953, New Delhi did every-thing that marginalized the Kashmir's identity and Indianised the territory through acts of manipulation, fraud elections and the brutal use of force. India tried to achieve its inherent objective of seeking control over the land, if not the people, by the use of force; while Pakistan followed the policy of resisting any force, which could be a threat to its vital interests. India, wanted an imposed status-quo in the disputed Kashmir, whereas, Pakistan wanted a breakthrough in the status quo. Nevertheless, issue of Kashmir has been victimized in an historical process in which not only India and Pakistan; but also the international community has played a role.

The two countries have not been able to resolve the Jammu and Kashmir dispute that had, in the past, kept both in a state of tension and flux.

Various low intensity clashes, three major wars between India and Pakistan and the indigenous struggle of Kashmiri's for their birth-rights of self-determination could not resolve the problems. Neither the UN nor the 13 years old militancy costing around 100,000 casualties could prompt any workable solution. If the positions remain constant, then all parties involved are bound to suffer in varying degrees. The weakest would suffer the most. The Kashmiri's being the weakest, are most vulnerable and most endangered.⁴ Pakistan's sufferings are almost equal.

The Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir became the scene of civil strife in the early 1990s, when disgruntled Kashmiri youths took up arms against Indian security forces. Since the conflict erupted in 1989 it has claimed over 34,000 lives, according to Indian officials; and more than 60,000 according to separatist leaders. Indian troops have slain more than 10,000 militants, and wounded hundreds. More than 35,000 people have been arrested on charges of support or participating in the insurgency. Thousands of Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims have been forced to flee the state.

Under the circumstance, where desires and not the rationality rules the mind of the parties involved, what should be done to find a solution? One perception is that the ball is in the Indian Court. It is India alone, which can break the ice by initiating a justifiable and amicable solution. India is in a position to come up with a way out. But, unfortunately, Kashmir is not a territorial dispute, which needs boundary adjustments or greater internal autonomy. India needs to come out of its egoism; and Pakistan should admit that it is not possible unless both India and Pakistan reconcile and the people on both sides behave rationally and do away with emotionalism. If this is possible then prosperity would result on both sides.

Without a fundamental transformation in the dynamics and structure of unending conflict between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, pursuit of peace, security and development in the South Asian region would not be sustainable. The ruling elite in both countries must recognize the fact that India-Pakistan rivalry has been the fundamental cause of ever mounting poverty, a driving force for nuclear proliferation, and a stimulant for militarization of the societies and cultures in the region.

The security complex of Pakistan-India led to their nuclearization and has generated new challenges concerning deterrence, especially for Pakistan. Since Pakistan's nuclear test in May 1998, the Kashmir dispute has often been described as a potential nuclear flash point. Any miscalculation may lead to the use of nuclear power by either side. These risks can only be mitigated within the framework of cooperative security. Since the unresolved issue of Kashmir is at the core of Pakistan-Indo enmity, the process of conflict resolution between the two countries must entail a road map or strategy for tackling the Kashmir issue.⁵

The Line of Control (LoC) between India and Pakistan in Kashmir, is not a recognized international boundary but is for maintaining a temporary arrangement peace, in an undeclared war.

The biggest confidence building measures announced and implemented have been the observance of ceasefire along the LOC. Now there is tranquility, where previously forces of the two countries used to see killings, displacement and suffering. But this tranquility must be extended to the Valley of Kashmir by projecting and protecting the rights of the Kashmiris.

India and Pakistan need to focus their attention on how to bring about this transformation. They must unambiguously commit themselves to seek a negotiated settlement of the Kashmir dispute. The final outcome of this dialogue must enjoy the overwhelming support of the people of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. No bilateral deal on Kashmir between the two contestant sovereign states will succeed unless the Kashmiris endorse it. Lack of "trust" between Islamabad and Delhi is one of the major psychological impediments to the resumption of Pak-India dialogue. Confidence building and trust-sustaining strategies should be an important component of the future road map for peace between the two sides. A third party involvement, atleast in Pakistan's perception, can play a central role.

A simultaneous recognition of the common problem will provide room for cooperation between the two nations to try to solve these problems, because components of human security are not territorially limited anymore. As a result of cooperation and collaboration amongst them, India and Pakistan may be able to tackle poverty, illiteracy, Aids and epidemics; the two nations may also find new pathways to peace.

The recent flurry of moves by India and Pakistan to normalize their relations, especially in the November 2003 announcement to declare a cease-fire along the Line of Control, offers the hope that Islamabad and New Delhi have the wisdom to undo and reverse their intense hostility for the sake of enduring peace in the region. If both the countries want to resolve the Kashmir dispute, a feeling of mutual trust and flexibility can bring about a conducive environment which can nullify their traditional stands and enable them to talk to each other with flexibility, rationality

and coming beyond stated position to meet halfway. In other words bold and flexible attempts are needed to resolve the perennial dispute over Kashmir. The basis of everything, including a reduction in militancy ... and moving forward towards a process of dialogue. If the political dialogue does not come about, who wins and who loses?⁶ It is the moderates who lose and the extremists don't win and that is exactly what has been happening in the past. If the leadership does not rise to the occasion, it shall be a pity as that will disappoint the public all over the subcontinent.

If the Kashmir issue during 2004-2005 is solved peacefully, there will be no further bloodshed, no mass migration and no communal or ethnic disturbance. Only peaceful, practicable, equitable, democratic and honourable actions can bring a durable solution of Kashmir issue and this shall ensure a peaceful and prosperous future of the entire world in general and for South Asia in particular.

Everyone agrees that war is not the answer. Over the past fifty-seven years, the three wars and the two battles (Siachen in 1987, and Kargil in 1999) could not help to resolve the issue. It only resulted in disastrous consequences, economically, politically and in all other spheres.

The activities of the 'Jihadis' over the past two decades have only resulted in further loss of life and property. With the proliferation of 'Jihad' militancy and fanaticism increased in Pakistan. The so-called 'Jihad' could not force India to come to Pakistan's terms. India in fact has 'budded' by yielding to talks. This was due to the sacrifices of the Kashmiris, which we should not under-estimate. It should rather be highlighted along with nuclearization as a factor. Pakistan was at the verge of being declared a 'terrorist' state, and its economy continued to suffer due to religious extremism which spread like a plague and brutalized its society. It is pertinent to note that Kashmiri leaders including All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC) have repeatedly declared that the struggle for liberation of Kashmir is not religious but

political ideological. Hence, there was no justification for declaration of this struggle as 'Jihad'.

Atleast there are two aspects of India's failure :

- India failed diplomatically when the World did not declare Pakistan a Terrorist State.
- India's State Terrorism in Kashmir, despite 700,000 army personal there, failed.

On the other hand, a comity of nations including members of OIC are not prepared to offer more than lip service for the implementation of UN Resolutions on Kashmir. The UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, openly stated that with the passage of time the UN Resolutions on Kashmir have become obsolete and lost their force. Perhaps acknowledging this unfortunate reality, Pakistan has rightly shown remarkable flexibility by not insisting upon the rhetorical demands for implementation of these resolutions.⁷ The International Community realized the gravity of the crises and the two countries returned from the precipice. The whole world is watching India and Pakistan's commitment to the peace process and hoping that they would take creditable steps toward conflict resolution, genuine rapprochement and cooperation. Pakistan is fully conscious of its obligation to history, to the people of Kashmir, to South Asia, and to the International Community.

Another undeniable ground reality is that neither India nor Pakistan can physically force each other to surrender the part of Kashmir under their control. The third option of independent state of Kashmir is also unacceptable to both the countries. In view of these unsolvable ground realities, both India and Pakistan have to show flexibility on their respective state position. A viable solution could perhaps be to accept the Line of Control (LoC), with some adjustment, as the International Border. Will it be acceptable to the Kashmiris? LoC, according to Musharraf, is the dispute and not the solution. To remove the prevailing devastating deadlock, it would be in the best interest of the people of Pakistan, India and Kashmir, that both Pakistan and India formally accept the Line of Control as the International Border for all practical purposes, atleast for the time being.⁸

The border between the two countries and the LoC between the two Kashmirs should be opened to the people at large with free access, free trade, exchange of cultural activities; academic, intellectual, sports events and free access to electronic and print media etc. If peace is established and borders are opened with free access to the people at large, then for all practical purposes a division of Kashmir will cease to have any impact. In any event, if for the sake of peace and harmony Indian Punjab and Bengal can be divided, then there should be no hesitation in accepting the division of Kashmir, so that people and further generations of this region can live in peace and prosperity.⁹

Hopefully, India and Pakistan, in their resumed dialogue, will focus on the issues of peace and security as well as the Kashmir issue with a fresh approach consistent with the global realities and in keeping with the vital interests of their peoples. A final solution of the Kashmir issue in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people and a strategic restraint aimed at averting the risk of a nuclear or conventional war between the two countries and curbing the arms race must be their priority.¹⁰

This would require a genuine political will and a determined effort for resolving the long outstanding disputes through peaceful means. What should be clear by now is that in today's world there can be no military solution of political-ideological problems. This is what stands proven in the present age of international relations.

However, the success of Pakistan-India dialogue would depend entirely on the freshness of political approach that both sides bring in with sincerity and seriousness of purpose. There could be no better opportunity for them, than to open their borders between the two Kashmiris giving the people at large a free access to free trade, exchange of cultural activities, academic, sports events, and free access to the electronic and print media etc.¹¹

This process should be sustained with high level political engagement from both sides. On Kashmir, in particular, substantive discussion for a political settlement is suggested, not at secretary level but on summit level. There are lessons to be learnt from the past. Initiatives for normalization between Pakistan and India can never reach their logical end unless reciprocated earnestly by each side.

It might delineate a new strategic vision, if Pakistan continues to adopt a traditional policy despite current regional and global dynamics. If the new approach is consistent with Pakistan's supreme national interest, the government must strengthen its position in its dialogue with India by securing the support of all political forces in the country.

The essence of Pakistan-India rapprochement, which, if translated into a reality, will benefit the people of this region and the world at large in terms of economic opportunities that would occur through intra-regional as well as inter-regional cooperation in other parts of the world. Above all, it will enable both the countries to fully devote their resources, both human and material to improving the lives of their people, particularly the poorest among them.

At the same time, Kashmir cannot remain the bone of contention forever, 57 years are enough. This single dispute has deflected India and Pakistan from the crucial task of socio-economic development for more than half a century.

While the rest of the world has tackled the real issues of poverty, ignorance, malnutrition etc, much better than what has been done in this part of the world. Both countries need a tension-free environment to attract domestic and foreign investment and a stream of valuable tourists. In both the countries, the deepest wish of the people is peace; and specifically, the fate of 1.5 billion people of which more than one-third live in abject poverty, who cannot be left alone as hostage to the politics of gestures alone. Almost 500 million people have been waiting for the economic dawn in their lives far too long.¹²

In case both countries do not move forward to dispel these fears, it will only weaken the moderates and strengthen the extremists and the hard-liners operating in both India and Pakistan. It is, therefore, in the interest of both to move out of the stereotype mindset, initiate a meaningful and comprehensive dialogue and settle their disputes, by showing boldness and flexibility.

The Indian and Pakistani leadership should know that they have to devise new ways and means to give a happy life to their millions of people through a policy of conflict resolution and economic cooperation. India and Pakistan should embark upon a process of reconciliation after frosty period of nearly five decades of their history of rivalry. The core dispute of Kashmir has to be resolved in a way that satisfies all the claimants. Any development that can damage the peace process should be effectively checked. Time is running short, but is certainly ripe for rethinking with the objective of ensuring peace process and economic prosperity in the region.

Both countries have fought wars, acquired nuclear weapons and have remained engaged in hot confrontation making the region 'most dangerous flash point in the world'. The center of this is the spiraling vortex of Pakistan-India animosity that has bedeviled their ties for half a century. If India and Pakistan could settle Kashmir in accordance with the aspiration of the Kashmiris, 'a new chapter in our troubled history could be opened'. This is only possible if all parties are sincere in their quest for just and durable peace through a solution acceptable to all.

Both countries should be pragmatic in the sense that they should learn to accept the hard facts and resolve the central issue of Kashmir in an equitable and honourable manner acceptable to India, Pakistan and the Kashmiris. The solution will only emerge if all sides are mindful of the problem. If all the parties, especially the Kashmiris, are given the opportunity to have their due say and are associated with a credible, sincere and serious quest for a final settlement. This will indeed be the dawn of a new era in South Asia.¹³

A joint statement at Islamabad on 6 January 2004 provided a good framework for a relationship of harmony and mutual respect. The ensuing Confidence-Building Measures (CBMs) do grant a hope for goodwill. However, there must be a simultaneity of linkage between the CBMs and the composite dialogue. CBMs cannot outstrip the dialogue process on all substantive issues including Kashmir. Both countries should move forward towards a resolution which shall remain an unaccomplished exercise, unless the Kashmiris on both sides are allowed to join the peace process.¹⁴

However there is a perceivable apprehension that the extremists on both sides would try to derail the process. In spite of that, once peace makes strides in the subcontinent, the two countries would at least have the benefits such as;

- The regional market-size will expand to 1.4 billion (equal to that of China), opening vistas of trading opportunities within the region;
- The foreign direct investments, presently stagnating at \$ 3 billion would increase manifold;
- The natural gas from Iran and Central Asia can become available to the region, bringing down energy costs by at least 50%;
- India may be the maximum beneficiary;
- The region has vast scope for tourism. The two-countries could benefit from regional tourism;
- With the reduction in defence expenditures, funds would be available both for social sectors and poverty reduction; and,
- Through mutual sports, India and Pakistan could regain the lost glory especially in hockey and cricket.

Progress on dialogue may also lead the two countries to contemplate even other crucial CBMs. For instance, defence expenditure essentially needs a down-sizing on both sides. As regards Pakistan, it cannot afford arms-race, it rather maintains a quantified military power mostly to combat a perceived threat to its national survival. Its strategy for the last two decades is, therefore, not to compete with India in conventional and nuclear arsenals but to acquire minimum nuclear deterrence for self-defence. Pakistan has kept its defence budget frozen for the past four years. India has to review its own strategy because India's military potentials are not essentially based on threat perception but on power projection.¹⁵

Now, since both states are nuclear powers, they do not have to demonstrate their respective ever-increasing missile capability frequently. Yet, India is arming itself to teeth, which makes it imperative for Pakistan to over-spend on arms even for its minimum deterrence, and thus drain out its economic resources. As for the people on both sides, they do not opt for conventional or nuclear race. They rather look for peace and prosperity.

The money, which is now going into nuclear weapons and long-range missile, should be allocated for education and public health. It should include the vast amount of money spent by India and Pakistan for arms build-up, maintenance of large armies, as well as guarding their long borders and retaining border police and intelligence agencies watchful of each other.

The present time is ideal for a rapprochement between India and Pakistan. Conflict resolution would ofcourse be a landmark in their history of persistent antagonism and hostilities. The masses of India and Pakistan want it; the influential business community is eagerly looking forward to it; and the media both at home and abroad favours it. The leaders of the two countries have to be sincere to develop confidence and trust in each other. They have to be flexible to reach mutually acceptable solution to previously intractable disputes and be bold enough to bulldoze all opposition and risks enroute to peace. They have to show enough maturity to resolve their disputes bilaterally within a reasonable

span of time. It is only due to their weaknesses that a dependence on third-party mediation, facilitation, involvement or encouragement is desired.¹⁶

None-the-less, the United States of the contemporary unipolar world can be held responsible for not (to some extent) bringing about a just peace for the future generations of this region. The United States, though seemingly reluctant, may be allowed as an extra-actor to monitor impartially the bilateral dialogue. It appears to be pertinent especially so long as India plays tactics of 'hide and seek' because it has in its possession the prize areas of Kashmir which it does not abandoning.

In any case, the settlement of Kashmir dispute is predominantly in India's hand. Respect for basic principles of inter-state conduct and acknowledgement of sovereign equality are the safest foundations upon which Pakistan-India relations can thrive and prosper. They must draw a balance between the vast opportunities that exist for mutual gain and the hazards of falling back to self-generated hatred and despair.

India and Pakistan must lead South Asia to new horizons of economic development. The agenda delineated for the composite talks must be filled with all pointers and time-frames in the best interest of regional peace and tranquility. For joint endeavors to resolve differences and disputes, centrality of the Kashmir dispute is a reality. The two countries cannot move forward on CBMs without making progress on the Kashmir issue.¹⁷

Similarly, progress in trade and economic ties is an essential need. But it is linked with the settlement of all outstanding issues including Kashmir. Although there is a tremendous scope for enhancing two-way-trade and economic ties, the pre-condition is a conducive political environment. The handful of extremists in India and Pakistan might be the intractable barriers to peace. This small minority should not be allowed to come in the way. Considering China, India and Pakistan have proven *Nuclear Weapons* capabilities, it makes especially the Pakistani skeptics and even common observers ask a perfectly rational but

worrisome question, why is New Delhi expanding its conventional weapons capabilities on such a large scale now and wants to *speed up its Military and Financial Resources* against whom? Pakistan having repeatedly stated that it is not in an arms race with India, however, it is being pushed hard in a tight corner.¹⁸

India's emergence as an economic power is predictable. But the dream cannot be realized unless it cuts down drastically its military concentrations in Kashmir, which run counter to the peace initiative. India, perhaps for economic dominance in South Asia, is trying to compartmentalize the SAARC objectives and Kashmir issue with its enhanced emphasis on regional economic cooperation on the lines of SAFTA: economic unity, open borders and common currency in a period of 10-15 years. Pakistan obviously becomes a hurdle for the unresolved inter-state antagonism over Kashmir for India.

There is pressure from the U.S. and the other major democracies on both India and Pakistan to create an atmosphere of goodwill to make the peace process successful. The U.S. in particular is worried about Afghanistan, where the Taliban have re-risen phoenix-like from the ashes. The U.S. wants support from both Pakistan and India to help fight the resistance. For this, the U.S. and the European Union have to induce both sides to overcome their differences.

Pakistan joined the U.S. led coalition against terrorism and has been an active player in the international war against terrorism. The international community has acknowledged that without the active and sincere participation of Pakistan, the desired results in terms of breaking the Al-Qaeda network could not have been achieved.

To achieve its long-term as well as short-term goals in the region, the United States wants peace in South Asia. It was for this reason that Washington supported Pakistan-India dialogue. The U.S. administration is more concerned about a number of critical challenges that Pakistan has in fighting terrorism, countering extremism, preventing proliferation even by up-rooting its networks, as well as reforming education and

building viable democratic institutions at home and its tribal areas (FATA). The U.S was therefore, on its part, committed to a long-term partnership with Pakistan.

Pakistan has an important role to play in this region as a peaceful and a moderate modern Muslim nation. A nation that is becoming increasingly democratic. The intensity of the conflict between the moderates and the radicals provides fertile ground for the Islamists hardliners, who resist a moderate government in favours of their extreme fundamentalism, which is a threat to peace and stability, not just in South Asia but also all over the World. America's support to Pakistan should also be seen in the same context.

To deescalate Pakistan-India hostility which might erupt into a nuclear war, America's strategic approach should be multi-dimensional. In the first place, it should ensure Security. President Musharaf has been a like minded partner with the United States in numerous fields including war on terrorism. President Bush and the American people appreciate the sacrifices that Pakistan makes to keep America secure from terrorism. The U.S also appreciates Pakistan and India's decision to launch a comprehensive dialogue and termed it an act of great statesmanship on the part of President Musharaf and Prime Minister Vajpayee. The U.S recognized that the alliance between Pakistan and the U.S was crucial for wining the world anti-terrorism campaign.

The military government of Pakistan joined the U.S sponsored anti-terrorism campaign as a policy matter. The steadfastness and determination of Pakistan's maximum support against terrorism did earn a high praise for it all over the world. No less important was the role President Musharaf took upon himself to fight religious extremism within the country, as well as to create a model of moderation and tolerance in the entire Islamic World. For instance, the government not only banned the extremist Muslim militant organizations in Pakistan; but also moved decisively against militant individuals and groups by handing

over more than 500 suspects to the United States, which included some key organizers of terrorism against the West.

Yet the Bush Administration's oft-repeated stance was that Pakistan should 'do more' to prevent the extremist groups operating from its soil across the borders. However, if at all Pakistan has to please the United States, it needs some serious re-appraisal of its modality of relations abroad. It should not trust too much those friends abroad who can betray Pakistan in an hour of trial. Contrary to Pakistan's stakes in dependencies, India did make better scores when, after the Soviet Union's dismemberment, it achieved strategic partnership with the U.S and earned software contract as a reward worth billions of dollars. While Pakistan in contrast, was allocated a mere pittance. Pakistan has time and again been used by the Americans for their self-interest under one pretext or another. The current partnership of Pakistan on anti-terrorism proved to be the best worthwhile option in its own national interest. Worth mentioning are the America's promised investments still awaited alongwith the transfer of U.S technology needed to help Pakistan's meager growth rate.¹⁹

Likewise, after the Afghan war, Pakistan is fighting an American war on two fronts. If our leaders feel that there is no letup in the U.S pressure and going along-with America is the only way out, then they should atleast strike an appropriate deal of strategic partnership like the one in the case of India and Turkey. Bowing further to the American pressure may not be in the best national interest of Pakistan. Today, South Asia, despite being independent for the last century, is one of the poorest and most backward regions in the world. It is high time that the leaders of both India and Pakistan seize this opportunity for peace with sincerity and courage, which has come their way after such a long time. In the present century dubbed as the 'Asian Century', South Asia and its 1.4 billion people deserve to have a fair and long overdue share of investment in education, health-care, and infrastructure development; alongwith the rewards of peace and progress as one sees in the case of ASEAN or even European Union as distant but eventual goal.²⁰

For a durable and long-lasting peace in this region, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh of India, needs to prove to the world that he really is a man of peace. This is only possible if he down-sizes India's huge military expenditures and purchases. Such an action on his part would definitely strengthen Pakistan's confidence in the India's sincerity vis-a-vis regional peace and India's willingness to resolve bilateral disputes through mutual understanding and burying the 57 year old mistrust between New Delhi and Islamabad. It would be a laudable landmark as the peoples of India, Pakistan and Kashmir are waiting anxiously for the forthcoming peace process between the two countries.

In 2003, Pakistan and India started with confidence building measures which picked up momentum, but what the two needed is a dialogue that is sustained structured, substantive, and uninterrupted.

The credit goes to the sagacity of President General Pervez Musharaf and former Prime Minister Vajpayee to agree on the commencement of the composite dialogue. It is pleasurable that Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Congress President Sonia Gandhi have clearly and emphatically stated that India attaches highest importance to dialogue with Pakistan leading to resolution of all outstanding issues, including Jammu and Kashmir.

It is time for India and Pakistan to face the strategic realities. The first of these is to slow war mongering, especially in a nuclearized environment. The second strategic reality is the appalling problems of poverty and under-development. The big sufferers of this futile confrontation of the past 57 years have been the masses in the two countries, living below the poverty-line. Other countries in South Asia have left India and Pakistan far behind on the road to progress, therefore, the leaderships in the two countries must make a strategic choice in favour of peace. The media, the political parties and the public opinion are already awaiting this. This channel may have constructive pressures to help the policy-makers of India and Pakistan. If the freedom of

expression, association, and cross border movements are granted by the two governments, one should be rest assured that the regional infrastructures thus created shall aid the policy makers.

Thus the history of the subcontinent depicts a crude picture of centripetal and centrifugal forces confronting each other. Yet, it is equally true that there were times in history for mutual cooperation, of the time the treaty of Taskent and Post-Simla environments. What polluted the situation each time was the prevalence of centrifugal forces, relegating the centrifugal forces into the background or playing up enmity by means of government-sponsored propoganda. Power must now pass on to the new generations of both India and Pakistan, which should not be under the impact of agonies of partition of 1947. We should take lesson from Europe, which suffered bitter wars. If France and Germany, after being drenched with blood, can live together as good neighbours, why cannot India and Pakistan live together as good neighbours in South Asia without any bitterness. If Europe after the World War II can have a European Union, how come SAARC cannot be a platform for regional unity and cooperation.

Kashmir is not an intractable problem. It only require political will for its solution. The settlement of the Kashmir dispute alone will guarantee peace and security in South Asia.

An environment of peace and security is in the supreme national interest of both sides. The resolution of all outstanding issues, including Jammu and Kashmir, is essential for this purpose which would provide a ray of hope for a better future for the region.

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Quaid-i-Azam and the Question of Muslim Women's Politico-legal Empowerment in British India :

DR. AZRA ASGHAR ALI

Regarding the legal and political status of women in British India, it is generally assumed that it was the essential result of those movements and changes, which were introduced to redefine the social role of Indian society in the changing circumstances. These developments and changes were also largely accommodated by the different social groups of Indian Muslims according to their needs and desires and within their own cultural framework. Before coming to the topic, it is necessary to analyze the situation in which the legal and political role and status of Muslim women was redefined and reassessed both by the government and social reformers.

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries have witnessed far-reaching changes for Muslims of India. Faced with the assault of western power and values, many Indian Muslims found themselves grappling with the problems of whether or not, or how, to reform their own societies in order to strengthen themselves under these changing circumstances. With political power slowly but constantly, slipping out of their control, they turned their attention to the so-called private world as the focus for their reforming urges. Muslim women and their lives became crucial to this new process of reform.¹

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Indeed these changes led the Muslims of India to construct their own culture identity popularly known as '*Sharif Culture*'. The subject of women was central to this *sharif culture* as it was generally assumed that the position of women provided an excellent indicator of the health and progress of Muslim society in India.² The shift within *sharif culture* in the early twentieth century away from localized traditional norms to largely shared values, meant that it sought to expand its ideological discourse into the realm of the common middle class or new 'bourgeois class'.³

The demand for an enlightened woman was an important characteristic of bourgeois culture. As many of the men of this class themselves were the product of Western education and cultural influence, they therefore needed new women as their partners, women who would be presentable in colonial society, yet the role remained primarily in the home as mother, wife, daughter and sister. Thus the concept of an enlightened woman had roles, which were divided into the private and public spheres. The former idea was based on the dignity and status of woman within the family through the redefinition of normative gender ideologies of traditional Muslim society in India as well as through legal prospects of marriage, divorce and property share. In this way, the concept of pure womanhood was not limited to women's traditional role but also became part of her social awareness, a national role and above all, her personal belief and self image.⁴

As a result, the social reform debate on the turn of twentieth century generated an awareness of women's issues and a call for legal and political changes in the status of women. A nascent women's movement in collaboration with national leaders like Gandhi and Jinnah sought to introduce legislation, favouring women. It was argued very often that as compared to Gandhi, the efforts of Jinnah for the uplift of Muslim women mainly revolved around his political agenda rather than a

manifesto of change in their social status. Minault has also observed in one of her writings :

This is not to suggest that Jinnah's political career was mainly associated with the movement for Muslim women's reform, and still less with the movement for scriptural reform. He was however, able to articulate issues raised by those interlocking movements within a political and legislative context."⁵

It is significant that his most successful efforts at coalition building among Muslims prior to the Pakistan Resolution of 1940 were focused upon legal issues that linked women and family life to Islamic legal identity, and that further linked the concerns of urban and small town professionals and *ulema* at the expense of rural landed interests.⁶

In fact Jinnah had deep and continuous concern for the Muslim women. He wanted to educate them, emancipate them from the thrall of *pardah*, put them side by side with their men folk and make them true comrades and companion in the battle of life. The nature of relationship between the Quaid-i-Azam and his great sister Fatima Jinnah can be cited as a best example in this regard. The sister provided peaceful environment to her brother who devoted his energies to prepare Muslims of India for the struggle for Pakistan. Their relations were based on personal sacrifice, trust, fellow feelings and intellectual understanding which lasted till the last days of Quaid and even after his death kept alive by the sorrowful sister in all the circumstances.⁷ Fatima Jinnah used every available opportunity to propagate the message of his brother among the masses of Pakistan.

As a husband too, Jinnah treated his wife Ruttie, generously. Dwarkadas tributes their great love in the following words :

"He found in her a great source of inspiration. His personal, political and social life was always with Ruttie. She was always with him, and though she was so much younger than he, she, without his realizing it, looked after him and made his life in all its aspects, pleasant, carefree and well worth living."⁸

In fact, Quaid wanted to make women good mothers, wives, daughters and sisters and above all, a good person by raising their social status. In one of his speeches he said :

“I believe that it is absolutely essential for us to give every opportunity to our women to participate in our great struggle of life and death. They are shut up within the four walls of the house like prisoners and closely confined in the veil when out. The condition of our women is a crime against humanity”.⁹

The efforts of Jinnah for the social uplift of women might be seen through his legal and political agenda, which he propagated, as a member of Legislative Assembly as well as an active leader of Muslim League.

Legal Empowerment

In Indian context, one can easily conclude that customary laws and social taboos have always dominated the scene. Whereas, the purpose of various legislative measures was however, to protect the rights and interest of women besides protecting them against social discrimination, and gender differentiation. Although, both the Hindu and Muslim social reformers had the similar discourse towards these social disabilities of women, they looked to different textual sources for their inspiration. For Muslims as argued by Minault “changes or challenges-whether external or internal had to be met by arguing for a relation to a pristine Islam as it secures all the social rights and legislations through which women would be able to spend their social life in a better way.”¹⁰ As a result the introduction of legislative measures by the Government were mainly seen in the light of Islamic teachings and their far-reaching impact on Muslim society. There were three main pieces of social legislation through which the dynamic efforts of Quaid can be visualized. These were :

- Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929.
- Shariat Application Bill of 1937.
- Dissolution of Muslim Marriage Act of 1939.

The campaign against Child Marriage was started as bill for Hindus and then converted into one for all communities. The bill was opposed by a significant section of the Muslim representatives of the Legislative Assembly. However, the more progressive representation including Shahnawaz and Muhammad Ali Jinnah not only supported the bill but also favoured the social legislation to carry out social reforms. Jinnah also called it welcome change in the traditional policy of government. On September 11, 1929 the Legislative Assembly resumed consideration of the bill as reported by the Select Committee. Speaking on the Bill, MA Jinnah said :

“Sir! the first and foremost question that I put to myself as a member of the Legislature is whether child marriage is an evil in this country or not; is it a crying evil or not? Is it inhuman that thousand and millions of girls should be married at a very tender age, which must sap their womanhood? Sir! I do not think whatever, may be the controversy on this point, on the plea of humanity that there is a single member in this house who can contemplate with quantity and would not deplore and condemn that evil and inhuman practices, which are daily taking place in this country, is it or is it not a fact? Sir! I entirely agree with my friend Shahnawaz. I was myself unaware of the extent and the degree of evil that existed among the Mussalmans.”¹¹

Many evidences were also gathered from Muslims describing child marriage as an unmitigated evil, destroying the health as well as the progress of the nation. That's why all the points raised on religious grounds were vigorously refuted by liberals and reform minded individuals. Particularly, Muhammad Ali Jinnah noted “that to begin with, people always looked upon these semi-religious usages and practices as the very foundation of their society and any country like India, he suggested, where public opinion was not so developed, reforming agencies should not allow themselves to be influenced by public opinion which could resent social reform in the name of religion.

On the other hand, he said, Muslims had to have the courage to say, no we are not going to be frightened by that.¹²

In the same way Jinnah was very active in the passing of the Shariat Act of 1937. It was the general consensus of Muslim leadership that the Shariat would improve the rights of women. The Shariat Bill as pointed by Dushka was not only as expression of the movement to improve the lot of women but also symbolized the movement for Islamic revival amongst the Indian Muslims. In one of his speeches in Legislative Assembly Jinnah said as :

“Sir! as I said, the principle underlying this bill is to secure to the female heirs their due share according to Muhammadan Law. According to the customs and usages that have prevailed, the position of female heirs has been a very precarious one. If a man dies, his widow is only entitled to maintenance. When the question arises as to what maintenance she is entitled to, it is always a very difficult question to decide because when a son or a male heir succeeds to a large estate, he tells the widow that Rs. 1000 is quite enough for her although, it may be an estate of ten or twenty or thirty lacks and then invariably litigation.”¹³

Political Empowerment

The campaign for Indian women's suffrage, which began after the enactment of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919, sought to bring about radical changes in the role of women in public life. Central to this new development was the idea of sex-equality as symbolized by the vote. This in return, went on to influence their own perception of themselves, encouraging them to determine their personal arena, their national role, their interests and their activities. It also provided them with a platform from which they could influence both the Government as well as political parties to support their cause.¹⁴ Moreover, it increasingly, led to the realization as the Report of Indian Statutory Commission in 1930 noted “that India could not reach the position to which it aspired in the world until its women played their due part as educated citizens.”¹⁵

Note should be taken that the growing awareness on the part of Indian women had a curious double-faced character of its own. Initially feminist groups sought to mobilize all women, without consideration of community, on the basis of common issues. However, growing communalism between Muslims and Hindus had critical consequences for the women's movement in the country. The fact that Muslims were in a minority in India went over, to mould the very character of the socio-political reforms that began to be introduced in the early twentieth century. Western educated Muslims were increasingly concerned about the implication of this status for their political future and community interests. They stressed on the necessity of communal safeguards to protect them from the sheer numerical predominance of the Hindus.

The communalization of female political identity started after the Act of 1935. The hollowness of the Congress's claim to speak on behalf of the entire Indian people provided a space to Muslim League to show its political strength and the worth of its political claims as a representative organization of Indian Muslims. In this situation the only way of survival seemed to be the consolidation of community and its interests. Women magazines and newspapers also highlighted the growing interest of Muslim women in national and communal politics. For example, Shaista Ikramullah warned Muslim women in one of her article that their continued ignorance about the changing political situation could destroy the whole struggle, which had been started for the safeguard of community interests.¹⁶ In the same way, Gohar Iqbal, a local poetess of Meerut called this struggle a *nagma-e-bedari* in one of her poems published in well-known women's journal *Ismat*. The role of women called by her a light of early morning, which tears the darkness, and sorrows of the night.¹⁷

Under the dynamic leadership of Quaid, the Muslim League now began to organize and involve women in politics. In 1938 the League established an All India Muslim Women's Sub-Committee which aimed

to co-opt Muslim women to organize them for its cause. In his presidential address of the meeting of Muslim League in 1938, Muhammad Ali Jinnah said :

“You may remember that we appointed a committee of ladies at the Patna Session. It is of very great importance to us, because I believe that it is absolutely essential for us to give every opportunity to our women to participate in our struggle of life and death. Women can do a great deal within their homes even in purdah. We appointed a committee with a view to enable them to participate in the work of the League. The object of this committee were (1) to organize provincial and district Muslim League; (2) to enlist a large number of women to the membership of the Muslim League; (3) to carry on an intensive propaganda amongst Muslim women throughout India in order to create in them a sense of a great political consciousness because if political consciousness is awakened among our women, remember, your children will not have much to worry about; (4) to advise and guide them in all such matters as mainly rest on them for the uplift of Muslim society.”¹⁸

In 1940 when the League passed the Pakistan Resolution at Lahore one remarkable feature of the session was the unprecedented number of women who attended it. In 1941 another step to extend the activities of Muslim women was taken through the formation of the Muslim Girl Student Federation. Lady Abdul Qadir, Shaista Ikramullah, Fatima Begum and Miss M. Qureshi launched the Federation under the patronage of League.

In 1942 Jinnah took direct interest in women's committees and during the course of his tours across the country, he addressed a large gathering of women. At that time the participation of women in Pakistan movement was in full swing. Women composed songs usually along the

lines of 'Pakistan is our birthrights; 'we will pass through many storms'; and we will live or die for Pakistan.'¹⁹ By acknowledging the great role of Quaid, Begum Salama Tasadduque says :

"It was Jinnah who took women out of seclusion of their homes and brought them to the forefront to tackle the hard realities of life. He invariably urged in his speeches that women should be made active participants in the struggle because they are the second arms of the nation. Life without them would be incomplete".²⁰

The presence of the newly formed Women National Guard in 1943, further signified the acceptance of an entirely new role for Muslim women. They were no longer bound to remain at home in isolation under any heavy protection. In wearing the uniform of white *pajama*, white *kurta* and green *dupatta*, the women of the National Guard collected funds, sold bags and propagated the idea of Pakistan. Their appearance in public and interaction with strangers was a violation of the unwritten but centuries old rule of *purdah* and confinement of Muslim women.²¹

In the same way, the election of 1946 was important because it was the test of Muslim League's claim of being representative of women. The women members of the League who toured the countryside relentlessly canvassing for the League also took up this challenge. In this way, women proved themselves as a powerful potential source of political activity. The Muslim League won all the major seats of the Central Assembly. Students from Aligarh to Lahore had shown great zeal, and the girl students played major role.

In fact Quaid as Duska has noted in the tradition of a whole host of Muslim intellectuals and thinkers before had been calling for the education and emancipation of Muslim women. However, he was the first who actively promoted their participation in politics and the Muslim League. His message was loud and clear : women come out of your

seclusion and be equal partners in the social and political life of the country.²²

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was also of the view that it was the women who could form the character of their children. In case of ignorance and illiteracy it would not be possible for a nation to get rid of its evil customs and social prejudious. Begum Geti Ara Bashir, a political activist from Lahore and the daughter of Muhammad Shafi. once wrote a letter to Quaid-i-Azam in which she put the question about the future foundation of the Pakistan, whether it would be a conservative or a progressive state. Quaid wrote to her.

“Tell your younger girls, I am a progressive Muslim leader and Pakistan will be a progressive country in the building of which women will be working shoulder to shoulder with men.”²³

It is interesting to note that many leading Muslim women took an active part in politics under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam. Prominent among these were Lady Abdullah Haroon, Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz, Lady Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah, Begum Shaista Ikramullah and Begum Viqar-un-Nisa Noon. Above all, we cannot ignore the historical and splendid role of Fatima Jinnah, the great sister of great brother. She proved herself as a source of inspiration for those Muslim women who were seeking guidance and lines of direction from *Madar-i-Millat*. They did work for the League under the great guidance and patronage of Fatima Jinnah. She used to easily manage the busy and tight schedules of Quaid. She chaired the female processions of League in different areas of Delhi and used to address her counterparts in Urdu.²⁴

In conclusion we can say, that it was the Quaid who came out to emancipate the Muslim women from their old age taboos and social prejudices. As a member of Legislative Assembly from Bombay Constituency, he raised his voice for the enforcement of those social measures, which were going to remove the social disabilities of women. The issue of women rights was increasingly seen by the Quaid as

inextricably linked with the prospects of the entire Muslim community in India. The social uplift of women as understood by Jinnah like his other contemporaries, was the betterment of society as a whole. In the same way political participation of women, in his view was the negation of all misinterpretation and misconceptions through which the picture of Muslim society was painted as a rigid and static entity. The leadership of Jinnah as pointed by Ayesha Jalal opened a fresh chapter in the politics of Muslim India. The League's resounding success in the crucial 1945-46 election owed much to enthusiastic campaigning by women's wing and above all to those thousands of *burqa-clad* Muslim women who stepped out of the four walls for the first time in their lives to cast votes in the urban constituencies.²⁵

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Globalization and its Impact on Pakistan Politics

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This research paper is going to reveal the hard realities of globalization and its impact on Pakistan politics. Our hypothesis here is that, like in many other developing states, the politics of Pakistan was not immune from the influences of globalization. The issues raised here are as follows. First, the politics of Pakistan did not mean only the activities of government by which they controlled power or authority in the country. It rather involved all human activities, collective and individual, such as: socioeconomic welfare, cultural identity, political awareness, influencing the government, security and national stability, as well as the matters relating to the environment. What hampered these activities was, in the main, the lack of system-maintenance capability. Second, since Pakistan had attained a distinct status in the community of nations, it did have a legitimate right to play a positive and constructive role in the contemporary world environment of globalization. And finally, despite this need, Pakistan was denied this opportunity and was left behind in competition mostly because of the vested interests of the highly industrialized 'haves' particularly during the last decade of the 20th century.

Globalization is a predominant phenomenon in the modern times. It is a multidimensional perception of contemporary states' mutual interaction in almost all spheres including political, economic, social, environmental, human rights, gender discrimination, communications and military collaboration.

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This paper mainly focuses on political, economic, and social aspects of globalization. Under the umbrella of free trade and "laissez faire" the developed world is tearing down the economies of the developing world relentlessly. The international financial institutions (IFIs) are assisting the developed world to plunder the poor states through multinational corporations (MNCs). The information technology has revolutionized the world, incorporating even the people living in the far-flung islands and deserts. Consequent to it is the decline of nation state and the rise of regionalism under the impact of regional economies, promoted by G-5, G-7, G-77, European Union and Shanghai-5. This regionalism is inevitably laying a foundation that can serve the purpose in the main of the highly industrialized capitalist states of the world alone. Hence globalization, if a reality for the big "haves" of the world, is still a myth for the poor nations. It tends to be undermining the social, political, and cultural interests. No doubt the inter-connectedness of the sovereign entities is brewing in the modern age. Yet, the aftermath of this increased inter-connectedness does not seem to be very satisfactory. The disintegration of erstwhile Soviet Union has created a power vacuum at the world stage. America urges to fill that gap solely. But the emerging economic giant like China is unlikely to accept American hegemony in politics, economics and military domains. Germany, Italy, Brazil, France, Japan, Canada, England and Russia are also centers of power politics. So, in the modern times, center of power has been divided into different sovereign entities. Infact Ricardo's theory of comparative advantage is not in action and "Megalothymia" (It means to consider itself superior to others) on the part America is creating dissatisfaction even among other industrialized countries. It seems that Marx's dialectic materialism holds water in the prevailing world politics and it may have the seeds of the destruction of capitalism.

It has been said that high expectations breed deep frustrations. Perhaps the truth of that saying is attested in recent and more sober assessments of the phenomenon called globalization. The past decade was marked by unrealistic hopes for the emergence of a global village in which the world's desperate and warring peoples would realize at last that they shared one small, vulnerable planet on which their destinies

were linked. But there was no such outcome. Instead there has been a growing, if disillusioning, realization that globalization is not a panacea for the world's ills. Globalization has both advantages and disadvantages and it provides opportunities at the same time that it poses dangers, because globalization carries with it unanticipated, often contradictory and polarizing consequences.

The American foreign policy always envisages selective morality. Over the last century it is being claimed that globalization has been among those that have contributed to a huge improvement in human welfare and environmental development including raising countless millions out of poverty. This broad claim needs to be subjected to rigorous statistical analyses. We need to know the relative role and statistical ranking of globalization among other factors leading to a decline in global poverty. We need to statistically identify the causal processes whereby globalization in its current form leads to such a decline. Counterfactually speaking, we need to know whether globalization in a different institutional form would have led to an even greater decline. Most importantly, perhaps, we need to know the extent to which existing forms of globalization may in fact be leading to increasing rate of poverty in some social sectors while simultaneously diminishing the rates in other sectors.

Many political scientists argue about increased poverty in developing countries, either from economic studies or from their own observation: Egypt, Jordan, Ukraine, Peru, Mexico, Tanzania, Malawi, Ethiopia, India and Thailand, were among the countries specifically described. Increasing poverty in the USA and Canada was also mentioned. Here are major changes in global economy, which can make us more comprehensible about globalization.

Pakistan as a case study is being testified, that how it encounters the forces of globalization. It is a satellite state and a plural one, so it is very difficult for such a state to sustain itself in the quagmire of ethnicity, sectarianism, and parochialism. Globalization has deeply affected Pakistan's economy, politics and social system as it is facing worst

internal crises of polarization and external debt burdens. The suggestions have been mentioned to rescue the disadvantages of globalization. Which shall work only in the presence of peace and good law and order conditions. The internal stability is indispensable for absorbing fruits of globalization.

To illustrate, we should recall that the 53-year history of Pakistan passed through many experiments of making and unmaking the forms of government. The country moved from parliamentary to presidential, and even to praetorian systems. But none of them could be of utmost importance in terms of rationality and contentment. Consequently the ruling cliques were most of the time not of a truly representative status. They failed to capture common man's imagination and rather drove the people devoid of the sense of direction. In fact no system except praetorianism could be implemented in its true sense. The bureaucratic and military elite segments remained dominant, relegating the political into the background and keeping the political system mostly as dysfunctional in which the domain of the politicians was 'invaded' by the non-politicians.

Pakistan has always been a victim of intellectual dependence that whatever is considered right in the west is considered good for the country. The contemporary world is teemed with the idea of globalization and making an impact upon Pakistan's politics.

Globalization and its Impact on Pakistan Politics:

Pakistan is a plural society. It is composed of numerous races and ethnic groups. This multiethnic / multiracial diversity kept the society divided on certain crucial issues related to language, religion, caste and authoritarianism. Pakistan has certain horizontal and vertical cleavages.¹ The horizontal cleavages include linguistic, ethnic and parochialism, while vertical cleavages create an everlasting lacuna between have and have-nots.

It (Pakistan) is a coalition of political concepts or ideas that are unable to guide Pakistan towards a stable political system. After partition Pakistan

lacked skilled social capital. In fact killings of skilled social capital in 1947 created vacuum in the system and made serious problems in Pakistan's political, economic, social, cultural, and religious and defence domains. There was no efficient infrastructure to make professional policies in different aspects of life. So lack of professionalization, apathy of leadership, absence of an integrated constitution and non-existence of elections deteriorated the very existence of Pakistan. In this communication age, Pakistan is still going on with the same problems that it had at its inception. After the disintegration of Soviet Union in 1991, America introduced new world order. Democracy, fundamental rights, free economic market, privatization, peace and end of gender discrimination were the main ideals of American New World Order. The rise of multinational corporations, communication revolution and international financial institutions started intervening in every political system of the world. America started materializing its dream of world government through globalization, it decided to give financial and military aid to those countries that would follow the principles of liberal democracy.

In Pakistan 1991-1998 political government ruled over the country but could not get much from America owing to different economic sanctions in the backdrop of its nuclear programme and military assistance to Kashmiris in occupied Kashmir. America did its best to convince political elite of Pakistan to role back or cap its (Pakistan) nuclear programme but all in vain. Consequently Pakistan detonated its nuclear bomb in May 1998 in pursuance of Indian nuclear detonation in the same month. It aggravated the political and economic crises in the Asian politics.

In Pakistan, initially, the political system itself most of the time appeared to be 'intermittent', in the sense that it was vulnerable and could be 'hijacked' by any political or civil-military bureaucrat at any time. It was equally alien and not adequately grass-rooted. Its very acclaimed ideological base was in fact undifferentiated and misinterpreted mostly because of the vested interests of the ruling cliques. Consequently, the desired idealism in system capabilities remained a far cry. They were neither groomed with sincerity and vigor nor prevented from a 'drain-

out' process. For instance, even the taxes and other revenue were not extracted and utilized efficiently in the best interests of the taxpayers and the common man. When the extraction of resources was faulty, mostly for corruption and mal-governance, the regulation and distribution of the extracted and unexplored resources seemed to be beyond any apprehension of governmental control. Under such circumstances, the fruits of economic and social welfare remained a monopoly of a few, and could not be transmitted to the common man. On the top of it was the inadequate industrialization and denial of democratic participation which in its turn, promoted exploitation and subjugation. An evidence to this effect was provided by the dismemberment of Pakistan mostly for the reason of reducing East Pakistan to the status of a satellite of West Pakistan. Even symbolically, therefore, Pakistan was indeed an Islamic republic. But, in actuality, it was criminally prone to exploitation and subjugation by the few at the helm and in a very un-Islamic fashion.

Pakistan, as such, was a vulnerable state right from the beginning. It projected an image of unstable polity, not having adequate indigenous manpower and material resources to depend upon and to relieve itself of internal unrest and external intervention.

An overall environment of backwardness and poverty in the Pakistani populace was another major hurdle in the process of change. From the standpoint of political culture, the society was more parochial, subjective and feudalistic. People in general lacked orientation towards political system and its functioning. Rather, their response to the system was predominantly restricted to mere slogans, or to be misled by the dominant elite having its peculiar stakes in power politics. Devoid of the sense of direction, despite an ideological perception, the common man's dreams of Pakistan being an ideal state remained unfulfilled. His aspirations, obviously therefore, did not match with the bitter realities of poverty, diseases and exploitation. The reason on its outset might be the centralization and authoritarianism in the national power framework that had the seeds of disintegration, especially so long as centralism denied regional autonomy to a large extent and the ethnically divergent identities on the provincial level remained disenchanting and victims of

deprivation. This kind of centralism causing deprivation was perhaps because of the alien political system borrowed and acknowledged, though with some specific amendments, since Pakistan's inception. Though apparently not anti-democratic for the British being known for democracy, the symptoms of colonial preponderance inherent in it make it in a broader perspective unsuitable for a modern and sovereign state of Pakistan wanting to track a path of self-identity.

Not surprisingly, therefore, an absence of strong and functionally autonomous system institutions like parliament exacerbated the crisis. Instead of adopting and depending on the long and time-consuming established processes of decision-making, the country soon fell pray to the short-cut of agitational of politics, which inevitably undermined true democracy and led to praetoriansim. Likewise, in the transitional phase of urbanization, when the old traditional-cum-rural elite confronted the modern urban elite, westernized political elite failed to capture the imagination of the conservatively backward common populace. This latter elite was rather blamed for its being 'too westernized'. Hence, the centripetal and centrifugal forces on the common man, in the tedious and cumbersome process of socio-economic change, kept the attainment of development and modernization rather a hard task to be accomplished. The gap between the traditional and modern values remained unabridged.²

Conceptually, modernization means to denote *"all groups, old as well as new, traditional as well as modern, become increasingly aware of themselves as groups and of their interests and claims in relation to other groups. One of the most striking phenomena of modernization is the increased consciousness, coherence, organization and action which it produces in many social forces which existed on much lower level of conscious identity and organization in traditional society."*³

This syndrome of modernization and dependents is more vivid in Pakistan's case. The consortium countries, as well as IFIs, IMF and WB do prevail on Pakistan's economy, rendering its autarky extinct. For that kind of dependence, Pakistan could not attain its economic targets. Its

imports remained persistently on their increase, as compared with the exports, which showed a downward trend at least in the last decade or so.

Such a negative impact of dependence abroad was also visible in Pakistan's social fabric. For instance, the new modernized city-elite, the intellectuals and the middle / lower middle class individuals were more attracted by the chain-restaurants of the western capitalist magnets --- McDonald, KFC, Pizza Hut, and Duncan Donut. The ongoing rush in these fast food restaurants makes one to believe that even the globalized food environment is rather inescapable for them, and so they have almost been entrapped by the world investors. Their sale promotion techniques, the on the road symbols, mottos and catchy ads are undoubtedly bewitching specifically for the school-going youngsters. Coca Cola and Pepsi did already become a source of inspiration for many even as early as in the 1950s, when such beverages were taken as a symbol of pride and honor in entertaining the guests at home. In fashions, the shoes of Nike, Marlboro cigarettes, shirts of polo, perfumes of Fahrenheit and Calvin Klein (CK) have driven the people from indigenously homemade items to international markets. If we look again into Huntington's viewpoint, modernization, though societal and economic in its dimensions, is innovation rather than imitation. Imitation in the process of change, in fact, renders one to what is called 'dependantia'. Therefore, in such a state of sorry affairs, borrowed or imitated modernization can hardly help us, in achieving the goal of autarky, which is otherwise indispensable for every country to remain truly independent in the world politics.

Besides the social traits indicating the Pakistani society being influenced by the new world tendencies, another discernible aspect is relevant to its inception. Created in 1947 bifurcated in the eastern and the western parts, Pakistan could be classified as a truncated state torn apart by the partition of the British India. With meager defense and economic potentials, 2% in armaments and 1.5% in capital out of the whole of the subcontinent's share left behind by the British, this infant state had no choice left except economic and military dependence abroad for its very survival. Inevitably, therefore, Pakistan joined the western-capitalist bloc

led by the United States of America. The first Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan's maiden visit to the United States in 1950 provided ample evidence of this country's inevitable reliance on that super power. To make Pakistan more attractive to the western-secular world, he proclaimed in the U.S. Congress that Pakistan's creation was indeed not to realize a theocratic and retarded polity, rather a modern, progressive and democratic Islamic homeland for its people.⁴ Thus, Liaquat Ali did his best to bring home to the Americans in particular, that Pakistan was a country having an inherent intention to boost up its development under the 'umbrella' of the New World. He did not hesitate in mentioning furthermore the importance of democracy for this new state. And to rank it among the civilized nations of the world, he extended co-operation of the people and government of Pakistan to the freedom-loving democracies of the world.⁵ Prime Minister Liaquat Ali was eventually successful in acquiring military and economic aid for Pakistan from the United States. Liaquat confidently believed that such assistance was a good omen for Pakistan and would definitely help it in strengthening the bonds of fraternity with the 'Free World'.⁶

Globalization and its Impact upon Pakistan's Economy

Pakistan is located right from the beginning in the fold of the western bloc created as a consequence of the Cold War. Mostly on that account, it was under the impact of global economic institutions since its creation. There were at least four main sources, which provide us with the clue for such inclinations of Pakistan, rendering its politics subservient to globalization.

1. Multinational Corporations (MNCs)
2. International Financial Institutions (IFI's)
3. Communication Revolution
4. Marketing and Advertisement

Multinational Corporations

Multinational Corporations, which are also known as transnational corporations, are undermining Pakistan's economic resources. These MNCs, like, IBM, Sony, ICI, Mercedes Benz, Nike, Daimler Chrysler AG, Deutsche Bank AG, Novartis AG, LM Ericson, Shell, Johnson and Johnson, McDonald, KFC, Pizza Hut, Duncan Donut etc are such companies which have captured the most of the business in Pakistan. Such companies are well equipped and well experienced and highly business oriented. Their styles of marketing and advertisement have clearly taken over the Pakistani local industry. Owing to the monopoly of these companies poverty and unemployment are touching astronomical figures in Pakistan. The MNCs are not armed physically but a real force which is pressing the local business and industry to an alarming level.⁷ McDonald, KFC and Pizza Hut have really become a status symbol for the masses of Pakistan. Most of the people are obliged to visit these food chains as their children compel them to go there. The play-lands have been made in McDonald and KFC, attract most of the children. The taste of these restaurants is only attracting to younger generation; that is why the annual income of these MNCs is very high in Pakistan. The employees of these multinational companies do not prefer to quit their jobs without solid reasons mainly because they are offered a handsome salary package. If these corporations terminate any employee, his fate always hangs in balance since he cannot find a similar attractive salary package elsewhere in the local market. Consequently, the high handedness of these employers negatively promotes unemployment among the skilled and educated youth, which, after being frustrated, plan to go abroad in search of jobs. This factor has an unending strain on Pakistan's manpower in terms of 'brain drain'

Another important factor of globalization is jeopardizing the cultural values of this country. The alien culture introduced by these MNCs is in no way in conformity with the home cultural heritage. For instance, the food restaurants are full of young boys and girls wearing trousers and shirts alike. It has become very difficult to recognize a boy or girl by their external appearance. A long ponytail can be seen borne by young

boys. In a traditional society like Pakistan, some fast food restaurants have dance clubs where boys do not hesitate dancing with their paramours. This is all due to these MINCs and communication revolution. The wiring of the world has inter-connected the people in a way that it has become well nigh impossible to recognize whether one is sitting in Pakistan or in developed world like America or Europe.

International Financial Institutions

International financial institutions (IFIs) are another source, undermining the economy of Pakistan and leaving everlasting impact on Pakistani politics. The World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) are two major IFIs giving credit to Pakistan in different perspectives. In fact, these two (WB, IMF) financial institutions are puppets of America. Their strings are moved by the high-ups in the 'New World'. The conditions put upon Pakistan for relieving aid and loan from WB, IMF or from any other consortium country are more or less having same agenda, comprises of eliminating terrorism, peace in Kashmir and Afghanistan, signing CTBT and restoration of democracy.⁸ The conditionality of IMF and WB has always been tough for Pakistan. In fact, history of relationship between IMF and Pakistan gives a gloomy picture. The IMF has made many false promises with Pakistan in the backdrop of economic assistance. For example in the past 12 years Pakistan could receive only 3.427 billion dollars out of total 7.635 billion dollars promised by the IMF.⁹

It is all due to the incapability of the policy makers who could not cope with the agreed financial and fiscal commitments. So, Pakistan could receive only 775 million dollars "*approved under the structural Adjustment Facility between 1988 and 1991.*"¹⁰ During the period of 1993-96, Pakistan got only 290 million dollars out of the total amount of 849 million dollars. For 1997-2000 IMF approved an assistance of 1.558 billion dollars, but Pakistan received only 387 million dollars. In the

same way, from 1998 to 2001 under the Enhanced Structural Adjustment and Extended Facility, the government of Pakistan got 130.6 million dollars. It is said in IMF circles that Pakistan used to go back on its promises and commitments after getting the first tranche. That is why; Pakistan is considered a 'broken reed' in the IMF. Despite all these hard facts, however, Pakistan is continuously taking economic assistance from IMF under hard conditionality. In such precarious conditions, the national trade and industry cannot bloom to make any considerable economic headway. Similarly, the regulatory capability in Pakistan is equally in a 'doll-drum', making extraction of taxes very difficult. The mode of tax collection is so ambiguous and complex that most people prefer evading taxes. At present, Pakistan is already under a debt burden of 38 billion dollars. In spite of that, it needs more loans for alleviating poverty, restructuring the Central Board of Revenue (CBR), upgrading the banking system, and system-structure remodeling including revitalizing the local bodies. Whereas, on the contrary, the whole lending process is non-transparent. Funds are misused or drained out for corruption, which has become an order of the day in Pakistan. Acquiring more loans tantamount to Pakistan's yielding more to the IMF strings.¹¹ Unwillingly, therefore, Pakistan has got to confront price-hike in response to the pressures of the same economic lords abroad. It is quite common IMF demand that the petroleum prices be boost as up in a Pakistan every three months. With the result, the policy makers on their part are under tremendous pressures to get the national economy out of recession. Increase in petroleum prices inevitably strains transportation. The fares go up, allowing an unbearable rise in the cost of consumer goods. When the purchasing capacity of the consumer is declined, the pace of production is slowed down. And when petroleum was main item exported for development, it was equally the most crucial stumbling block in the industrial output. Inevitably, as such, thousands of industrial

units in Pakistan were declared as 'sick units', causing a persistent decline in industrialization. Whereas, in contrast, the very worldwide globalization (or what we termed interconnectedness) is accelerating the imports of foreign goods. This is more perceivable because the local consumer is relatively more attracted by the imported goods for his knowing well their high quality-control standards. People in Pakistan, mostly buy electronics of Sony, Panasonic, Samsung or Philips etc., that belong to Japan and China and definitely those goods are costly as compare to the electronics goods produced in Pakistan. The consumer is very much sensitive about quality, so he always buys quality products on high rates.

Coming to the first point, price hike that is infact an indirect tax upon the poor. It lessens the purchasing power of the people that ultimately affects business sector and consequently the country as a whole. Joseph Stiglitz, a professor of economics at Stanford University, a chief economist and vice president of the WB from 1997 to 2000, says, theoretically, the fund assists democratic countries but in practice it imposes its policies upon the poor countries dictatorially and unilaterally.¹² In the same way, WB is raping Pakistan's economy on a large scale. Once again lack of political insight and wisdom in our government has pushed Pakistan into the quagmire of dependency. Pakistan has become a parasite of the Fund and the WB. Owing to the malfeasance of funds by political and non-political elites has really damaged Pakistan's economy beyond the limits. The party interests and defence expenditures have depleted our economy spendthriftly. So, the payment Pakistan makes to the WB are greater than the disbursements made by the Bank.¹³

The WB and the IMF have been doing their best to assist Pakistan's economy since 1990. The glowing table will show the reality that IMF or WB is not a solution of our problem but part of the problem.¹⁴

KEY ECONOMIC INDICATORS

TABLE

Indicator	1988-89	1994-95	2000-01 Estimate
Total debt	Rs. 698 billion	Rs. 2024 billion	Rs. 3980 billion
	Rs. 770 billion	Rs. 1882 billion	Rs. 3315 billion
Per capita income	\$388	\$508	\$392
GDP in dollar terms	\$40 billion	\$60.94 billion	\$5 billion
Total debt as % of GDP	90.6%	107.5%	120%
External debt to F.E. earnings	260%	370%	415%
Trade deficit	\$2.573%M	\$3.704M	\$2.000M
Workers remittances	\$1.897M	\$1.866M	\$1.000M
Foreign direct investment	\$200M	\$1.529M	\$350M
Population below poverty line	17%	NA	Above 34%

The table exposes the so-called fake credibility of IMF as a catalyst to ameliorate Pakistan's economy. Dr. Ikramul Haq rightly says that the

IMF is going to be a new East India Company in Pakistan.¹⁵ He further explains the intentions of IMF, based on taking over Pakistan's revenue administration. There are certain analogies found in the proceedings of IMF and the East India Company of the sub-continent. The method of revenue collection is "*oppressive, tyrannical, unjust and anti-people*".¹⁶ Like East India Company, the IMF has destroyed the local industry in Pakistan by introducing the foreign goods, as Central Board of Revenue is withholding billions of rupees to show exporters that IMF agenda is successful. Thus, Pakistan's local industry's future is hanging in balance alongwith export industry's total failure to fulfill the needs of the people. The products of developed world are filling the vacuum. Therefore, the assistance of IMF and WB has paralyzed Pakistan's economy. Both IMF and WB are doing their best to capture the economic markets of India, Pakistan and Central Asia. The MNCs are serving the purpose of developed world through aggressive marketing and advertisement in the above-mentioned economic markets.

In the pretext of above-mentioned realities of IMF and WB it can be derived that these can never boost Pakistan's economy. The industrialization is not possible in the state of dependantia. This is the real aim of IMF and WB in Pakistan. Industrialization in Pakistan will definitely curtail the influence of IMF and WB. So, these IFIs do not let Pakistan at its own resources. IMF and WB will never declare Pakistan as a defaulter or bankrupt. It is all against their nefarious goals. Even a common man has indulged in loan activities. Different International Banks in Pakistan are giving loans to public employees to furnish their homes with computer, furniture etc. The City Bank, Bank Alfiah, American Express Bank have introduced certain schemes of car financing, house building finance scheme etc. Different credit cards are also in circulation in Pakistan. Many individuals are using these credit cards as status symbols like Visa Credit Card, City Bank Credit Card and ANZ Credit Card. The interest rate is considerable on these cards. In this way, people have caught in interest web and it is almost impossible to get out him from such loan taking activities. Heavy interest rate hardly allows any individual to get out himself from loans. This dismal saga is undermining our social sector

through the Communication Revolution. The norms and values of our people have been extinct in the pursuit of so-called modernization.

Communication Revolution

The 21st century is a communication age. Internet, Cyber space, E-mail, Fax, and multimedia extension have increased the interconnectedness of world on a rapid scale. Information technology is a real source of political entities to get closer to each other. The scientific developments and technological advancements have made the whole world a complex amalgam of different political and economic systems. The **new world information order** (NWIO) is unilaterally spreading the Western and European propaganda against the Asian and African countries. The Communication Revolution is successfully serving the purpose of developed world. The cable network is predominant with Western and European channels alongwith Indian Channels The Star Movies, Star Plus, Star Sports, Star Gold, Channel [V] Fox TV, HBO, MTV Zee Cinema, Zee News, Zee TV, ATN, Music Channel, CNN, CMM, BBC, Action, SABTV, SAHARA, India, METRO, NATIONAL, NEWS etc. Punjabi Music, B4U Music, Super Sports, Sony, UTM, AXN, SNTV, MM, me. TV, Punjabi Lashkara, Jain, and ESPN are such channels, which are attracting a lot of Pakistani youth and successfully undermining our culture and civilization. Pakistan is trying to compete with Indian and Western channels through Indus Vision, Anjuman, TPC, PTV World and PTV. All Pakistani Channels are really mockery of western channels. Few Islamic programs like Iqra, Hayya Alalflah, Fehmul Quran, Tafheem-i-Din etc., are not protecting the Muslim ummah in following the western styles and fashions. Thanks to communication out-burst, Pakistani songs have also influenced. Globalization and its forces have deeply affected the individuals in Pakistan. Ibrar-ul-Haq is a well known popular singer, composes his own songs in a befitting manner. He beautifully exposes the influence of IMF and WB on the economy of Pakistan in his Punjabi songs. The Punjabi

songs expose that reality which globalization has in its inner concealed plans. Ibrar sings in a satiric way:

“Darling come on and sit on my cycle I will travel with you in the whole world after taking loan from IMF. I will also make a request to World Bank for our shopping, then will enjoy in cradle of love and lost in dreams of our great journey.”

So, it shows how our social values have been affected by IFIs and the Communication network.

Marketing and Advertisement

The marketing and advertisements are two powerful tools for selling products and the mass media is a real power behind these tools. These tools have never been as much effective ever before as now, thanks to mass media revolution. Pepsi Cola, Coca Cola, McDonald's, Levis, and Nike are such MNCs that are employing mass media for its purpose. Even in PTV an advertisement of Pepsi is shown in a very disgusting way that really distorts our civilization. In the advertisement Shahid Afridi a celebrated cricketer of Pakistan, comes out of the ground after playing a good game. He looks on Pepsi relishly on his one side then he hears a noise of young girls and stares upon them. In the meantime he loses his of Pepsi. In the same way an ad of sprite drinks shows that a young male model is drinking sprite and two young girls are looking on him, standing in their home's window. After drinking his sprite, male model looks on girls and makes a symbol of pride and happiness for taking that drink. All these examples clearly mention that how MNCs are utilizing the power of mass media, not only to grab economic markets but also destroying social system which is sine-quo-non to built an integrated society.

Globalization and its Impact upon Pakistan's Social System

Pakistan is a country where poverty, diseases and population are increasing leaps and bounds. Most of the people are frustrated due to unemployment and corruption in the society. The deserving individuals face crisis and undeserving enjoy luxuries. This dismal picture compels

the youth to adopt negative ways and means to equal themselves to those who are earning under the table. So, hard conditionality of IMF and WB are causing hike in petroleum prices that affect all other consumer goods. The process of down sizing is creating panic and distrust among people in the country. It is also happening in the instance of IMF and WB. So, unemployment, diseases, and inflation are destroying Pakistan's social, economic and cultural domains. The show off culture has destructed the essence of our ideology. The system of caste, creed and status has diminished the respect of other individuals in Pakistan.

Robert D. Kaplan visited Pakistan and narrates deplorable condition of Pakistan's political, social and economic system. He writes in his "The ends of the Earth" that Pakistan is a land of Asian sub-continent where theory and practice live apart.¹⁷ Pakistan has officially an Islamic ideology but black market and whiskey is found everywhere. In this country, people are living in posh areas but unable to get water when needed. According to Kaplan, he had made ten trips to Pakistan and always found "*Some things were always getting better, and many getting worse.*"¹⁸ He explains that how globalization pierces into Pakistan's social, political and economic systems. Luxury hotels, restaurants with power generators can be seen in Pakistan in different developed cities.¹⁹ Shops of personal computers, mobile phones, fax machines and Kodak colours with high speed one hour developing and printing service exist everywhere in Pakistan. It shows that western consumer products have more value and credibility in this part of the world. It means developed world has more pragmatic market in Pakistan where people respond to foreign goods in a style. A country, which is rich in computers and agriculture, lacks in electricity and water respectively. Pakistan is a densely populated heterogeneous state where parochial and ethnic interests are dominant over national interests, seems to be a Yugoslavia in future. "*Pakistan was... An idea before it was a country, and whether it is a nation remains doubtful even today.*"²⁰ The political instability in Pakistan is more as compared to India. Praetorianism in Pakistan has been a constant feature of its political system. Military dictatorship displaces the democratic institutions in the name of Islam. Civil democracy also beguiles the masses in the name of Islam. The political

parties only articulate ethnic and regional interests rather national interests. "*Christina Lamb painstakingly documents the waiting for Allah: Pakistan's struggle for democracy, even under democratic rule, the army is the only force of stability and the Punjabis (the largest ethnic group, who dominate the army) are the colonizers of today*".²¹ **Socially**, Pakistan is a backward country. Sind's biggest city, Karachi is deprived of water and electricity. In 1980, a civil war was going on in Karachi between Mohajirs (migrates from India), and local Sindhis, and Pathans. They are all Muslims but fighting on ethnic grounds. This gang warfare prolonged for more than ten years and undermined the democratic process in the country. Therefore, such a society that is based on different social problems has least chances to get advantage of globalization. Physically, Pakistan is an agrarian society. An agrarian society needs an efficient and disciplined irrigation system. It is said that 65 percent land of Pakistan is contingent on irrigation. Unfortunately, deforestation in Pakistan is going on rapidly and population increasing at the rate of 3 percent per annum. So, the resources are cutting down and until 2010, half of the resource will have been extinct owing to the population explosion in the country. The WB has already mentioned, that salinity and water logging are increasingly deteriorating Pakistan's soil. Canals are poorly maintained and drainage system is not proper. Kalabagh Dam is indispensable to meet the requirements of the increasing population but people in North Western province and Sind are protesting against the building of dam on the Indus River. The people of these provinces are of the opinion that the construction of Kalabagh Dam will only favour the Punjabis. Thus, social and physical issues are interrelated and causing a real damage to Pakistan's economic development. Economic development which is a direct corollary of political development which is increased secularization of cultural increase, differentiation of structures, of political system and increased participation of the people in national politics. Therefore such political development is extinct in Pakistan due to the dysfunctional political system, based on overlapping of political and non-political elites. In Pakistan political crisis are very severe, no civil or military forces has so far guided the country in a right direction. Hence democracy is in respite. The environmental depletion

and depletion of economic resources have aggravated the situation severely due to such sorry state of affairs, Pakistan is unable to cope with globalization. It has to adopt precautionary political and economic measures before stepping into any modern global paradigm.

Pakistan is based upon three types of individuals that are parochial, subjects and participants. Parochial are such individuals who have little or no awareness about national politics. Subjects include such individuals who know about functions of government but do not know how to influence those functions. Participants are the individuals who form political parties, mobilize people in the form of interest groups, and affect government policies. In Pakistan, parochial and subjects types of individuals are in abundance while participant are rare. Pakistan is passing through a period of political isolation owing to its baseless foreign policy infrastructure, after nuclear explosions in May 1998. It is quite ridiculous that without increased participation of the peoples and increased secularization of institutions, a country can meet the challenges of globalization. Absence of liberal democracy and immature institutions are such indicators, which give a categorical status of our country in the global politics. Human development index speaks volumes about the real state of governance in Pakistan. It is absolutely deplorable.

The dreams of political stability, social integration, industrialization and good governance can only come when we recognize the real indicators of political development that has been mentioned in the proceeding leaves. The forthcoming discussion is based upon the aftermaths of Globalization alongwith rescue operation consists of suggestions to meet the challenges of globalization in the 21st century.

Pakistan and Aftermaths of Globalization

Globalization is an enchanting shallow slogan of better life through human rights, alleviation of poverty, rise of women rights, health and security etc. the reality lies in cooperating with foe and friend alike. The selected morality in the developed world is really depreciating the peace process at the world stage. Developing world is being deprived of its

internal sovereignty by the developed world. The IFIs are imposing hard conditional ties over poor countries to make them dependent upon the developed world. After the disintegration of erstwhile Soviet Union, America has emerged as a soul economic power. It has misbalanced the world stage for the time being. China is emerging as an economic giant and threatening American economic monopoly in the world. Pakistan shall have to face the challenges of globalization with its internal integration, economic nationalism and increased individual participation.²² Globalization is a reality in the 21st century and no one can deny its invasion on this planet, some opine that it is the new name of imperialism, other say that communication revolution has created it to globalize the western culture.²³ The fact is that, it (Globalization) is a mechanism by which developed world are taking benefits in the economic market of the world owing to its monopoly in consumer goods.²⁴ Therefore, third world is lacking behind in manufacturing, such goods at home and is importing them from the world outside.²⁵ In this inequality of production and misappropriation in export and imports between the developed and developing world is alarming.²⁶ The prevalent conditions cannot be handled through orthodox means but pragmatism is the call of the day.²⁷ The developed world has to take the positive steps to resist the unilateral act of globalization and it is only possible through increased participation of the local population in the national and international politics. This wake up call may reduce the unilateral influence of globalization and can create a world free from terror, megalothymia and violence.²⁸ Pakistan being a polarized society has to work hard to cope with the on going rush of globalization.²⁹ It is a wishful thinking to say that one can escape from the sway of globalization since integration of our nation is a prerequisite to make dikes against the unilateral aspect of western globalization that only gives benefits to the “core” rather to “periphery”.³⁰ The whole description emphatically reveals that globalization is dividing the world digitally and not unifying the same. Infact, **Microthymia** that is to consider itself inferior from others, is really nucleus of all our problems. In Pakistan, most of the people are victim of this disease.

Developing world is doing its best to rescue itself from the dangers of globalization. Pakistan is a country where a slow process is going on

to face the challenges of globalization. Benjamin R. Barber opines that McWorld, with its technological and scientific developments intend to liberate human race from prejudice, ignorance, and injustice that consequently will "*liberate men and women and democratize their social institutions.*"³¹ Information technology is giving immense power to the people at large by which they can attain more freedom.³² It is said that information and communication revolutions are real resources of democracy.³³

Globalization and Rescue Operation

Pakistan has to develop its institutions, which should be efficient and accountable for their acts. Our country lacks accountability and transparency in decision making that assure the system's pragmatism and durability. Therefore, Pakistan has to establish such institutions that could hold accountability and transparency in their working. In this way, people will start relying upon national institutions. Another way to counter the forces of globalization is to undertake financial and institutional development and world banks should assist us in rebuilding these sectors alongwith medium term strategy to alleviate poverty. We should also make it clear to the World Bank that Pakistan is not in the position of debt servicing at the moment, thanks to the dishonest past governments. It will not only reschedule our debts but also reduce its burdens to take a sigh of relief.³⁴ This breathing time will definitely give a time to our economic infrastructure to review economic policy in a congenial environment. The UNHCR has adopted Pakistan sponsored resolution on globalization.³⁵

Pakistan calls for a fair access to knowledge and technology, end of discriminatory policies of at international level. Basic financing in developing world will be an effective relief to the most heavily indebted countries.³⁶ Equity, stability and equitable global trade rules etc. should be collective responsibility of international community to share the benefit of globalization. So, here is the chance for Pakistan to convince the international community that Pakistan needs benefit out of globalization and has vision to halt the disadvantages of the same through its national consensus.

National consensus is panacea of all ills and can determine the fate of any country. Pakistan is a polarized society, has many linguistic, ethnic, parochial and religious divisions. This polarization undermines the national consensus and leads the people towards self-interests. Consequently, disintegration destabilizes the country as a whole. Present government has banned two extremist religious parties "Laskar-i-Jhangvi" and "Sipah-e-Muhammad", and warned the other religious parties to stop killings in the name of religion.³⁷

In Pakistan, all services should recruit people on merit, rather on "Safarish" (recommendation).³⁸ In public banks, talented people should be appointed to get desirable results.³⁹ We also need a rational tax system, devolution of expenditure, and authority from center to provinces and further to district and tehsil levels.⁴⁰ In this way, we can attain the goal of economic developments.⁴¹ Pakistan lacks quality, durability and finishing that matters a lot for a consumer in the economic market. So, Pakistan has to produce quality goods at affordable prices.

Economic nationalism is another factor that can really, rescue Pakistan from any disadvantages of globalization. It means that most of the consumer goods should be produced at home and only unavoidable items should be exported and introducing incentives and low tariff and custom duties in importing heavy machineries should boost local industry. Soft loans should be given to the industrialists to install industry and government should also perform some activities for the well being of the people. Infact, modern democracy persists that only economic development can make a country prosperous. Kojève opines that while having a homogenous or a universal society, it may be built upon two economic pillars.⁴² Human beings can police the world through economic development. The concept of mastery that comes from monopolizing over technology and scientific methods.⁴³ The second pillar of economic development is based upon liberal democracy that is popular in the whole world.⁴⁴ But both economic pillars of the modern state are dividing the world into master and slave categories, are contending to each other rather than having any harmonizing effect upon human beings. The Megalothymia, the part of thymos is more prevalent

than ever before. Kojève's opinion that modern liberal democracy is successfully synthesizing the morality of master, slave equally, and ending all differences against each other. This opinion is based upon idealism as America intends to police the world through its National Missile Defense and Missile Defense programs.⁴⁵ All these American policies are a real threat to the security of South East Asian Nations. Under the umbrella of globalization America is looking for its penetration into the South East Asian Nations. China, India, Russia do not like American influence in the region without their role. In other words, regional powers demand their share but America resists sharing the position with any one. In such sorry state of affairs how we can levy the opinion of Kojève that a universal state can exist and end of history will come into existence with liberal democracy.

Pakistan keeping in view all modern developments has to take firm steps that could sustain its existence against the ongoing rush of globalization. Here are the measures that Pakistan has to opt for its survival in a global society:

- Increased participation of the people in national and international affairs is indispensable. It needs devolution of powers to the grassroots level.
- Microthymia should be eliminated through literacy and enlightenment.
- Secularization of institutions means that public or private institutions should not interfere with irrational approaches in solving any issue. All decisions should be taken rationally.
- Specialization of functions is a prerequisite in tackling the ongoing rush of globalization. It means that every individual or group of individual should perform their function according to their propensity and not interfere with other matters.
- Increase in literacy rate is sine-quo-non to achieve the above-mentioned objectives. Literacy rate of Pakistan is deplorable. It should be enhanced upto the level of other Asian and East Asian countries like Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Singapore and Maldives. It

is regrettable to say that Pakistan is using only 2-3 percent of its gross national product on education during 1992-2000. More than 70% of GNP is used on defense, therefore results are imminent. Pakistan should increase its interest in education sector. More budgetary allocations on education are necessary to attain a high literacy rate. According to government resources 36% of population is literate.

- Health is the most important thing that can counter globalization. An unhealthy society cannot cope with the ongoing pace of social, political and economic developments. Health and sanitation condition in Pakistan is adverse. Most of the people do not have access to clean water.
- Structural stratification is needed on a large scale to sort out the functions of each department and all such functions should be performed accordingly.
- Economic nationalism should be encouraged to increase love for local goods and services. Favorable balance of trade and balance of payments are the pillars of any economy in the world that can only be achieved through reducing imports and increasing exports of Pakistan. Pakistan has an edge in agriculture and textile sectors. These sectors should be employed properly and due care is needed in these sectors.
- Installing industries in rural areas should restrict individual mobilization from rural to urban areas.
- Recognition of minority rights is also needed to achieve national consensus. In our constitution, objective resolution and principles to policy grant and protect the minority rights. The pragmatic form of such clauses should be observed.
- Internal integration can only be achieved through national consensus and protection of minority rights.
- End of sectarianism has become the call of the day to observe national unity and stability in the whole country.

- Distribution of wealth to the grassroots levels is necessary to harmonize the demands of people and effective distribution of Zakat system is also required to avoid any malfeasance of funds.
- Decentralization with centralization is needed to harmonize the whole country for example; American society has a decentralized system with a strong federation, in the same way Pakistan has to improve a system of devolution of power with a strong center to implement a uniform system in the country.
- Independence of judiciary is a prerequisite to enforce a successful and legitimate political form of government in the country.
- End of praetoriansim is need of the hour for the development of political and democratic institutions in Pakistan. It is not possible without or in the absence of good leadership.
- Transparency in decision-making and accountability on the part of political and non-political elite is needed to have a stable political system that can counter the forces of globalization successfully.
- National interest should be dominant over personal interest. In Pakistan most of the political and non-political elite prefer their personal or party interests to the national interests. It impairs the process of national integration.
- Fundamental rights of the people, especially freedom of expression, speech and assembly should be conferred upon individuals by the state to groom their personality and talent which is an asset for nation building.
- Nation and state building should go hand in hand. In Pakistan hardly any government or leader could achieve nation building. Ayub Khan, Zia-ul-Haq, Nawaz Shrief, Benazir Bhutto all did state building instead of nation building.
- Eternal vigilance is also needed on the part of any individual to save the liberties of people.

- Good political, economic and civic governments are a prerequisite to counter the forces of globalization.
- Removal of gender discrimination, to get advantage from half the population, which usually live in the state of abeyance.
- Governance leads to Sustainable Human Development (SHD), which means to fulfill the demand and needs of the present generations without endangering the needs and demands of the future generations.

Globalization and the Policies of the Present Government

Pervaiz Musharraf, the president and the chief executive of Pakistan is very much vigilant to counter the forces of globalization. In October 12, 1999, he assumed powers, since then, he has been talking about good governance, devolution of power to the grassroots level and accountability alongwith transparency in decision making. On August 14, 2001, the president has practically imposed the plan of local governments with a strong federation. Rationalization of authority has also been implemented with the elimination of bureaucratic red-tapism. The powers of bureaucracy have been handed over to local representatives who have been directly elected by the people throughout the country. The policies of the present government are seriously conducted to counter the forces of globalization. The long term economic planning may boost crisis in the country but it will benefit in the long run. Distribution of wealth is encouraged and concentration of wealth being discouraged to check the monopoly of the feudalists and industrialists. Sectarianism and religious ethnicity have also been condemned on pragmatic footings. Let's hope for the best that Pakistan may get out of crisis, exacerbated by the phenomenon of globalization. The present government's policies are based on having good economic relations with all neighbouring and other countries of the world on the basis of equality.

CONCLUSION

Globalization is a growing interconnectedness of sovereign states. It has ended the boundaries of nation thanks to communication revolution. It implies that social, political and economic activities are going beyond the limit of control. The patterns of interaction are increasing on a rapid scale and affecting the passions of the people living in distant areas of the globe. Multilateral corporations are doing trade in goods and services on one hand and selling arms of mass destruction and global trafficking in narcotics on the other. It means globalization is a flow of goods and services and connection across nation states it is more than that. It denotes a significant shift in the spatial form of, relations, interaction and the exercise of power. The globalization came into vogue in the second half of the 20th century. The end of the Second World War in 1945, gave rise to America as the super power with a sound economy. Russia also emerged as a super power in 1949 after its nuclear detonation in the same year. America found NATO to contain communism in the world and Russia made Warsaw Pact in mid 1950s to contain capitalism. Since 1970s a cold war was going on between America and Russia. Both countries were manufacturing arms and had indulged in an arms race that later on proved a wild goose chase. America started reviewing its foreign policy after its successive failures in Panama, Vietnam and Granada. So America called for detente that means a relaxation of tensions between socialist and capitalist blocs. Infact America needs a breathing space for having a fresh look over its foreign policy. Russia invaded Afghanistans, but had to withdraw its forces in 1988. In 1991 Russia was disintegrated into fifteen independent states and made Common-wealth of Independent States (CIS). The disintegration of Soviet Union ended the cold war. The Warsaw Pact became defunct and NATO became more effective than ever before. It is the real start of globalization. America started considering itself a sole superpower of the world so it utilized its resources and convinced its allies to have a free trade and liberal economy in the world. It seems ridiculous that America resists in giving visas to the Asians and talk about a universal and global society. Infact America and its allies only want to grab economic markets of the world by holding Megalothymia of thymos. American selective morality in

Afghanistan, Iraq, Kosovo, Palestine, Macedonia and Kashmir exposes clearly the aims of the Yankees in the world politics. The seeds of discriminating against the poor world cannot harvest a crop of globalization. Pakistan is fully dependent upon the IFIs and other consortium countries: all these IFIs are puppets of America that it uses to black-mail the third world by their hard conditions. Pakistan has to utilize its comparative advantages in the domains of wheat, agriculture and textile. The imports should be reduced except the life saving drugs and oil etc. Pakistan can combat the forces of globalization through policy of fixation and the present government has introduced debt exit plan. Good governance cannot be achieved without employing all the capabilities of the system. Socialism, capitalism, communism and all other isms always exist according to their civilization and culture. So Pakistan has to utilize its capabilities effectively to have desirable results. In Pakistan parochialism, religious ethnicity, and linguistic crisis have undermined the true sense of our religion and consequently of the system. Ijtehad is the essence of Islamic sources of law that is hardly ever utilized by any ruler or premier of Pakistan. Equality, fraternity, tolerance, sharing powers, consultation, protecting and assisting the poor world are the seed beds of globalization, not existing in the western democracy but in a universal law that is law of Islam, established by a real Omnipotent Who fulfils all definitions of a sovereign. Therefore, Quran is a real liberator for human beings, discussing all pros and cons of the whole universe in a befitting manner. Not only the political scientists but also scientists of natural sciences are intentionally ignoring the "Real Liberator" and groping in the dark. If America or any other super power is really serious in having a global society, it has to follow the pristine cannons of Islam. To achieve homogeneity, peace and equality in the world for the best interest of Adam one has to consult the "Real Liberator" otherwise world has to face injustice and everlasting lacuna between haves and have nots that will lead to desperation and war. That ultimately causes destruction of this planet through man made destructive nuclear weapons. That will be a real end of history. The present capitalist system has seeds of destruction in itself.

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The Politics of History in the British India : On Some Contours of the Historiography of Colonial India

ILYAS A. CHATTHA

South Asia has been perceived in different ways in historiography. Three major themes colonialism, nationalism and communalism have often been dominant in modern Indian historiography. Until recently, little had been written about the various approaches and themes of Indian historiography. My focus in this paper will be on the construction of the historical claims of various historians.¹ I will show a genealogical investigation of modern historiography, atleast in the case of colonial India. I will not only discuss the nationalists' obsession with history in the nineteenth century, but will also examine a dissenting perspective on the real absence of historical literature and thinking until the emergence of Islam in India. In the last section of this essay, I go on to highlight the various historiographical strands in which the Pakistan movement and M.A. Jinnah have been perceived by the Indian, Pakistani and British historians.

The Partition of India was arguably the most important event in the history of the twentieth century South Asia. It fundamentally transformed the life and the very map of twentieth century India. The British divided and relinquished India on 15 August 1947. On this date, a largely peaceful struggle for Independence came to an end amidst political and social cataclysm. The British, who gave India political and administrative

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unity and ruled undivided India for more than two centuries, allocated only a few weeks to transfer of power and consummately failed to control the horrific communal violence and mass migration that accompanied the birth of India and Pakistan. The partition of an administrative, economic and cultural unit, without natural boundaries demarcating the areas, was bound to have a deep impact on the life of the States and individuals. Pakistan began its history stained with disputes with India over the division of assets and the waters of the River Indus as well as by the administrative difficulties and personal experience of the millions of destitute refugees. Both countries have been at loggerheads since their inception, particularly over the unfinished agenda of control over Kashmir. Today the lethal legacy of 1947 is looming larger than ever before, not only at the periphery and regional level but also at the international level as well. The beginning of new millennium is an appropriate time for looking at the past and contemplating the coming years.

Something along the lines of 'historians' varied attempts to explain the proceedings of the partition of 1947 reflect the broader contours of South Asian historiography, which has been divided by three major theoretical emphasis: colonialist, nationalist and subalterns.

Early moorings of colonialist historical writings focused on the rise of the British power in India and the administrative achievements of the British officials and the Viceroys.² Colonialist historians' versions of historiography differed from each other in the degree of their emphasis on the role of individual leaders or elite organizations and institutions. In this period historians serviced imperialism. Their role remained as the promoters and they projected the cause of the imperialism. The rulers granted them privilege in order to make sure of their support for the Raj. Their interpenetrations underwent considerable change over a time.

However, the colonialist historical writing helps us to know more about the structure of colonial state, the operation of its various organs in certain historical circumstances, the nature of the alignment of classes, which sustained it. And, above all, it helps to understand the ideological

character of historiography itself. In this school of interpretation the history of the subcontinent has been incorporated into the history of Britain and has been dominated by the activities of British proconsuls and knights-errant. As James Mill said, 'Indian history' forms the 'Portion of the British history'.³ An Indian historian G. Pandey correctly points out that Indian historiography is dominated either by 'the story of the British Empire in India' or the career of the Indian nation-state'.⁴ Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal say: 'South Asian (Colonialist writing-history) history had in some ways been insular than the rest of the world.'⁵

However, colonialist historiography fails to understand and assess the role of mass movements. The bankruptcy of this sort of historiography is clearly exposed when it is called upon to explain such phenomena as the revolt of 1857 and the anti-Rowlatt upsurge of 1919. Further, colonialist historians define Indian or Muslim nationalism as a sort of 'learning process'. They asserted that a backward county like India could modernize itself only, if the British equipped the 'rude' people of India to govern themselves. Lord Macaulay once stated: 'the proudest day in British history was when the British rulers of India, having equipped the people of India to govern themselves, withdraw'.⁶ Ashis Nandy describes this colonialist historiography a 'second colonization'.⁷

By looking at past, in India, historiographical tradition had not been developed prior to the emergence of Islam. In ancient India, with some exceptions, the Hindus did not produce any work that might be called historical thinking.⁸ History was the memory of the glorious deeds of one's ancestors. Alberuni observed that 'the Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of things: they are very careless in relating the chronological succession of their kings, and when they are pressed for information and are at a loss, not knowing what to say, they invariably take to tale-telling'.⁹ James Mill, the author of the voluminous *History of British India* completed in 1817, pronounced it as a self-evident truth that Indians were grossly lacking in the historical sensibility, their literature devoid of any historical works.¹⁰ He stated that

'rude' nations were always deficient in historical reasoning. Around this time, Hegel advanced the idea that India had no history. 'Absolute Being is presented here (in India) as in the ecstatic state of a dreaming condition'; and the inhabitants of India, added Hegel, "could not wake up from the 'magic somnambulant sleep' into which they had fallen".¹¹ Karl Marx, in turn, thought India was characterised by an undignified, and negative life'. In his this view, the lack of historical sensibility was equated with the very lack of history: His verdict on Indian history was that such a thing did not exist: 'Indian history has no history at all; at least it should be not known history. What we call its history is but the history of the successive intruders who found their empires on the passive basis of that unresisting and unchanging society'.¹² In ancient India nothing much is written: invaders came and left, empires were toppled and installed, the arbitrariness of the monarch was replaced. The Orientalist scholar, Arthur MacDonell, observed that early India had no history because it was never made.¹³

On the other hand, the Muslim historical work on Indian history is commonly known. The classical heritage of Islam remains external to Indian history. Islamic civilisation has well-developed traditions of historical inquiry. The emergence of Islam was a rudiment factor of a historical sensibility in India. The Muslims produced historical chronicles.

Late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries nationalist historians developed the idea that most of India's problems were because of the British rule. They were firmly of the opinion that imperialist history was irredeemably contaminated. The British accounts of the Indian past were produced to serve colonial interests, establish the purported superiority of Western civilization, and create rifts between various Indian communities, whether constituted on grounds of religion and cast, ethnicity, or linguistic affiliation. The study of history by Hindu nationalists and historians began in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when nationalism was emerging in force. The brutal suppression of the revolt of 1857 played some part in generating historical reflection.

In colonial history, nationalists argued, Indians were invariably represented as people who truly never offered resistance.

Bankimchandra Chatterji, the first great Bengali novelist and masterful essayist, opined in 1880: 'Bengal a house of literature and learning) must have her own history. Otherwise there is no hope for Bengal. Who is to write it? You have to write it. I have to write it. All of us have to write it.... Come, let us join our efforts in investigating history of Bengal'.¹⁴ Bankim regarded Bengali culture as the birthplace of India's renaissance. He rejected common South Asian stereotype history perceptions. Bankim objected to the existing Bengali literature. His objection was that these books did not contain the true history of Bengal. In his own time Bankim revived the historical sense among the Hindus. He expressed the lack of solidarity amongst Indians, which made India vulnerable to the British. He asserted it in a concise formula, 'Knowledge is Power': that is the slogan of Western civilization. 'Knowledge is salvation' is the slogan of Hindu civilization.¹⁵

Many of those who followed Bankim achieved fame and glory. One of them was Bengali educated at Cambridge, Aurobindo Ghose, who asserted that 'Bengalis are the Italians of India, and like the Italians in the Quattro cento, they will lead the rest of India into its renaissance through the twin virtues of "literature and learning"'. He believed in Bengali genius, which he described the genius of all India. 'What Bengali thinks tomorrow, India will be thinking tomorrow week'.¹⁶ He was radical in thinking and writing. His provocations helped inspiring the founding of an extremist wing within the Congress, which, through the support of Lala Lajpat Rai, Bepin Pal, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, and others wrested control from the Moderates. Ghose was extremely influential during the Swadeshi period surrounding the partition of Bengal from 1905 to 1908, when, according to the prominent historian Sumit Sarkar, his 'terrorist heroism evoked tremendous admiration from very wide circles of educated Indians'. However, according to Sarkar, the terrorist legacy actually hindered the broadening of the independence struggle at that time. 'The intense religiosity...helped to keep Muslims aloof or hostile...and religion...became a royal road for an honourable retreat'.¹⁷

In the 1920's and the 1930's when nationalism became a mass phenomenon, professional Indian historiography emerged to contest British interpretations. It is significant that these historians chose ancient India as the ground for this contest. Ancient India became the classical source of Indian modernity. Nationalist historians such as H. C. Raychaudhuri, K. P. Jayaswal, Beni Prasas, R. C. Majumdar and R. K. Mookerjee, studied ancient emperors and saw the rise of a nation-state in the creation of these ancient empires. The period of the Gupta Empire (320-540 A.D.) visualised to symbolize the 'Golden Age', when Hinduism prospered, national unity soared, social harmony and cultural achievements reached a state of plenitude.¹⁸ These nationalist historians held the Muslim period as a night of darkness. Majumdar noted that the Vedic Age represented 'the dawn of Hindu civilization'; the period from 600 BC to 750 AD, the subject of volumes II and III, marked the 'full morning glory and noonday splendour of that civilisation'. The arrival of Islam in the eight century, the subject of volumes IV and V was 'the darkness of the long night, so far as Hindu civilization is concerned, a darkness which envelopes it even now'.¹⁹ Ancient glory was the subject of all these nationalist historian's account. After the partition of India, Majumdar, the most prolific of all Indian historians, remained supremely influential. He asked the 'students of Indian history' to suspend judgement, repudiate false doctrines, be prepared to face hostility and 'follow the modern method of scientific research'. The historian was bound to respect only one aim, 'the discovery of the truth, and nothing but the truth'. However, Majumdar's prejudice is evident in his writings on the Muslim regimes of India. In his voluminous account on *Indian History*, he claims: 'distinct and conscious attempt to rewrite the whole chapter of the bigotry and intolerance of the Muslim rulers towards Hindu religion'.²⁰ Majumdar's interpretation of Indian history reflects only the Hindu perspective of history. He wrote with romantic nostalgia of great Gupta Empire.

The nationalist historians described the Muslim rulers of India as fanatical, bigoted, warlike, dissolute and cruel. They called the Muslims as the adopted children of India, while the Hindus as natural children of motherland. The Muslim history originated in, and acquired its identity

from the life of Prophet Muhammad. In other words, the dynasty, which was founded in Delhi at the beginning of the thirteenth century, was not to be described merely as the periods of Turko-Afghan or Mughal rule in India; they were maintained as integral part of the political history of Islam. Battle of Plassy marked the end of Muslim rule and the beginning of Christian rule (rajatva).²¹ The nationalist historians thought that the Muslim tyranny towards minorities made an easy target for the British conquest. These historian's interpretations produced more heat than light and left behind bitter controversies within the existing literature of Indian historiography.

In the debate over Hindu-Muslim relations, Sultan Mahmud Ghazni, Akbar and Aurangzab were to become iconic figures. Inattentive to historical discourses, Indians appeared to have relegated Mahmud of Ghazni to relative obscurity. It is only in the nineteenth century that a nascent Indian historiography began to view Sultan Mahmud Ghazi as an inveterate foe of the Hindus and a barbarian who inaugurated the ruthless reign of Muslim monarchs. In other words, discourses in India were stripped of their historicity and great deal of writing scholarship was rinsed with bias.

Akbar is often introduced as an example of a tolerant ruler, whose policies demonstrated that though he himself was a Muslim, the state under him was not Islamic. Describing Akbar's success as 'astonishing' Nehru gave his own opinion, in a work that places him among the ranks of historians that Akbar 'created a sense of oneness among the diverse elements of north and central India'.²²

The commonplace view of Aurangzeb, on the other hand, is that he repudiated Akbar's policies of religious toleration and alienated Hindus. Jadunath Sarkar, whose 1928 biography of Aurangzeb in four volumes publicised the view of Aurangzeb that predominated for long time in the popular imagination. The majority of subsequent historians took much of lead supplied by Jadunath. He suggested that Aurangzeb intended to establish an Islamic state in India, an objective that could not be fulfilled without 'the conversion of the entire population to Islam and the

extinction of every form of dissent'. If Aurangzeb was so ferocious a communalist, why the number of Hindus employed in positions of eminence under Aurangzeb's reign rose to 24.5 per cent? Richard Easton argues that Aurangzeb did not indiscriminately destroy Hindu temples, as he is commonly believed to have done, and that he directed the destruction of temples only when faced with insurgency.²³

In contrast, the Maratha leader Shivaji (1626-1680), who offered tenacious resistance to Aurangzeb, was raised to the eminence of a 'freedom fighter' and a 'nationalist' by the Indians. The Hindu revivalists such as Bankim, Lala Lajpat Rai and Tilak invoked Shivaji's name and courage to rouse Indians to resistance against the Muslim as well as the British. The ascendancy of Gandhi in the Indian politics to some extent eroded the popularity in which Shivaji was held. Yet, revolutionaries and revivalists kept his name alive. Such sort of writing history in which Aurangzeb was depicted as a communalist while Shivaji as a nationalist, the Hindu nationalists and historians promoted communal version of history which left an ending effect on the historiography of South Asia. 'To declare Akbar or Aurangzeb a "foreigner" and Rana Pratap or Shivaji a "national" hero', a professor of history Bipan Chandra wrote, 'was to project into past history the communal outlook of 20th century India. This was not only bad history; but was also a blow to national unity'.²⁴ This nationalist historiography did not do full justice to its achievements and complexity. As Ranajit Guha has pointed out that the nineteenth century historians' agenda was an agenda for self-presentation.²⁵ The ground was prepared here for the next episode, which, eventually, resulted in the clash of history of the Muslims with the history of Indians and left behind bitter controversies within the existing literature of Indian historiography.

The nationalist historians forced debates on sources and brought out much that was unknown, and thus the regional histories came into focus. They accused the older ideological knowledge and judged it as being inadequate for representing reality. In its place, they offered more adequate portraits. A good example of this was the interpretation of the 1857 revolt. For British historians, mutiny was the correct term because

the revolt was nothing but an uprising of disaffected soldiers; calling it anything other than a mutiny, meant conceding that it has some legitimacy. In 1909, a Hindu nationalist, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, wrote a book entitled *the Indian War of Independence, 1857* and argued that it was a national revolt.²⁶

Nationalist writing on communalism began and ended with the proposition that strife between members of different religious communities in India was the product of British machinations. On the other hand, economic and nationalist historiography produced impressive scholarship on the 'drain' of wealth from India to Britain, on the de-industrialization of the country by British manufacturing interests, the neglect of Indian industrialization and other such questions.²⁷

In the 1920's M. K. Gandhi transformed the elite Indian national movement into a mass movement. He disconnected the official nationalism to Indian nationalism. The political parity and freedom he sought to win for Indians 'was not done in the name of restructuring traditions but in the name of strengthening Indian ness, Hinduism or dharma, all of which are supposedly collective-hierarchical in spirit'.²⁸ Gandhi rejected the notion that 'lessons' to be learned from history. Perhaps the only lesson was that history itself had to be unlearned. On the other hand, Nehru announced an enduring theme in historical research by saying; 'the great poverty and the misery of the Indian people are due not to foreign exploitation in India but also to the economic structure of society, which the alien rulers support so that their exploitation may continue'.²⁹ Nehru in his *The Discovery of India* argues that it was undesirable to use Hindu or Hinduism for Indian culture. For him the Hindu historiography was too parochial for its secular and cosmopolitan outlook. The India that he discovered and presented was a secular entity that had cradled a variety of religions and sects through centuries and had acquired a degree of unity while surviving conquests and conflicts. For him the nationalist movement was designed to free this unity so that India could join the world-historical march towards, modernity.

The historiographical debate on the cause of Partition is particularly lively. Scholarship on the partition of India has produced more conflicting arguments than a definitive view of synthesis and interpretation covering the entire spectrum of this watershed event in modern South Asian history. Ideological debate on the partition and independence has generated bitter controversies within this literature. Lamentably the majority of texts produce more prejudices than analysis. In the words of Ayesha Jalal the argument of historians on the partition historiography rarely escapes being labelled 'made in India' or 'made in Pakistan'.³⁰ The essences and meanings of 1947 have been suffered by charge and counter-charge of polemic, rather than dialogue and understanding. As Gurharpal Singh says, 'historians are ideological animals as far as Partition is concerned'.³¹ Partition historiography now and then branded the history of communalism. Partition has dominated the consciousness of nationalists and professional historians in a remarkable way. Yet, its centrality is still occupied a paradoxical position.

History writing has a major role, but it must consider what is to be remembered and what forgotten. Until recently, the British colonialists and Indian nationalists have written a great deal of literature on Partition. Brief reference of British colonialist writings on 1857 and India nationalist writings on Partition 1947 may illustrate it. On the question of Pakistan, Indian historiography occupies a paradoxical position. An Indian subaltern points out that the history of Partition and the Movement for Pakistan not only 'gets extremely short shrift' but 'as the other of genuine nationalism is painted 'in entirely negative colours'.³²

Broadly speaking, there are two schools of thought in this respect. Apparently both schools seem antipathetic to each other. Both camps dug deep into the past; both marshalled concrete evidence. Yet, both are concerned with elite politics above all.

The first school, composed of predominately Indian historians, believes that the partition of the subcontinent was not inevitable. Indian historians (nationalists and secularists) have held the Muslim League

responsible for partition, see the Congress as standing for unity, and see communalism as the result of British machinations in a policy of 'Divide and Rule'. They argued that partition created new problems, which in turn caused eternal antagonism and even four wars between Pakistan and India. Both countries have not been at peace ever since 1947; undertaking fifty-percent of governments spending on its defence than the welfare of its masses. The whole of South Asia has turned into a flash point of the world. The partition benefited nothing except the elite segment of both sides of the border. For many Indian writers, partition is still seen as an aberration in the unity of the subcontinent's history.³³ Mushirul Hasan, an Indian historian, argues that partition was the outcome of the elite manipulation; it was an irreparable tragedy brought by cynical statesmen who failed to resolve power sharing along religious lines politicians'. He ends up his ideological leanings in favour of Congress' 'secular nationalism' and holds the Leaguers 'religious communalists' and the Pakistan stigma of 'communalism'. He sees the 'Partition plan was an act of deception, a monumental fraud . . . never before in South Asian history did so few decide the fate of so many'.³⁴

The second school, largely followed by Pakistani historians, holds that the partition was ineluctable, an argument based on the existence of the 'two nation theory'. Pakistan movement was considered a synthetic movement. It encompassed the essentials of the earlier movements. It is believed that the Muslim League's Pakistan Movement took lead from the earlier Muslim renaissance movements such as the Waliullahi movement of 18th century, the Mujahidin movement (1820-1863) and Syed Ahmad Khan's movement of late 19th century. The Muslim political awareness is equated with *Hali's Musaddas (1866)*, Ameer Ali's *A Short History of the Saracens (1889)*, *Shibli's* seminal historical works, and Al Halim Sharar's (1860-1926) numerous historical romances that filled the minds of the late nineteenth century Indian Muslims with Islam's departed glory. The genesis of the Pakistan demand traced back to the foundation of the Muslim League in 1906, in many cases, to the separatist politics of Syed Ahmad Khan in the late nineteenth century. Pakistan movement history is reflected as a linear progression, which begins in the aftermath of the revolt of 1857, ending

up with the victory of the birth of Pakistan in 1947 on the ground of two-nation theory by the invincible Quaid-i-Azam.

The revisionist school, on the other hand, with its main exponent Ayesha Jalal, a Pakistani American trained historian, rejects the thesis of Jinnah turning into a communal leader and any role of two-nation theory in the making of Pakistan. Having repudiated these conventional assumptions, she contended that it was the Congress and its leaderships' intransigent policy towards the Muslim League that, eventually, divided the Sub-continent into Pakistan and India. Two-nation theory (Islam) was not the only driving force behind the creation of Pakistan. Jalal, in fact, focuses on the question of whether Jinnah ever wanted the creation of a separate Muslim state, or whether the actual partition of India was forced by the High Command of the Congress, who found it more convenient to give Jinnah 'truncated, moth-eaten' Pakistan than to give him the political position he coveted in a united India. She perceives Jinnah a politician who only changed his tactics after 1937 elections.³⁵ Jalal's interpretation of Jinnah's bargaining strategy was not entirely a new thesis. In 1978, Gowher Rizvi in his Ph.D dissertation had argued that the Muslim League might have accepted some loose form of Indian federation, if a basis of communal co-operation could be established with Hindus. He developed the thesis that Pakistan resolution of 1940 was put forward for 'bargaining purposes'.³⁶

The limitations of Jalal's work, which is based on politics and diplomacy, lamented in Pakistan. The distinguished Pakistani historian Riaz Ahmad has criticised Jalal's work on the grounds that it was originally a Ph.D thesis, completed under the supervision of Anil Seal, a historian born of a Hindu father and a British mother. He states that she has mainly relied upon the Congress and the British sources and paid little attention to the Muslim League or other sources. This criticism appears bewildering. As the Indian historians argue that Jalal hugely relied on the Muslim League and the British official sources rather than Indian sources.³⁷ Jalal's work has been phrased by an Indian historian as 'the history of Good against Evil, the Rational against the Irrational, Great Men against the Mob'.³⁸ Asim Roy has pointed out that Jalal's

'revisionism on Jinnah's role in the creation of Pakistan questions the very legitimacy of the state brought into existence by the Quaid-i-Azam as the universally acknowledged "father of Pakistan".³⁹ The conflicting reviews on Jalal's argument have widened her work's importance. The British historian Francis Robinson maintains that Jalal's use of newly available material has revealed 'the inner coherence' of Jinnah's policy that 'shows us just how much Wolpert failed to see' it.⁴⁰

The historiographical debate on Jinnah is particularly animated. Jinnah has been eulogized in Pakistan as a creator of the nation. In contrast, Gandhi, Nehru, Azad and Mountbatten remain distasteful figures, but sometime Pakistani historians interpret Jinnah's antagonists unfairly. The prominent historian Z. H. Zaidi, for example, claimed that he had come across some evidence that Mountbatten had planned a physical assault on Jinnah. That was a grave misreading of the documents (*Transfer of Power, Vol. XII: 339*). Much of prima facie evidence and, above all, Mountbatten's social background hardly supports the distinguished historian's claim. It appears a grave misreading of the documents (*Transfer of Power, Vol. XII: 339*).⁴¹

The study of Jinnah in a biographical perspective is officially encouraged; however, criticism, even mild, is discouraged and sometime it is considered as an unpatriotic act. As some seminal accounts on Jinnah, like Stanley's *Jinnah of Pakistan* and Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre's *Freedom at Midnight* had been banned in Pakistan for several years, since both mention Jinnah's eating of ham sandwiches and drinking alcohol. The only source of this controversial alcohol affair is found in M. C. Chagla's book, *Roses in December*. Chagla wrote this story after 33 years. According to Chagla, he noted the alcohol affair when he was an honorary secretary to Jinnah in 1920's. This controversy demands some explanations. The authenticity of Chagla's account needs to be re-examined, as he opted for India after the partition and became the Chief Justice of Bombay High Court and eventually became ambassador to USA and Foreign Minister of India.

In Indian analysis, Jinnah is reviled as the single-minded, communalist and partitionist who divided the land. The traditionalist school regards the post-election result in 1937 and the controversy regarding the failure of the Congress and the Muslim League to form a coalition ministry in U.P. in 1937 as a crucial turning point for Jinnah making him a religious bigot.⁴² It has long been the basic Congress-cum-Mountbatten interpretation of these events that if only Jinnah had not been so intransigent and arrogant, then the subcontinent would have been spared the great tragedy of partition. This influential school of thought shaped the British and the Indian attitudes for generations. What is not described is decades of Congress insensitivity and the British Government's infirmity to justifiable claims and fears of India's Muslims.

For many British historians, partition has been treated as an illustration of the failure of the modernizing impact of colonial rule, an unpleasant blip on the transition from the colonial to the post-colonial worlds.⁴³ Majority of the British scholars write with romantic nostalgia about the last days of the British Raj. Many even glorify it. Debate on Jinnah from the British perspective is fairly gloomy. Mountbatten's version of history and Jinnah's image prevailed. Jinnah has been depicted cold, obstinate, implacable, the evil demon of the partition and the bane of Mountbatten's life.⁴⁴ Mountbatten did his best to shape the historical record to show that one intransigent man in a key position was able to frustrate the will of millions. Mountbatten alone had access to the archives, secret minutes and records in London. He possessed the resources to write history and publicize it on any scale. Mountbatten recognized himself the 'most powerful man on earth', a 'God'⁴⁵ and 'one-man band'.⁴⁶ Above all, he was fully aware of the power of the media and used it. He was the sole Viceroy in the whole history of the British Raj, who brought a spin-doctor Alan Campbell-Johnson with him. Mountbatten knowingly manipulated public consciousness and promulgated a negative representation of Jinnah. Mountbatten imprinted Jinnah with a slew of abusive term: 'this clot' and 'bastard', who was 'the evil genius in the whole thing'.⁴⁷ Jinnah made every endeavour to persuade Mountbatten to make Pakistan viable. He contradicted

Mountbatten's every argument and resisted his every annoyance, but he never used abusive jargon. It was against his taste and disposition. Mountbatten's distaste of Jinnah was his attempt to impose his own vision of the world against Jinnah's determination for six-province Pakistan.

A careful reading of *the transfer of power* voluminous documents raises concerns about a further limitation of Mountbatten-guided authors' collections. Hodson was deputed by Mountbatten to write against L. Mosley and A. A. Michel's accounts, as they had written against Mountbatten's handling of the transfer of power and its effects.⁴⁸ Hodson wrote that Mosley 'twisted the facts' and that 'it (Mosley's account) was a cheap biased affair mainly against Mountbatten'.⁴⁹ Despite that Hodson's account (*Great Divide*) is test available book written on the events leading up to the partition of India, he eulogised Mountbatten. The purpose of the study, it seems, has been to defend Mountbatten against criticism. Hodson himself has stated that Mountbatten read the manuscript and offered critical comments.⁵⁰ He has also stated he has presented the British viewpoint. The primary purpose of the study, it seems, has been to defend Mountbatten and Radcliffe against criticism. That purpose seems to have been served at least to the satisfaction of Mountbatten, for he stated in the last year of his life that 'it is generally agreed by historians that it (Hodson's book) is a fair and accurate account of the transfer of power'.⁵¹

Philips Ziegler, the distinguished biographer of Mountbatten, after seven hundred pages of dense analysis brought his biography to a close with some personal impressions. He judged Mountbatten's faults to be vanity, naked ambition, and snobbishness, but in the end concluded, in spite of these faults, that he was more than just a 'talented playboy' and was in fact a 'great man'.⁵²

Alan Campbell-Johnson, press attaché of Mountbatten, openly defended Mountbatten's changing the Boundary Award. He wrote that

the denunciation of the Award by all parities as unjust was the best testimony of its 'fairness'.⁵³ Penderel Moon and Michael Breacher think that only the future would tell whether there was any foundation 'for this report'.⁵⁴ The sense of grievance about its lack of impartiality has been fuelled in recent years by Radcliffe's Secretary Christopher Beaumont's revelation concerning Lord Mountbatten's 'tampering' with the award.⁵⁵ There is powerful anecdotal evidence has emerged that Mountbatten changed the award, from the sources such as the diary of his secretary John Christie, the 1992 testimony of Beaumont,⁵⁶ Ch. Muhammad Ali,⁵⁷ Alastair Lamb,⁵⁸ Dr. Sain Kanwar⁵⁹ and Shahid Hamid.⁶⁰

It requires an effort not to be mesmerized by Mountbatten's version of events and personalities and his own role in negotiating the end of the Raj. His handling of the transfer of power needs to be rewritten. The much of prima facie evidence reopen controversy and raise much question regarding Mountbatten's performance and invite reassessment of his widely applauded achievement. As a historian considers that Mountbatten's role to oversee the transfer power to new dominions 'has probably been exaggerated'.⁶¹

Since the last quarter of the twentieth century, South Asian historiography has developed a significant fashion from politics and economies towards lines of class, community and gender. A number of major themes have emerged in recent historical research. The Subaltern group of historians, both English and Indian, linked history and anthropology. Subalternists led by Ranajit Guha extensively wrote original works on the South Asian peasant and labour history and addressed the issue of subalternity along lines of class, cast, community, and gender. Major goal of subaltern history, history from the below, has been to acknowledge the contribution made by the people to the making and development of nationalism.⁶² Subalternists hold that both colonialist and nationalist historiography have marginalised the anguish and violence that attended the lives of ordinary people during the Partition.

Gayanendra Pandey says the history of partition has been a history of machination. This is not a history of lives and experiences of people's suffering.⁶³ The recent subaltern intervention holds the anguish and violence that attended the lives of ordinary people to be far more important than the elite historiography and high politics of the partition.

The last decade of twentieth century has witnessed a significant shift in South Asian historiographical fashion from politics and economics towards identities and culture. More recently, feminists and anthropologists by challenging the stereotypes colonialist and nationalist history-writing have begun to examine the experiences of refugees particularly women, who were witness to massacres and convulsions that accompanied the partition. They have focused on the genocide, abduction, conversion and forced migration.⁶⁴ Recent years have witnessed the publication of a number of anthologies of partition narrations, mostly based on oral history. Historians and anthropologists have begun to make increasing reference to this work.

Fiction, on the other hand, has provided an intense window on the personal experiences of 1947, dramatising the impact of partition on every day lives. In his recent work, Ian Talbot sees the partition literature as providing insight into the 'human impact' of partition: 'the searing reality of the agony' of partition violence, 'the complexity of human emotions' in the face of loss, and the 'sense of uprootedness' brought about by the partition migrations.⁶⁵

The historiography of Indian and Muslim nationalism has for a long time been predominately a political biography of the elite. It is thus written up as a sort of spiritual biography of the Indian elite. The nationalist writing of history- both before independence and after- did not break this impassable barricade. The elitism of modern Indian historiography is an oppressive fact presented by governments and teachers. The 50th anniversary of the British departure from India has inevitably produced similar official histories from both sides of the

fence. Historiography of South Asian has been loathe to examine the massive violence that accompanied partition, and the experiences and emotions of people involved in or affected by it. It has been left almost entirely to creative writers and film-makers.⁶⁶ Lamentably, we in Pakistan do not yet have the wherewithal to write these histories. Charge and counter-charge of polemic and, above all, plagiarism have suffered the essence of history. History, in Pakistan, has been regarded as a soft option. What is really at stake in the current row over history-writing is the right of the professional historian to assert the pre-eminence of history over myth and fantasy.

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SAARC and the Kashmir

ABDUL QAYUM MANGI

Since January 2000 when the 11th SAARC Summit was held at Kathmandu, SAARC could not meet again at the heads of government's level because of the impasse in India-Pakistan relations. "The 12th Summit scheduled to be held in Islamabad from 11-13 January 2003 was postponed sine die. This is for the third time since its inception in 1985 that SAARC has suffered a blow and become a victim of tensions between the two members."¹ The meeting of two arch rivals in SAARC is indeed a blessing for the poverty ridden people of South Asia. The strategic analysts are sanguine that milk would flow in the Indus, Ganges and Bramputra rivers of South Asia. Whether their dream would come true or not? The interaction of two important members of SAARC will divulge the fact in due course of time. It is hoped that it will adopt positive and conducive measures to reduce the poverty and procure its lofty objectives.

The plight of poverty in South Asia is evident from the Human Development Report 2003. It reveals that unfortunately, more than 500 million people out of 1.4 billion population live in absolute poverty, 270 million people lack access to even rudimentary health facilities, 350 million are without safe drinking water, 830 million have no access to sanitation and 430 million, of which two third are women, are unable to read and write, yet the Ruling elite of South Asian countries are spending more than 60 billion dollars every year to accumulate weapons of mass

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destruction. It means, that South Asia has emerged as the poorest, the most illiterate, the most malnourished and least gender sensitive region in the entire world due to avarice of self-annihilation.

These appalling figures agitate the conscience of sane persons that's why South Asia, despite abundant natural and human resources has remained economically impoverished, politically fragile and intellectually banned? It is shocking to know that the region which only three decades ago was far ahead of the now prosperous economies of South East Asia have slid behind even the Sub-Saharan states in almost all economic and social indicators.

What should be the strategy of SAARC to arrest the trend of under-development and how to make this unfortunate region socially united, politically strong and stable, and economically prosperous. These appalling and shocking symptoms forced me to ponder. It is my core faith that only forging cooperation among the South Asian states can reverse these negative and adverse trends. We fortunately, have a forum called SAARC. The aims and objectives of SAARC, if implemented in letter and spirit would dramatically transform the future of the 1.4 billion poverty ridden people of South Asia, hitherto the peace, cooperation and development of the region have remained hostage to the exigencies of mutual mistrust and conflict. This article is an attempt to present 'Kashmir Problem' as a major impediment, which is prohibiting SAARC from achieving its lofty objectives of peace and prosperity in South Asia.

Background of South Asia

South Asian region has an ancient history commencing from the Indus Valley Civilization about 2500 B.C. The evidence of this glorious civilization is found in the ruins of Mohenjo-Daro and Harapa. South Asia is pre-eminently a land of varieties. It has been aptly described as the epitome of the world. South Asian region is composed of seven countries namely Bhutan, Bangladesh, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. General (Retd.) K.M Arif has described the members of SAARC family as "the seven member constellation of Ursa Minor in

South Asia".² These nations occupy almost all of the geographic area, referred to historically as the Indian sub-continent. This region is a physiographic mosaic with deserts, lowering mountains, fertile plains, rivers, rain sodden delta, valleys and dense jungles. The history of South Asia demonstrates that the geographic unity has helped to invest the region with a sense of common destiny. According to Gowher Rizvi, "The best way to define South Asian structure is to view it as bipolar even though perhaps it is a lopsided bipolarity with India and Pakistan as the two poles and the smaller states clustered around them".³

Home of Various Religious and Social Systems

The South Asian sub-continent is the collective home of various social systems, cultures and religions. Diversity of culture and religion is a character of this area. All the world religions are found here. Religions have shaped the historical, political and economic contours of South Asia. The ideal of cultural unity is nothing but a myth. Even if we leave aside the Muslims and other races "the Hindus are divided into thousands of mutually exclusive and often hostile sections by the caste system and different social traditions".⁴ Under these circumstances it is not surprising that "the Hindus and Muslims despite having lived as neighbors for centuries remained distant and separate."⁵ the Hindus and Muslim Social System having existed side by side yet they could not develop real integration. Thus this fundamental and inherent social, cultural and religious disunity was ultimately responsible for the creation of two states India and Pakistan. The mutual division and physical features have always prevailed and manifested in division of sub-continent. "The sub-continent has itself always been two distinct worlds, the truly Indic region comprising the gangetic plains and peninsular India, on the one hand and the Indus region consisting of basin of Indus and its tributaries (i.e. Pakistan) on the other".⁶ Despite several diversities, "South Asia does share powerful ecological, economic and political mutuality's".⁷

Geographical Proximity

All the seven countries have a geographical compactness. The continuity of border imparts economic advantage to the people of the region and helps them to amalgamate with each other. This “closeness gives the region many infrastructural linkages based on colonial legacies, common history, race, religion, language and cultural background which are unique as compared to other regions like West Asia or South East Asia”.⁸

The South Asia has nearly continental dimension and its total area is nearly two million square miles. The distance from west to east is more than 2100 miles and from extreme north to south is approximately the same. The population of South Asia is more than 1.4 billion. “South Asia, with 21 percent of world population, has barely 1.5 percent of the world’s GNP and 3.3 percent of the world’s total area. Obviously it has the largest concentration of the world’s poverty”.⁹ Thus it has been ranked as third major concentration of population in the world. On the world globe, South Asia lies between “01 degrees South to 37 degrees North Latitude and between 62 degrees East to 97 degrees East Latitude”.¹⁰

Geo-Strategic importance of South Asia

The South Asia has always been the focus of world politics due to its strategic location. During the inclement cold war between super-powers it has been the centre of stage. India-Russian alliance and Pak-US marriage, the persistent political instability and war between Arab and Israel in the Middle East, the fall of pro US regime of Shah and Islamic revolution in Iran brought the South Asia into world politics. These developments have left indelible impact on the lives of South Asian peoples. The Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979, the outbreak of fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq in September 79 and Iraq’s occupation of Kuwait had diverted not only the attention of super powers but also the attention of entire world including the United Nations, to South Asia. According to Dr. Moonis Ahmar “compounded with these developments, Pakistan’s tilt towards the US in the post 1980s

period the deepening of Soviet Military presence in Afghanistan and the accentuation of the super power annual military build up in the Indian Ocean further augmented the South Asia prominence in the World Affairs".¹¹

Economic Junction of the World

The South Asia lies on the midway junction between South East Asia and the Middle East. In the annals of History both regions are considered quite sensitive and strategic regions of the world. The strategic importance of Indian Ocean bordering South Asia can be appreciated in view of its geographical situation, with major sea routes connecting the gulf and the Red sea and stretching from Africa by way of Suez to the Far East and Australia, it covers an area of about 15 million square kilometers or one third of all the oceans. The Indian Ocean in recent years has gained a major significance in the global strategic consideration particularly after establishment of US nuclear base at Diego Garcia".¹²

South Asia is also situated at the junction of different ideologies, Islam to its west, Hinduism to its East, Communism to its North and by virtue of American and Western European naval presence in Arabian sea, Christianity to its South.

Economically, the shortest land and air route from Russia and Central Asia to the Indian Ocean, from China to India Ocean, and from Middle East and Iran to India passes through this region. Similarly, the air routes from Europe to the Far East pass over or close to South Asia. "Their individual or collective denial could result in great economic and political advantage to one or the other competitions".¹³

The fatal terrorist attacks on World Trade Centre on September 11, 2001 propelled South Asia onto the centre-stage of international scene and global war against terrorism was launched from Pakistan, an important member of SAARC. The United States, Japan and Western Europe have strategic and vital interest in South Asia due to its proximity

to Central Asia, hub of economic potential and Middle East. The South Asia has become the house of hyper power and war against terrorism has been launched from the SAARC region. In order to understand the foundation and spirit of SAARC, a peep is essential into the prevailing political and economic conditions of South Asian sub-continent.

The Political Conditions and Conflicts

The political conditions and conflicts in South Asia, prior to the establishment of SAARC and even today are explosive. These were vitiated due to irrational and expansionist behavior of India. Her relations with all regional states were at lowest ebb. India's arms build up and ambitious plans to assume the regional power utterly shattered the balance of power in the region, because of her dispute with neighboring countries i.e. Indo-Pakistan disputes over the Kashmir, the Siachen Glacier and their nuclear programmes.

Ethnicity, religion and territory were the main cause of conflict in the South Asia. "The South Asian¹⁴ system revolves around the core power India, the bargainer Pakistan and the periphery powers Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Maldives".

The Political configuration of South Asia presented a mosaic of weak states in which Pakistan; the middle power appears to be the strongest of the weak. Thus it always offered the main resistance to India's ambition of domination in South Asian region. It was followed by Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, two smaller and comparatively weak states. Bangladesh gained independence with the active support of India. Their level of resistance to Indian domination was much lower. Hence more often than not they tended to succumb to Indian pressure, whether politico-military or economic, the next category is that of mini-states, the weakest states in the region. Two of them are the Himalayans states of Nepal and Bhutan, which are not only geographically landlocked but also politically, and economically India locked. The third is Maldives a string of tiny islands in the Indian Ocean. These states have very little power to offset India's domination over them, and virtually no ability to counter Indian sponsored order in the region.

No doubt they have desired to check the Indian influence by extending cordial relations with Pakistan and other extra regional powers. The political relations among the seven states at the time of establishment or even today are marked more by mutual mistrust and non-cooperation than by good neighbourliness. South Asia was strategically fragmented and divided one of the most heavily armed regions. The political conditions were also complicated by super power rivalries. "The constraints in the path of South Asian politico-strategic order were many and varied, these included internal political tension affecting the participating states, the existence of a large number of complex and bilateral disputes and regional division resulting from diverging external orientations, alignments and perceptions".¹⁵

Indian Ambitions

India has been the major factor in perpetuating the differences against states rather than making genuine efforts to solve them in the best interest of restoring peace and economic development in the region. The political disorder in South Asia was due to her "desire to become a great power implies, at the minimum, to acquire regional domination or hegemony and military superiority over its neighbours".¹⁶

The historical events and trends of Indian policies have not been conducive to good relationship, resulting in diversities to the extent that fear and distrust have replaced the feeling of security and confidence in each other. No wonder, the region had earned the dubious distinction of being the only one in the world where until 1985 there was no concept of regional cooperation. The estranged relations of India with its neighbours have not only marred the socio-economic development in the region but is retarding the spirit of regional cooperation.

Socio-Economic Conditions of South Asia

South Asia is unique in the world, having a concentration of third world economic problems, at the forefront of which is the poverty of its population. There is no region more in need of alleviation of the lot of its

people than South Asia. By all indices of economist, its people have been ranked as the poor and the region itself is the hard core of world poverty.

There is population explosion in South Asia. This has to be seen against its size, which is 3 percent of the land area of world and its output was 2 percent, Although it is endowed with a range of natural resources especially minerals. The quantity is approximately 1 percent of the world resources. The economies of South Asian countries are dependent on agriculture with industries and services amounting on the average to about a fifth of the national output. Here is death of technology: The majority of these countries are export oriented but dependent on a few primary commodities and as a result, they are vulnerable to market fluctuations, which has disruptive effects on their economies. Fluctuations in earning as a result of this market vicissitude has prevented regional countries from prosecuting stable plans of economic development.

The per capita income of the regional countries are estimated between \$100 to \$500, on the basis of which it can be said that South Asia has the bulk of poverty. This implies horrifying living conditions of hunger, deprivation of life necessities, malnutrition, disease, squalor and living death of people. "These conditions have eroded the quality of people as deprivation of opportunities for education and humanistic pursuits have reduced their existence to primitive levels".¹⁷

The economic under-development is one of the main root cause of tensions in South Asia, which has resulted in increasing influence of external powers and also created friction between India and neighbouring states. The conditions of lowest strata of population had worsened due to lack of regional economic cooperation among regional states.

The advantages accruing from the proximity and geographical continuity of South Asia in terms of inter-regional trade has never been exploited for the development of the shattered economy. The trade relationship between the countries has been at the lowest ebb. Tensions

have kept Indo-Pak trade limited, Indian export to Pakistan in fiscal year 2001 was 235 millions dollars, Pakistan's export in the same fiscal year was only 55 millions dollars. Although, the SAARC countries have made some achievements in improving their economy, but their dependence on developed countries for import of various commodities like petroleum products and machinery exceeds their export resulting in adverse balance of payment.

The reason for low intra-regional trade are fear of domination by India, high cost of production due to inadequate technical advancement, cheaper prices offered by developed countries, economic aid and loans from developed states. The total trade among SAARC states during financial year 2001-2002 stood at 570 million dollars.

In South Asian countries more than 40 percent of the population lives below the poverty lines, 45 percent were without access to health care, 55 percent were exposed to insanitary conditions, ten children died every minute and hundreds of thousands of women lost their lives during child birth. At the time of formation of SAARC, regional cooperation in Western Europe, South America, Gulf region and South East Asia paid rich dividends. Unfortunately, minimum regional economic cooperation in South Asia was not visible. These adverse economic conditions were due to lack of regional economic cooperation.

Establishment of SAARC

The deteriorating political, social and economic conditions urged the South Asian people and leaders to come close to each other, hence the heads of states or, Governments of SAARC countries reaffirmed during the first SAARC summit in Dhaka that "their fundamental goal was to accelerate the process of economic and social development in their respective countries through the optimum utilization of their human and material resources, so as to promote the welfare and prosperity of their people and to improve their quality of life. They

were conscious that peace and security was an essential prerequisite for realization of this objective.¹⁸

The leaders of South Asia felt the gravity of situation and vehemently strived to “break the barriers and help one another to cease to be strangers. An effective attempt has been taken in this direction in the shape of SAARC to make this region socially united, politically strong and economically prosperous”.¹⁹

The South Asian countries until 1985 had not been able to establish regional group and maintain amicable relations amongst themselves. “Impulses toward cooperation in South Asia have been historically weak, primarily because of political discord and the existence of bitter disputes among the states of the region”.²⁰ Neither a common threat perception and maturing of nationalism that actuated states of West Europe to abandon old patterns of conflicts, nor a shared vision of security through cooperation, that motivated countries of South East Asia, was not prevalent in South Asia.

Unfortunately, in South Asia, conflicts and disputes often emanates from within the region. Consequential tension and bitterness over a prolonged period have desiccated the region. As corollary, the adamant rulers realized and convinced that regional cooperation could play a vital role in their economic and social development. In the best interests of South Asian region, Bangladesh in 1980 proffered to convene a regional summit for establishing a regional organization on the pattern of ASEAN.

The letter diplomacy initiated by President Zia-Ur-Rahman of Bangladesh in 1980 prevailed and the Foreign Ministers at their first meeting in New Delhi on August 2, 1983 adopted the declaration on the South Asian Regional Cooperation and formally launched its integrated programme of action. The Heads of States or governments at their First SAARC summit held in Dhaka on 07-08 December 1985 adopted the charter establishing the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation. It was a “manifestation of the peoples of South Asia to

work together towards finding solutions to their common problems in a spirit of friendship, trust and understanding and to create an order based on mutual respect, equity and shared benefits".²¹ 11 SAARC summits have been held so far in various capitals of SAARC countries.

Kashmir as an Impediment to the Progress of SAARC

It is an admitted fact that besides other minor disputes, there are three principal issues which are to a great extent responsible for the slow pace of progress of SAARC. These are **Kashmir problem, nuclear proliferation and non-cooperation** in economic fields.

"Kashmir is a festering wound".²² The mindset of Pakistan in 1995 that "durable peace may elude South Asia so long as the Kashmir dispute remains unsettled".²³ Intellectuals of various shades are agreed that "without settlement of the Kashmir dispute, durable peace between the two countries cannot be maintained".²⁴ It has the dubious distinction of being the oldest unresolved dispute on the agenda of the UN. This issue has eroded the credibility of the UN in the eyes of Muslims of the world. The Security Council recommended measures to stop the fighting, including the use of observers, and to create conducive conditions for a plebiscite.

It established a "United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan, which made proposals on a ceasefire and troop withdrawals, and proposed that the issue be decided by plebiscite".²⁵ Both sides accepted, but India did not agree on the modalities for the plebiscite. India has since then lied in the face of UN resolutions with impunity. As a matter of fact, "almost all efforts and every constructive proposal to resolve the dispute were dashed by the consistent and unyielding Indian obduracy".²⁶ Since the partition, the relationship between the two has been uneasy and characterized by a set of paradoxes. "There is a mixture of love and hate, a tinge of envy and admiration, bouts of paranoia and longing for cooperation and fierce rivalry; but a sense of proximity too".²⁷ The burning issue of Kashmir had triggered the 1947-48 and 1965 wars and the Indian invasion of East Pakistan, dislocating the ceasefire line in Kashmir and dismantling East Pakistan. Among the troop advances in Siachen, the

nuclear arms race, fierce clash in Kargil and amassing of Indian troops on Pakistan border on the whimsical ground of cross border terrorism and severing of diplomatic channels and reluctance on the holding of 12th SAARC summit are some of the crucial issues which hinder the process of SAARC since its inception.

An analysis of the SAARC progress divulges that the main obstacles in the progress are political and economic in nature. These include internal political tension affecting the relationship between member states. "Bilateral tension also prevent SAARC from adopting a politico-security role. Indo-Pakistan bilateral tension have played a particularly detrimental role in the growth of South Asian regionalism. The two countries have failed to resolve their main issue of contention that is Kashmir dispute".²⁸ Kashmir dispute is a thorny problem between India and Pakistan and is universally recognized as such "while the main dispute between East and West was Ideological, the Indo-Pakistan problem is complex, over which both have fought three wars, still causes tension with no respite in sight. Not only that, this dispute has become compounded with historical and cultural animosities".²⁹ Serious political disputes are an insurmountable hurdle in the way of SAARC progress. The persistent denial by India of the right of self-determination to the people of Jammu and Kashmir, agreed to by the two neighbouring countries and guaranteed by the United Nations, has not only embittered relations between them for over five and half decades but also resulted in wastage of SAARC region's scarce economic resources in futile and fruitless military preparations. "Both India and Pakistan are spending billions on maintaining armies in Kashmir. Both of these countries are afflicted by an appalling poverty. It is obscene that money should be squandered on fighting and killing, when it could be used constructively for saving lives".³⁰

The magnitude and cost of this economy wrecking confrontation continues to escalate with the grim prospect of an ever-stagnating quality of life in the region. The dreaded possibility of a ferocious clash, far worse than those of 1948, 1965, 1971, should it come to happen again, would be a catastrophe of unprecedented proportions. Apart from large-

scale human misery and life loss, it would cause colossal damage to the economic infrastructure of the two most developed members of SAARC. In this age of globalization and electronic media, it is not possible for India to keep the innocent and valiant people of Kashmir in perpetual bondage by force of arms.

It has been proved without any shadow of doubt that the docile people of Kashmir, after decades of repression have stood up valiantly to the might of brutal Indian army. "Today this paradise on the earth has turned to hell, once a Shangri-La-Kashmir is now a battlefield",³¹ says a prominent Indian journalist Surrender Oberoi.

The indigenous uprising from 1989 speaks of eighty five thousand killings of innocent Kashmiries in the region that is besieged by over one million Indian troops that are meant to forcibly suppress and subjugate them through an orgy of death and destruction. Besides the glare killings, the worst kind of human rights situation has been created that includes, brutal torture, custodial killing, dishonouring of women, harassing young and destroying their property and belongings ruthlessly. In the name of imposing security and peace the Indians have created the ratio of one Indian soldier, armed to teeth, for three innocent Kashmiries. Life, property, culture and honour are trampled day in and day out under the military boots where no pleas cries of mercy are heeded. The Amnesty International while listing hundred of custodial killings in Kashmir observed that brutality of torture in Jammu and Kashmir defies belief. "By ignoring its own citizens and challenging the basis of their citizenship the Indian state helped transform into rebellion and thus became party to the armed revolt against it".³²

Pakistan's Viewpoint

The lingering dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir is not only a source of destabilization in the region but also casts adverse impact on the progress of SAARC and "presents an insurmountable obstacle".³³ For Pakistan Kashmir represents the unfinished agenda of partition. Kashmir is recognized as a disputed territory by the United

Nations and by the international community. "From Pakistan's perspective Kashmir was the main issue marginalizing all other disputes while Indian point of view appeared willing to accommodate all other issues in the agenda for talks except Jammu and Kashmir".³⁴ Kashmir is recognized as a disputed territory by the United Nations and by the international community. Kashmir has the dubious honour of being the longest unresolved question on the United Nations agenda. Pakistan would like that the Kashmir problem should be resolved in the light of UN resolutions and in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. As long as the Kashmir dispute is not resolved fairly and honourably, it is difficult to see how peace and stability can be achieved in SAARC region. In fact the settlement of Kashmir issue holds the key to any significant progress of the SAARC. As a matter of fact, "almost all efforts and every constructive proposal to resolve the dispute were dashed by the consistent and unyielding Indian obduracy".³⁵

The existence of political problem like Kashmir and India's dispute with Sri Lanka and Bangladesh has left a wide margin between the promise of SAARC and its reality. It is logical to predict that the eventual elimination of other less serious issues and irritants in due course of time would be solved, if the major problem of Kashmir is solved in a manifestly just and fair manner. Till the dawn of such a realization, SAARC at best, can cater only the husk of superficial cooperation.

According to Pakistan "peace in South Asia cannot be achieved by short circuiting Kashmir cause" aptly vindicated this stark fact.³⁶ The shadow cast by Indo-Pak tension on SAARC is "unfortunate".³⁷

Unfortunately, SAARCs record has been dismal due to perpetual and persistent bickering among its major constituents over the unresolved territorial issues and petty political issues thus diverting previous economic resources away from development.

Nuclear Proliferation

Nuclear proliferation between India and Pakistan is another fatal obstacle retarding the growth and progress of SAARC since its very foundation. Besides territorial disputes, the nuclear race remained a constant irritant. The economic, political and strategic environment of the SAARC region was altered when India crossed the nuclear rubicon by testing a whole range of nuclear weaponry Pakistan was forced to redress the strategic imbalance and reestablish nuclear symmetry. During the period particularly after operation Blue Star in 1984, and Kargil crisis in 1999, war clouds hovered and the two countries were thrice on the brink of nuclear war. The Kargil crisis left indelible impact on the regional politics and regarded as "unprecedented in terms of intensity of fighting never seen since the 1971 war".³⁸ Since 80s the nuclear issue also became a new source of tension in SAARC region. The South Asia has been catapulted into most dangerous place in the world.

The development of nuclear missiles and missile technology in South Asia is very ominous and pose a serious and fatal threat to peace and stability in the SAARC region. South Asia is rife with mutual suspicion and mistrust. Adversarial relationship exists which serves to exacerbate and multiply the dangers posed by the development with deadly accuracy. India's acquisition, production and advancement of nuclear capabilities have compelled Pakistan to enhance their own defense capabilities to counter balance the Indian ulterior designs. President Pervez Musharraf said that "Pakistan was fully justified in developing missiles and nuclear weapons to counter the threat posed by India, and Pakistan would never compromise on National Security".³⁹

Due to nuclear arms race in the region, status quo has been maintained inspite of unresolved issues. Both sides are deterred from using nuclear weapons against the other by the fear of devastating retaliation. India from time to time rejected Pakistan's positive and constructive proposals such as establishment of a Nuclear Free Zone in South Asia, de-nuclearization of Indian Ocean, joint inspection of

nuclear sites, reduction of armed forces and joint aligning of Non-proliferation treaties like NPT and CTBT.

Unjustified approach of India on nuclear issue

India justifies her advancement of nuclear weapons in relations to China with whom she only skirmished in 1962. She feels a threat from China. Surprisingly, China not only signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and also signed Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC).

China has always denied that she has any ulterior design against India. China follows policy of peaceful coexistence and non-interference and agreed to reach an agreement to solve the border dispute with India. T.V.Paul conceded regarding Indian nuclear test in his article that "domestic and ideological factors did play some role in India's move to go overtly nuclear".⁴⁰

In 1998 Beijing was furious when the then defence minister of India Geogre Fernandes, justifying New Delhi's nuclear tests, named the perceived threat from China as the main reason for developing nuclear weapons. Five years later, a joint declaration signed during Prime Minister Vajpayee's June 2003 visit to China, envisaged a firmer footing for bilateral relations which have been in cold storage for 41 years after the Sino Indian war on their 3500 km common border. Consequently, both have made conscious efforts to take the sting out of their differences. India formally recognized China's sovereignty over Tibet and China, in return, extended de facto recognition of India's sovereignty over the former Kingdom of Sikkim. Both India and China are using trade to dull the edge of their differences. Significant trade between the two has more than doubled in the past years and is forecasted to hit \$7.5 billion in 2003. A decade ago trade between the two barely touched the figure of \$ 100million. Trade is bringing the two countries closer, overcoming old barriers of mistrust and fear. China and India held an unprecedented joint naval exercise, reflects the state of normal relations between them.

It reveals that the Indian approach is unjustified and she intends to increase her military capabilities with a view to play a dominating power not only in South Asia but also in Asia. Indian adamancy for the non-implementation of United Nations Resolution on Kashmir also divulges that India is responsible for power politics and fatal arms race in South Asia. The nuclear issue is not the primary cause of tension in South Asia. The main cause lies in "the core dispute of Kashmir".⁴¹

Fatal threat to the existence of SAARC

Dangerous arms race has resulted in waste of resources, a diversion of the economy away from humanitarian purpose, a hindrance to national development efforts and a threat to South Asian region. It only causes the constant risk of war but also enhances tension among the SAARC states. The destructive nuclear arms race destabilizes the peace of South Asia in particular and of Asia in general. "The danger of nuclear proliferation has produced one of the most serious regional threats in South Asia: Kashmir remains the single most important issue calling for urgent handling".⁴² The power disparity between India and other countries of the region hampers the progress of cooperation, the main objective of SAARC. The escalated nuclear arms race could be a fatal blow to the very foundation of SAARC.

Response of Regional Countries

It may be recalled that "the SAARC nations were so alarmed after nuclear test explosion by India and Pakistan in May 1998, which they condemned. Taking cues from this the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan agreed to take steps to reduce the risk of accidental or unauthorized nuclear weapons and discuss concepts and doctrines with a view to elaborating confidence building in nuclear and conventional fields aimed at prevention of the conflict".⁴³

Bangladesh the founding member of SAARC has offered to mediate between India and Pakistan on the situation arising out of nuclear tests by the two countries. Shaikh Hasina then Prime Minister in separate letters

to Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee and Pakistan's former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, offered her services to the two leaders for settling their mutual conflicts, particularly the Nuclear Test. Hasina stressed that "the imperative and priorities for the countries of the region were development and cooperation among themselves so as to ensure a better quality of life and standard for the people of South Asia". She said "an arm race involving nuclear weapons and missile technologies would be detrimental to the objectives and would also affect the atmosphere of coop and friendship".⁴⁴ According to Dr. Shaheen Afroz "Ever since nuclear explosions by both India and Pakistan in 1998, Bangladesh has not only been raising concerns but has also offered to mediate between the two belligerents. Although India expectedly turned down the offer, Bangladesh again got involved in regional diplomacy in the wake of the latest rounds of hostile interactions between India and Pakistan, in 2002".⁴⁵

As in political scenario economic cooperation in the region is also dogged by dissimilarities which have created psychological barriers of fear perceptions and lack of trust.

The performance of SAARC in the most crucial field of economic cooperation is also not up to the mark. Despite the existence of South Asian Preferential Trading Arrangements (SAPTA), intra-regional trade flow accounts for only 4% of the total trade flow as compared to Asian's 38.4 percent, 37.3 percent for NAFTA and 63.4 percent for EU. Persistent squabbling over even the most modest concessions granted under SAPTA reflects a worrying lack of political will on the part of member countries. The total trade among SAARC during 2001-2002 stood at 570 million dollar against 573 million dollar during 2000-2001 a decrease of 17.95%. According to Director of the Indian Institute of Foreign Trade "the main pre-condition to the expansion of intra-regional trade was to find lasting solution to the India-Pakistan misunderstanding".⁴⁶

Uterior Intentions of India with regard to SAARC

India, since independence cherished the goal of becoming a power of Asia. India's strategic ambitions always constituted formidable hindrance to the growth of SAARC. It may be recalled that in a report titled "ASEAN Regional Forum's Annual Security Outlook" (2001), India argued that its security concerns extended beyond the conventional geographical definition of South Asia.

Elaborating the point, New Delhi made it clear that "given size, geographical location and trade links, India's security environment ranges from the Persian Gulf to the Straits of Malacca across the Indian Ocean, including Central Asia in the north-west, China and South East Asia in the north-east."

India's ultimate aim is to assume a large military role in Asia aimed at gradually squeezing outside powers out of South Asia and the broad oceanic areas surrounding it only to subjugate SAARC countries. It wants to be recognized as a dominating power in the Indian Ocean region and assume the role which the British used to play in the region until the first half of the 20th century. In order to materialize its ulterior design she has strived to normalize its estranged relations with China, to dent the relations of Pakistan with China. "The thrust of Indian strategy appears to be to improve ties with China to keep it as far away from Pakistan as possible."⁴⁷ India is striving hard to enhance its trade with China. The cordial relations between them pose a direct threat to Pakistani's strategic interest in South Asia. In due course of time China would not be in a position to help Pakistan against India on the pretext that both should mend the relations. It is aptly feared that India would succeed to make China a neutral player in the affairs of South Asia.

India has succeeded to establish cordial relations with all the members of SAARC except Pakistan. India has signed a historic water accord with Bangladesh and accorded it the status of Most Favoured Nation. The trade between them has increased manifold. India has discontinued to interfere in the Tamil affairs of Sri Lanka and

consequently, procured the goodwill of Sri Lanka in the affairs of SAARC. India signed Free Trade Agreement with Sri Lanka in 2000.

In order to sideline and neutralize the say of Pakistan in SAARC, India established a sub-regional organization called South Asian Growth Quadrangle (SAGQ) with Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal and the Northeastern states of India as a dynamic area of growth".⁴⁸ In June 1997, BIMSTEC (Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Sri Lanka and Thailand Economic Cooperation) was also launched. It may be recalled that India succeeded in launching the Mekong-Ganga Cooperation (MGC) at Vientiane, Laos, in November 2000. The grouping which reflects New Delhi's desire to play a larger role in South East Asia, consists of India, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Thailand and Myanmar. It is evident from the anti-neighbour policies pursued by India that she has stalled the SAARC process, effectively undermining the very existence of this cooperative structure within South Asia.

Future Strategy of SAARC

A conciliation through SAARC on the Kashmir as well as other issues between India and Pakistan can change not only the prospects for the sub-continent but also give a much stronger voice to the have-nots of the world in their dealing with the haves. There is a dire need that SAARC collectively strive for positive peace with honour and justice if the people of this conflict ridden region are to tread the roads of progress and prosperity.

The post 9/11 international scenario and the perilously explosive situation in South Asia generated by bedeviled relations between India and Pakistan demands that SAARC in order to prove its usefulness should prevail upon India to accept the offer of mediation of SAARC in promoting reconciliation and to find mutually acceptable solution that address the root cause of tension. SAARCs future progress is in Indo-Pak rapprochement and goodwill since tangible regional cooperation cannot take place without their active support and involvement SAARCs progress cannot be expected unless the relationship between India and

Pakistan is improved. SAARC should convince India to pursue policies, which reassure all the other partners of her economic and political goodwill. Only then will the SAARC states are able to move forward collectively towards a more prosperous and secure future.

CONCLUSION

In my opinion, in its eighteen-year life SAARC had not been allowed to achieve its lofty objectives. In spite of hindrances, it has accomplished more than its counter part organization European Union, ASEAN or NAFTA in socio-economic fields. As they have no internal problem to settle, while SAARC has a wound which is still profusely bleeding. Like the United Nations, SAARC as a regional organization cannot be termed as failure but the members of it are unable to make it effective, result oriented and dynamic organization. SAARC with plenty of natural and human resources could procure a profound rate of economic development and even become economic power to be reckoned with European Union, NAFTA and ASEAN provided member countries pool and amalgamate their energies and resources for the collective benefit of each other.

The forum of SAARC has provided an opportunity, which could be availed of not only to attain self-reliance and improve the economic and social conditions within states but also to safeguard against extra-regional forces, which may create pressures and problems to suit their interests.

Unfortunately, bilateral tensions are preventing SAARC from adopting a politico-security role. Indo-Pak bilateral has played a detrimental role in the socio-economic progress of SAARC. President Pervez Musharaf said, "Jammu and Kashmir has been described as the most dangerous dispute in the world. A just solution to this dispute holds the key to peace and security in South Asia".⁴⁹ The 12th SAARC summit will be held in January 2004 in Pakistan and it is expected that SAARC would take more steps to correct socio-economic imbalances, consolidate political stability in the region and remove the stumbling bloc in the way

of SAARC. The heads of states of SAARC will sign the South Asian Free Trade Area Treaty at the upcoming 12th summit in Islamabad. "It is going to be a significant milestone in the history of SAARC".⁵⁰ In accordance with the SAFTA framework treaty trade barrier between SAARC member states will be gradually removed. The dynamic and effective SAARC could eliminate the ever increasing poverty from unfortunate South Asia which generates less than 2% of world income, yet support 22% of world population and 44% of the world's poor (those who earn less than a dollar a day and strive to reduce the defence expenditure of member countries).

It is true that the SAARC states wakeup to the realities of the situation, reduce the level of mutual recrimination, and instead build a strong base for regional cooperation. Without an amicable solution of bilateral and regional disputes bedeviling the political climate in South Asia, the dream of a regional alliance and economic wellbeing of poor masses, may not come true. God Forbid

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Pakistan's Weighted Human Development Index :

JAVID IQBAL KHAN

INTRODUCTION

Pakistan's potential for economic growth and development is greatly influenced by its endowment of resources (both number of people and their level of skills). In the realm of human resource endowments, not only are sheer numbers of people and their skill levels important, but also their cultural outlooks and attitudes toward work, access to information, willingness to innovate, and desire for self-improvement. Moreover, the level of administrative skills will often determine the ability of the public sector to alter the structure of production and the time it takes for such structural alteration to occur. This involves the whole complex of interrelationships between culture tradition, religion, and ethnic and tribal fragmentation. Thus the nature and character of a country's human resources are important determinants of its economic structure and these clearly differ from one region to the next.

The essence of human capital is that investments are made in human resource to improve their productivity. Costs are incurred in the expectation of future benefits; hence, the 'investment in human resources'. Like all investments, is the key question they are economically worthwhile? The answer to this question depends on whether or not benefits exceed costs by a sufficient amount, and the standard investments

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criteria apply. There is thus a direct analogy between investment in human capital and investment in physical capital, although there are differences. In particular, human capital is not collateral because it cannot be sold directly. Moreover, an individual cannot spread or diversify his risk in the manner that owners of physical capital can. These factors apart, the parallel between human and physical capital is a close one; for example, human capital like physical capital is subject to depreciation.

The concept of man investing in himself has a very wide application. It covers not only investment in formal schooling and post-school training (job training), but also home investments in the form of family care in the pre-school years, the acquisition of improved health, and investments in labour market information via job search etc. Human capital theory underpins many of the important developments in modern economics and provides one of the main explanations for wage and salary differentials by age and occupation, the uneven incidence of unemployment by skill, the job regulatory practices of trade unions and so on, as well as contributing to policy decisions on, say, the allocation of resources to schooling and training vis-a-vis other claims on resources.

In each economic system, labour is considered to be an important factor as input. The quantity and quality of a nation's labour force (human resource) plays valuable role in economic activities. The human resource depends on human capital i.e. productive investments embodied in humans. These include skills, abilities, ideals, and health resulting from expenditures on education, on-the-job training programmes, and medical care.

Human Development Index is a larger and broader composite indicator which captures much more than just per capita income. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), which created the HDI, says that this composite index contains three indicators: Life expectancy, representing a long and healthy life; education attainment, representing knowledge; and real GDP (in purchasing power parity dollars), representing a decent standard of living. The HDI shows: How

far a country has to travel to provide these essential choices to all its people. It is not a measure of well-being, nor is it a measure of happiness. Instead, it is a measure of empowerment. It indicates that if people have these three basic choices, they may be able to gain access to other opportunities as well. The HDI, imperfect though it may be, is thus a viable alternative to GNP per capita, and it is increasingly being used to monitor the progress of nations and of global society.

Regarding the title of the paper, we have made a comprehensive review of literature, discussion about methodology and data, results discussion, and then, finally on the basis of weighted index values over time, conclusions and policy proposals are drawn.

Review of Literature

The theory of human capital has been in the economic and statistical literature since more than hundreds of years. Schultz (1961), Becker (1962) and Micer (1974). According to one view, one of them who has done pioneer work in this field, explained investment in human capital "although it is obvious that people acquire useful skills and knowledge, it is not obvious that these skills and knowledge are form of capital, that this capital is in substantial part a product of deliberate investment, that it has grown in western societies at a much faster rate than conventional (non-human) capital and that this growth may well be the most distinctive feature of the economic system".

Morris D. Morris, measuring the condition of the world's poor: The Physical Quality of Life Index (London: cass, 1979). An alternative and more controversial attempt to measure the quality of life in LDCs was undertaken in 1987 when the population crisis committee of Washington, D.C., published the international and human suffering index. This index was created to measure, in a single figure, differences in living conditions among countries. Each country index was compiled by adding 10 measures of human welfare related to economics, demography, health, and governance. The index of suffering incorporated income,

inflation, demand for new jobs, population pressures, infant mortality, nutrition, clean water, energy use, adult literacy, and personal freedom.

The latest and most ambitious attempt to analyze the comparative status of socio-economic development in both developing and developed nations systematically and comprehensively has been undertaken by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in its annual series of Human Development Reports (1994). The centerpiece of these reports, which were initiated in 1990, is the construction and refinement of the Human Development Index (HDI).

Further, according to the United Nations Development Program, Human Development Report (1994, p.15), one of the major innovations of the HDI over the past nine years has occurred through the disaggregation of a country's overall HDI into separate social classes reflecting skewed income distributions, and different regions and ethnic groups. Moreover, the United Nations Human Development Index has thus made a major contribution to improving our understanding of what constitutes development, which countries are succeeding (by rises in their HDIs over time), and how different groups and regions within countries are faring. By combining social and economic data, the HDI allows nations to take a broader measure of their development performance, both relatively and absolutely, and thus to focus their economic and social policies more directly on those areas in need of improvement.

World Bank's, World Development Report (1995), shows that countries with similar per capita incomes can still differ substantially in their HDI scores. It ranks 175 countries from highest to lowest 1994 HDI values, and shows the differences between their rankings by per capita GDP measured in international dollars and their HDI rankings. One of the observations is that the socialist and formerly socialist countries have high HDI values relative to their per capita income in that their governments made provision of educational and health services as a very high priority and commanded the share of national resources needed to deliver these services.

Human Development Report (2001) looks at how the advent of new technologies will affect developing countries and poor people. Technology is a tool, not just a reward, for development. Technological change can advance human development by improving human health, nutrition and knowledge and by enabling communication, participation and economic growth. Yet many fears that new technologies may be of little use to the developing world, or that they might actually widen global inequalities. Indeed, without innovative public policy, innovative technologies could become a source of exclusion and conflict, not a tool for progress. If any form of development is required in the 21st century, it is the acquisition of knowledge and the creation of technological capacity.

Regarding Pakistan, World Bank's, South Asia Region, Pakistan Economic Update (April 22, 1998) says, the slow pace of human resource development has adversely affected Pakistan's medium to long term growth prospects, as low levels of education and poor health constrain the growth of productivity in both agriculture and manufacturing. Despite some improvements in 1980's, Pakistan's social indicators, particularly for women, fall short of those of countries at a comparable stage of development and are among the Worst in the South Asia region. Only 35% of the population is literate (20% of women), compared to the average literacy ratio 49% in South Asia and 51% in low-income countries. Pakistan's gross primary school enrollment rate of about 60% compares unfavorably with the South Asia regional average of 98% and the average of 105% for low-income countries. Gender disparities in education remain large, with Pakistan's girls' gross enrollment rate of only 49% (as against 57% for boys) comparing unfavorably with India's 91%, Bangladesh's 105%, and Sri Lanka's 105%. As a result of immunization campaigns infant mortality has fallen, but it still remains high at about 90percent 1,000 live births, compared to the average of 64 for low-income countries. While contraceptive awareness is beginning to grow, use remains low (about 23%). Consequently, the fertility rate (5.3 per married woman) and population growth (estimated at 2.8% per year) remain among the highest in the world. Only 45% of the rural population has access to safe drinking water and 20% to any sort of sanitation.

Viqar Ahmed and Rashid Anjad (1984), presented the relationship between development and social services:- “a close relationship between economic development and the provision of essential social services like education and health, for not only as an economy develops are we more able to provide these essential facilities but a better educated and healthier labour force also helps to accelerate the process of economic development.”

Syed Akbar Zaidi (1999), GNP per capita is a very simplistic and crude measure of social development, the HDI is a larger and broader composite indicator which captures much more than just per capita income.

M. L. Qureshi (1984), Improvement of the Quality of Life at low income levels is important. Any policy which helps to improve the quality of life of the people is bound to be politically very rewarding. Syed Badar Hashmi (1976), “The government is determined to quicken the momentum of socio-economic development. It is equally keen to ensure that the pattern of investment results in equitable high in all regions of the country”.

HDI measures the status of socio-economic development, and in Pakistan over time it is not estimated. Moreover, like HDI, earlier one well known endeavor, using principal component and further, thus employing variable weights was the construction PQLI for Pakistan, by Haroon Jamal and Salman Malik (1988). Five indicators life expectancy at birth, health facilities and level of nutrition, labour force participation, education facilities and consumption of durable goods and energy were used to form a “PQLI” for Pakistan. But this study was constructed the PQLI for Pakistan (sindh districts) for the period 1960-83, first ten year included data of 1960, 1965 and 1970 only.

In this paper we have estimated the weighted HDI of Pakistan for the period of 1950 to 1990. We have estimated it over time, to observe any pattern or trend in HDI. The HDI included three indicators. These indicators are, life expectancy at birth, education attainment and per capital real GNP.

Methodology

The Human Development Index is based on three indicators i.e. life expectancy in Pakistan, Pakistan education attainment, and real GNP per capita of Pakistan. At international level similar indicators are used. In the literature on HDI 'studies a number of techniques have been used to measure the HDI. The studies assesses country's progress in terms of HDI by assigning equal weight to each component variable. In this paper two techniques have been used to compute HDI for Pakistan. Firstly by using principal component analysis (PCA), and thus employing variable weights, we have constructed the HDI for Pakistan from 1950 to 1990. A complete discussion has been made on these techniques as follows.

The weighted factor score technique proceeds by clustering indicators which are correlated most into factors such that it attempts to create factors which have maximum correlation among each other. Weights shall be assign to each factor on the basis of eigenvalues, and in this manner the overall factor score for the country is computed. The FA model can be computed as follows :

$$X_i = a_{i1} F_1 + a_{i2} F_2 \dots \dots a_{ij} F_j$$

Where:

X_i = is the i th indicator.

a_{ij} = is called the factor loading and represents the proportion of the variation in X_i which is accounted by the j th factor.

$E_{a_{ij}}$ = is called the communality and it is equivalent to the multiple regression analysis.

F_j = Represents j th factor or component.

The basic assumption of factor analysis is that underlying dimension, or factors, can be used to explain complex phenomena. Observed correlations between variables phenomena. Observed correlation between variables (indicators) result from sharing these factors. For example, correlation between test scores might be attributable to such shared factors as general intelligence, abstract reasoning skill, and reading comprehension.

The correlation between the community variable might be due to factors like degree of urbanization, the socio-economic level or welfare of the community, and the population stability. The goal of factor analysis is to identify directly non-observable factors based on a set of observable variables (indicators), the mathematical regression equation. Each variable is expressed as a linear combination of factors which are not actually observed.

Second, for the construction of the weighted index, fixed minimum and maximum value have been established for each of these individual factor score i.e. weighted factor score of life expectancy at birth, weighted factor score of education attainment, and weighted factor score of real GNP per capita. These are three weighed factor scores. For any component of the HDI, individual indices can be computed according to the general formula:

$$\text{Index} = \frac{\text{Actual xi value} - \text{Mimumum xi value}}{\text{Maximum xi value} - \text{Minimum xi value}}$$

The HDI is a simple average of the weighted life expectancy index, weighted education attainment index and weighted real GNP per capita index, and so is derived by dividing the sum of these three indices by 3.

Data

In this study diverse sources of data have been used for quantification of Human Development Index. In the process of data collection various difficulties have been faced, due to non-availability of relevant publication for the early stage of Pakistan's economy position. However in order to make the analysis as authentic as possible, various sources of information (References) has been referred to this, offcourse, included, at time, for quantification of such index (HDI).

In the paper to assess Pakistan's progress in terms of Human Development Index (HDI), 3 indicators have been used. Similarly, at the

international level same number and nature of indicators have been used, which referred in review of the literature.

The individual indicators are as follows:

1) *Life expectancy* : Life expectancy is taken at birth. The primary sources for life expectancy are Pakistan Statistical Year Book, Economic Survey of Pakistan, and Health Survey of Pakistan.

Data were collected on following variables.

Female average age.

2) *Real GNP per capita* : Pakistan Gross National Product at constant prices divided by population in the same year. The data sources for GNP per capita are Economic Survey of Pakistan and Statistical Year Book of Pakistan.

3) *Education attainment* : The primary sources for the indicators are, Pakistan Statistical Yearbook and Economic Survey of Pakistan. The indicators are described as :

(i) *Primary school enrollment ratio*: Primary (total) expresses enrollment of all ages in primary school as a percentage of the population of primary school age, which normally covers all children from age 5 to 9 year. And similarly primary (male and female) expresses enrollment of females all ages in primary (male and female) expresses enrollment of females all ages in primary school as a percentage of the population of male and females of primary school age, 5 to 9 years.

(ii) *Middle school enrollment ratio*: Middle (total) expresses enrollment of all ages in middle school as a percentage of the population of middle school age, which normally covers all population from age 10 to 14 year. Middle (male and female) expresses enrollment of females all ages in middle school as

a percentage of the population of male female of middles school age, 10 to 14 year.

- (iii) *High school enrollment ratio*: High (total) expresses enrollment of all ages in high school as a percentage of the population of high school age, which normally covers all population from male and female of all ages in high school as a percentage of the population of male and female of high school age, 15 to 19 year.
- (iv) *Secondary colleges, and other professional colleges enrollment ratio*: College (total) expresses enrollment of all ages in as a percentage of population of college age, which normally covers all population form age 20 to 24 year. College (male and female) expresses enrollment of male and female of all ages in college as a percentage of the population of male and female of college age, 20 to 24 year.
- (v) *University enrollment ratio*: University (total) expresses enrollment of all ages in the university as a percentage of population of university age 25 to 29 year. University male and female expresses enrollment of male and female of all ages in university as a percentage of the population of male and female of university age, 25 to 29 year.

Empirical Finding

The Human Development Index is related to the social sector. An evaluation of the social sector is also an evaluation of government performance and policy to improve the social status of the people. How social status of the people has been improved during the period. Even Pakistan has completed Ninth Five Year Plan (1998-2003). There have also been longer, twenty and fifteen year perspective plans.

The HDI measuring status of socio-economic development, based on measure of life expectancy at birth, education attainment, and real per capita GNP. In human resource development the importance of these three indicators is there, for example: an increase in life expectancy depends on an investment in human resources, which improve their productivity in long-run. Real GNP per capita is a very important in human development because the status of socio-economic development largely depends on this broader composite indicator. Education attainment is also more important in this regard, because education is an area of human activity, education has much to contribute to the cultivation of the mind and the spirit, curiosity, contemplation, and reasoning. This serves to underline the role of education in fulfilling certain development goals like overcoming by improving the quality of manpower, inculcating the needed know-how, and improving productivity besides functioning as an instrument for reducing economic and social disparities. The general role of education, i.e. providing enlightenment and improving the reasoning power of the human being, is thus quite compatible with specific functions like imparting certain types of knowledge, skills, and techniques.

Table on the next page indicates Human Development Index. In this table, the Human Development Index (HDI) attempts to measure yearly improvement in Pakistan's status of socio-economic development between the period of 1950 to 1990. The HDI is constructed for the period on a scale of 0 (relatively lowest human development year) to 1 (relatively highest human development year).

TABLE

Year	Weighted Factor Score			Index of W.F.S			Composition $x_1+x_2+x_3$	Index H. D. A. Index (HDI)
	Life Expectancy x_1	Educa-tion attainment x_2	Real GNP per capita x_3	Index of $x_1 = x_1$	Index of $x_2 = x_2$	Index of $x_3 = x_3$		
1950	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.004	0.000	0.019	0.023	0.007
1951	1.21	1.03	1.01	0.092	0.013	0.025	0.130	0.043
1952	1.21	1.06	0.97	0.092	0.026	0.000	0.118	0.039
1953	1.01	1.06	1.00	0.008	0.026	0.019	0.053	0.017
1954	1.02	1.04	1.02	0.012	0.017	0.032	0.061	0.020
1955	0.99	1.05	1.03	0.000	0.021	0.038	0.059	0.019
1956	1.00	1.19	1.04	0.004	0.082	0.045	0.128	0.042
1957	1.02	1.21	1.05	0.012	0.091	0.051	0.154	0.051
1958	1.03	1.22	1.05	0.016	0.096	0.051	0.163	0.054
1959	1.07	1.24	1.08	0.033	0.104	0.071	0.208	0.069
1960	1.09	1.32	1.09	0.042	0.139	0.077	0.258	0.086
1961	1.28	1.33	1.11	0.122	0.144	0.090	0.356	0.118
1962	1.29	1.41	1.12	0.126	0.179	0.097	0.402	0.134
1963	1.32	1.51	1.17	0.139	0.222	0.129	0.490	0.163
1964	1.53	1.64	1.21	0.227	0.279	0.155	0.661	0.220
1965	1.53	1.79	1.28	0.227	0.344	0.201	0.772	0.257
1966	1.60	2.07	1.34	0.257	0.467	0.240	0.964	0.321
1967	2.01	2.10	1.34	0.430	0.480	0.240	1.150	0.383
1968	2.09	2.12	1.45	0.464	0.489	0.311	1.264	0.421
1969	2.16	2.14	1.54	0.493	0.497	0.311	1.301	0.433
1970	2.19	2.14	1.54	0.506	0.497	0.370	1.373	0.457
1971	2.19	2.15	1.51	0.506	0.502	0.350	1.358	0.452
1972	2.12	2.16	1.51	0.476	0.506	0.350	1.332	0.444
1973	2.22	2.17	1.56	0.518	0.510	0.383	1.411	0.470
1974	2.25	2.18	1.63	0.531	0.515	0.428	1.474	0.491
1975	2.42	2.19	1.64	0.603	0.519	0.435	1.474	0.491
1976	2.44	2.61	1.66	0.611	0.703	0.448	1.762	0.587
1977	2.69	3.18	1.68	0.717	0.951	0.461	2.129	0.709
1978	2.71	3.19	1.80	0.725	0.956	0.538	2.219	0.739
1979	2.97	3.19	1.85	0.835	0.956	0.571	2.362	0.787
1980	2.98	3.20	1.92	0.839	0.960	0.616	2.415	0.805
1981	3.24	3.20	1.97	0.949	0.960	0.649	2.558	0.852
1982	3.25	3.21	2.04	0.953	0.965	0.694	2.612	0.870
1983	3.26	3.22	2.15	0.957	0.969	0.766	2.692	0.897
1984	3.27	3.23	2.17	0.962	0.973	0.779	2.714	0.904
1985	3.28	3.25	2.27	0.966	0.982	0.344	2.792	0.930
1986	3.29	3.26	2.36	0.970	0.986	0.902	2.858	0.952
1987	3.30	3.26	2.40	0.974	0.986	0.928	2.888	0.962
1988	3.35	3.27	2.44	0.995	0.991	0.954	2.940	0.980
1989	3.35	3.29	2.48	0.995	1.000	0.980	2.975	0.991
1990	3.36	3.29	2.51	1.000	1.000	1.000	3.000	1.000

- WFS → Weighted factor score.
 X_1 → WFS of Life expectancy at birth.
 X_2 → WFS of Education attainment.
 X_3 → WFS of Real GNP per capita.

these three measures of development and applying a complex formula (discussed in methodology) to 1950 to 1990 data, the HDI ranks all years into three groups: relatively low human development (0.0 to 0.50), relatively medium human development (0.51 to 0.79), and relatively high human development (0.80 to 0.10).

The table consist of nine (9) columns, alongwith its measurement arrangement. First column shows the period from 1950 to 1990. Column 2nd to 4th show weighted factor score of life expectancy at birth, education attainment and per capita real GNP respectively. Column fifth, sixth, and seventh show indices value of these three indicators respectively. Column eight is the composite indicator of these three indicators. Column nine (9) shows HDI. The HDI is a simple average of the weighted life expectancy index, weighted educational attainment index and weight real GNP per capita index, and so is derived by dividing the sum of these three indices by 3.

Based on the above stated criteria, column nine; value of weighted HDI along the period, can be divided into the three groups. The period upto 1975, Pakistan has relatively lowest HDI, from 1976 to 1979 relatively medium HDI and 1980 to 1990 was relatively high.

The status of socio-economic development 'grows' as reflected by a rise in Pakistan's HDI over time. What is more interesting for our purposes is that different government's policies to bring an uplift in the status of socio-economic development even unweighted HDI for 174 countries, Pakistan's rank was 128th in 1995 and it fell in low human development group, according to World Development Report.

Social status of the people improved during the 1979. Even Pakistan having completed its ninth five year plan (1998-2003). There have also been longer, twenty and fifteen year perspective plans of the HDI as compared to earlier period since 1950. Then, according to HDI value, Pakistan's early 26 years (1950 to 1975), with relatively low status of socio-economic development and 50 percent increase in HDI in the period. Four years (1976 to 1979), with medium status of socioeconomic

development and 29 percent increase in HDI. In 11 years (1980 to 1990), with 21 percent increase in HDI and relatively high status of socio-economic development during the period.

An evaluation of the social status is also an evaluation of the government's performance and policies to improve HDI. In the early two decades, planning in Pakistan has been, of necessity, the difficult task of developing a backward economy, which the nation inherited at the time of independence. The broad rural base stood in vital deed of social infrastructure, agriculture, industrial and institutional structure to get things going towards consistent development and uplift of the status of socio-economic development.

The start was made with the Colombo plan launched in 1951. The first five year plan (1955) aimed at preparing the ground for rapid growth by building infrastructure and productive potential of the economy. The second five year plan (1960) was more than a success in terms of physical and financial achievements. The actual increase in national income over the plan period was 30 percent compared with the plan target of 24 percent. The targets were over fulfilled. The plan proved the capability of the economy to achieve growth rate of more than 5 percent per annum. The investment level rose to 18.8 percent of the GNP. Out of the additional income generated during the plan, the rate of savings and re-investment rose to 20 percent. As a result, the domestic savings increased at a faster rate. Exports increased at the rate of 7 percent per annum. In 1965, before war, the economy seemed for a self-sustained development effort in the future and was encouraging for uplift of status of socio-economic development. The third five year plan (1965) was started into difficulties, i.e. 1965 war and floods in 1966-67, which affected the agricultural, industrial and services sector adversely. Even then, the Gross National Product increased by 5.8 percent, agricultural production by 4.1 percent and export earnings by 6.5 percent, compared with respective plan targets of 6.5 percent, 5 percent and 9.5 percent. A growth rate of only 7.8 percent value added in the manufacturing sector was realized compared with the plan target of 10 percent. As a proportion of GNP, gross investment declined from 18.3 percent in 1964-65 to 14.3 percent in 1969-70. The marginal rate of savings over the plan period was little more than 6 percent compared to the plan target of 20

percent. Foreign exchange earnings increased at an annual compound rate of 6.5 percent compared to the plan target of 9.5 percent, reached the level of Rs. 4,250 million in 1969-70. During the plan and at the end of the plan, due to direct and indirect effects of positive activities, status of socio-economic development and HDI improved.

The fourth five year plan (1970-75) designed, with the experience and achievements gained during the previous three plans and keeping in view the socio-economic conditions prevailing in the country, the plan's major objectives aimed at broadening the base of development in the country and reduction in disparities in per capita income for the establishment of a just society. The plan focus was designed to correct errors as well as to achieve the goal of improving the standard of living of the masses and their socio-economic status. Regarding the planning mechanism, after 1971, it was considered feasible to resort to Annual Development Plan (ADP) and Annual Development Programmes (ADPs) as an investments of economic planning. This had been practiced for six years. The nationalization policy during the period imposed direct effect on HDI through the distribution of income. Further, the bulk of the new investment programmes were implemented by the public sector. The public sector was expected to take the major role and responsibility in the development of the economy as a whole and social sector particularly. According to economists, the period was the social sector reform period, which imposed a positive effect on the social status of the people, which shows the value of HDI over the period.

Further, the fifth five year plan (1978-83) was launched in 1978, whose focus was on broadening the base of development and welfare of the common man (in 1980, the government has implemented to targeted income transfer programs, namely the Zakat Fund, the Bait-ul-Maal, wheat subsidy etc. these programs made significant income transfers to the poor.) effected positively, standard of living alongwith life expectancy and education attainment.

The main objectives of the sixth five year plan (1983-88) were to cater to basic needs of the people such as nutrition, housing, water and sanitation, education and health. Energy got the largest chunk of the total investment funds, nearly 20%. The allocation for social sector, notably education and health witnessed three fold increase over the fifth plan.

In the social sector there were visible improvements but most of the targets could not be achieved. In education, literacy improved by three percent only, whereas it was supposed to go up from 27 to 48%. The participation rate of children in primary schools was supposed to go up from 48% in 1982-83 to 75% in 1987-88 but it went up to 63.5% only. In retrospect, it looks that the targets for literacy and primary school enrollment, were high. There were considerable improvements in the health sector. Nearly 85% of the Union Councils were provided with either a Basic Health Unit (BHU) or a Rural Health Centre (RHC) or both. Infant mortality rate was reduced from 98.5 per 1000 to 80 and life expectancy was increased from 55 to 61 years. The plan had vowed to increase production and reduce income imbalances through execution of an income and employment policies, which increased per capita real income. All these measures imposed a positive effect on the social status of development of humans in Pakistan, and positive, improvement in HDI value as indicated by the table.

The early two years of seventh five year plan (1988-1993) are also included in the analysis. The main objectives of the plan were, gradual eliminations of unemployment especially among the educated, social and cultural development especially provision of nutritive food, housing, medical and education facilities and other public services, human resource development, self-reliance with emphasis on foreign aid, technology and technical knowhow, exploitation of the full potential of the private sector and perusal of the policy of privatization, reduction of budgetary deficits, particularly the revenue budget deficit, improvement of the adverse balance of payments and control of inflation through an appropriate monetary policy.

Further, in late 1980's the government started a number of programmes for human development, particularly, expanded primary school places for girls 1988-91, increased basic health facilities 1989-90, reviewed utilization / staffing / procedures of operation and drew up plans for institutional based expansion of network during 1989-90. All these factors improved HDI during this period.

According to the table HDI values classification, as in the time analysis, the government's policies perception, implementation, effects and efficiency point of view, there were various factors which we have discussed in time arrangement. In the early stage the performance of

various government's policies in improving status of socio-economic development especially HDI context remained satisfactory, even the economy was at the early stage of development and the government concentration was on the provision of physical social infrastructure (PSI). Further, the HDI values show that during 1960's and 1970's an ideal sustained and consistent improvement occurred, showing betterness of the government policies to improve life expectancy, education attainment and GNP per capita during the period. 1960's recorded higher growth, investment in both public and private sectors, development of agriculture sector and industrialization process, one side, modern sector growth imposed positive impact on social sector and especially, life expectancy, education attainment and real GNP per capita. And on the other side the per capita income increased through increase in employment and real sector positive effect. Due to construction of school and road facilities there was an increase in enrollment and due to better facilities of health and health engineering there was favorable impact on life expectancy. Life expectancy of both males and females had continued to increase over the period. The overall life expectancy rate increased in this period.

During the period of 1970's there was a sustained improvement in the HDI. The period is conceded as 'social reform period'. The government strategy during early 1970's was on socio-structural and institutional changes, top priority to social services and redistribution of income. During the period short term planning was introduced instead of making a five year plan. Various new policies were introduced, i.e. nationalization, labour policy and the policy of economic control which has posed direct and positive effect on the status of socio-economic development of people. Along with, perhaps the main factors were the shares in public expenditure of health, education and physical planning and housing were highest in all the years. In the 1980's the government started a number of programmes for human development, we have discussed already in previous pages. All these policies and measures imposed a positive effect on the social status of development of human in Pakistan, indicated with positive improvement in HDI.

CONCLUSION

A country's potential for economic growth or development is greatly influenced by its endowments of human resources, both numbers of people and their level of skills. Pakistan is endowed with vast human resources, which have a tremendous development potential. Unfortunately on account of inadequate pace of growth, social infrastructure, paucity of capital resources, and imperfection of manpower planning, we could not optimally utilize the such resources.

In the course of planning for overall economy, social sector and especially for human development a number of factors which were beyond the national control, affected badly the whole economy and particularly social sector. The prominent among these factors were, two wars (1965 and 1971), political instability in 1950's and in the beginning of 1970's, droughts, heavy floods, inflationary conditions, oil price hikes and other like these. Further, there were various problems within social sector and human development particularly i.e. poor quality and inadequate coverage of basic social services related to HDI, i.e. inadequate provision of budgetary resources to basic social sector to related human development, weak institutional management, and implementation capacity of line departments and agencies responsible for providing these services, which were related to human development, and absence of beneficiary participation in planning and delivery services, leading to establishment of inappropriate delivery system with or no accountability. Even then, the status of socio-economic development, 'grows' as reflected by rises in Pakistan's HDI over time.

From the empirical study of the Pakistan's Human Development Data and Index, a number of conclusions arise. First, in the early stage the performance of the government in improving status of socio-economic development especially HDI context remained satisfactory, even the economy was at the early stage of development and the government concentration was on the provision of 'Physical Social Infrastructure. Even then, the HDI values over period show that during 1960's a sustained and consistent improvement, showing goodness of the government policies to improve life expectancy, education attainment and GNP per capita during the period. Further, during the period, record growth and higher investment in both public and private sectors,

development of agriculture sector and due to industrialization process, one side, modern sector growth imposed positive impact on social sector and especially life expectancy, education attainment and real GNP per capita and other side increased the per capita income through increase in employment and real sector positive effect. Due to construction of school and road facilities there was increase in enrollment and due to better facilities of health and health engineering there was favorable impact on life expectancy.

During the period of 1970's, there is also continuity in sustained improvement in the HDI. The period is popular from social reforms point of view. The government aim was to improve the welfare of common man. To achieve this object, the government strategy during early 1970's was focused on structural and institutional changes, top priority to social services and redistribution of income. During the period pattern of planning was changed, various new policies/reforms were introduced, i.e. nationalization, political reforms, labour policy, and the policy of economic control, which has posed direct and positive effect on the status of socio-economic development of people. Along with, perhaps the main factors were the share in public expenditure of health, education and physical planning and housing were highest in all the years.

Second, there was a satisfactory improvement in HDI during very late seventies and very early eighties, the government program focused on broadening the base of development and welfare of the common man i.e. income transfer programs. During the mid eighties and late eighties, the government focus was on the basic needs of the people such as nutrition, housing, water, education, health and sanitation. Due to improvement in these facilities, there was faster improvement in HDI.

The analysis of Pakistan's past human development experience and the major human developmental challenges is still facing problems of a work-plan that puts main emphasis on the quality of life, is very much warranted. Further for the improvement in quality of life of the people, government must focus and policy reforms must serve the provision of (minimum standard) basic goods and services at low price like food, shelter, clothing, education, health, clean water, sanitation and all utilities etc. By bettering all these society will well-off as a whole and

particularly healthier work force is a prerequisite for raising the level of productivity in any economy like Pakistan.

Regarding the socio-economic problems confronting Pakistan, the human resource development strategy should be based on essential components, which are harmonious with WTO as follows :

- (i) The building of appropriate incentives, encouraging productive scares.
- (ii) Effective training of employed manpower in training and qualification.
- (iii) The national development of formal education. Investment in formal schooling. Allocation of resources for schooling and training.
- (iv) Life expectancy related measures are : Health and health care. Home investment in family care, pre-school years. The acquisition of improved health.
- (v) Income and income related measures : Investment in labour market information (vide job research), wage and salary investment. Improved productive capabilities in all sectors within the framework of WTO. Developing the qualities of human factor in the prospect of WTO.

This is possible with the interest of the Pakistan Federal Provincials and local governments, contribution, non-government organizations (NGOs), Government-NGO-Private sector partnerships and encouraging community participation.

So far as policy suggestion for present government to accelerate human development is concerned, there is a need for effective implementation of development plans and better delivery of social and economic services (related to human development) are important as the primary means of accelerating human development in Pakistan, particularly among the poor and neglected groups. Pakistan government's role has to be

optimal and public interventions be focused on areas where returns yield maximum social benefits.

The analysis of HDI proposed by Pakistan's government should take a broader measures within the framework of WTO and SAARC, for their socio-economic development performance, both relatively and absolutely, and thus to focus their economic and social policies more directly on those sectors and areas in need of improvement. Finally by developing human factors should help Pakistan particularly in better preparing for meeting WTO challenges.

In this regard the present government has taken various steps, as follows :

- (i) The present government has given top priority to the employment of women and bring a positive change in their lives.
- (ii) Rural development is supposed to be a multi-sectoral approach for the development of physical and social infrastructure.
- (iii) The government focuses on the housing situation in the country.
- (iv) The priority of health programmes give special focus to the major health problems of the country.
- (v) National education policy should achieve high level of literacy.
- (vi) Pro-poor economic and social policies in each sector.
- (vii) The National Zakat Foundation working has been forced by the government on same line.

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Imperatives of U.S. Policy Towards India & Pakistan : After the Cold War

QAMAR FATIMA

Geography gives unique position to South Asian region in geo-political context; it lies almost in the middle of Asia. No doubt, Geographically South Asia comprises seven countries but in the context of geo-strategic environment, the interaction with great Powers, and regional conflicts and issues, India and Pakistan appear as the key countries of South Asian region.

Therefore, the international politics for the region mainly revolve around India and Pakistan, their interaction with each other, and their relations with powerful states around the globe. From 1945 to 1989 the United States authored its policy for the region in the wake of anti-communism and anti-Soviet campaign with a principal objective to prevent the domination of Eurasian hostile power. So, a series of security arrangements were undertaken and massive economic and military assistance was extended to the key countries of South Asia as a part of its strategy to contain communism and isolate China and Soviet Union in Global political environment. Soviet Union, also with an aim to preserve the territorial integrity and national security sought to establish friendly and good relations with neighbours. The focus of Soviet foreign policy makers was the development and strengthening of political, trade, and economic relations in South Asia with India. For many years Soviet leaders

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looked at South Asia through "Indian Eyes". This set an atmosphere in which South Asia ranked very high in the realms of US think tanks and policy makers during the cold war rivalry. The end of the cold war, triumph of capitalism over communism and disintegration of Soviet Union unleashed momentous geo-political changes. These and related developments had profound impact on global security alignments, regional conflicts, and pattern of international linkages. South Asia due to its strategic sensitivity and location as the vicinity of Central Asia and the Persian Gulf could not escape from the consequences of these developments. In post cold war scenario, most of the scholars presumed that demise of Soviet Union would once again result in redundancy of South Asia for US Administration. The US world vision in this changed scenario of world politics virtually and profoundly influenced the South Asian region along the entire world. In this backdrop, this article analyzes the imperatives that greatly contributed to the approach and policy of the United States towards South Asia after cold war.

India, Pakistan & Post Cold War Arena: Breaking New Paths

The Cold War's global and regional constraints, the containment and counterbalance strategies continuously kept involved and tempted super powers to meddle with the affairs and conflicts all around the world. The South Asia due to its geo-political and geo-strategic significance particularly appeared to be as the wrestling ring for super power's rivalry and competitions for influence. The internationalism on the part of superpowers under the influence of grand and global strategy was never meant to resolve regional conflicts rather; they consciously abstained from such involvement that could become the cause of getting them directly entangled in any one of regional conflict. Arguably, it seemed against the interests of external powers to peacefully resolve any of regional conflicts, which could later minimize the dependence of the regional states on their external patrons.¹

India

India, because of her cultural, economic and political complexities is more like a continent than a country. Her performance in all spheres of life lacks uniformity and resembles to patch work quilt. India retains nearly half of the world's poorest people. Largely concentrate in the states of Central and Eastern India like Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Orissa. The Western and Southern India, especially the states of Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu are politically, orderly and economically thriving and socially quite modern.²

When India is compared with neighboring states, she, despite being the part of less developed world, appears to be the largest emerging market, the second most populous nation that is likely to surpass China in population shortly after the year 2010. The coincidence of end of Cold War and India's initiatives to liberalize, decrease state ownership and opening up of her economy to international trade and financial linkages paved the way for new challenges and opportunities in varying dimension and degrees.³

The fundamental and structural shift in economic policies on the part of India drew the attention of American and European investors simultaneously. They viewed bright chances of investment in an emerging and vastly growing market. From 1991 to 1996, India bagged 22 billion dollars worth of foreign direct investment. The US pre-eminently became the largest investor, during the same period. With GNP per capita of \$ 310 and distressing high poverty rate, India, during the period 1965 to 1995, maintained only sluggish, average per capita growth in GNP of 2.2 percent. However, Macro economic reforms brought India out from industrial stagnation of 60s and early 70s. India's economic growth hovered around 5 percent of better formerly 1990s and astonishingly in 1996, her economy grew more than 6 percent.⁴

Since the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding with India on high technology in 1984 by Reagan administration, the economic consideration became the most dynamic component of the Indo-US

relationship. Though, America had visible interest in nurturing economy of India since 1990, but initially, she put relatively modest size of investment. However, the psychological impact of opening to international market with large size of consumer group was more lasting and glamorous than the actual outcomes. Economic ties energized the Indo-US relations by peeling off the ice of previous Cold War period relationships. The myriad connection in trade and investments made India a paradise for Americans with peculiar features of English speaking well-educated labor force, lower production cost, and democratic stability.

India drew attention of Coca Cola, Kellogg, AT&T, En Ron, Motorola, MacDonal'd's, KFC, Timex, Morgan, and Stanley and so on. General Electric (GE) solely invested 100 million dollars in areas such as Medical equipments, plastics, and domestic appliances. Sales reached over 400 million dollars annually and expected to be doubled by the year 2000.⁵

In short, the American firms responded to Indian liberalization enthusiastically, and about 400 American firms planned or finally setup their business offices in India. However, one thing was surprising that American firms, despite all enthusiasm and prospective opportunities had not rushed up to India as they did during China's economic opening.⁶

With the end of World War II and commencement of containment policy, America despite all divergences and differences preferred India as more relevant to its strategy of containment. The Western orientation of political ideology of its leaders seemingly made it better choice, however, circumstantial constraints, her perception of international order and subsequently her reluctance to embrace West under American leadership desperately turned America towards Pakistan.

Nehru proposed non-alignment as the basic framework of India's post independence foreign policy. It worked well for half a century; rather it became the single most important instrument with which India steadily and consistently pursued her national interests. It successfully instrumented to consolidated India's independence, unity, and integrity.⁷

But, the emerging realities of post Cold War system severely hit this foreign policy framework. It soon became clear that no alignment worth the old definition and no meaningful non-alignment would be possible in post Cold War global scenario. Non-alignment became obsolete because of its semantic unsuitability in the new global contest. The Pax-Americana, coming up in post Cold War era, necessitated to devise a new framework and redefine foreign policy objectives to effectively deal with American's increasing hegemony.

For decades, India and Soviet Union had developed & intertwined with each other in countless strategic and economic ties. Due to these ties, Moscow persistently offered New Delhi its weapons on exceptionally liberal terms, such as deferred payment in local currency, with 12 to 17 years grace period. Moscow also treated India as a privileged client, occasionally providing weapons in advance of its European allies. For example, she supplied New Delhi the F-2 tank in early 1979 and M.I.G-25 in 1981. In both cases, Warsaw countries got late supply. This privileged status of India was also apparent in Moscow's readiness to collaborate with India in its plans for indiginization of arms production. India's acquisition of co-production rights of MIG-21 was followed by a good number of others additional major assembly and co-production agreement.⁸

So, in post Cold War arena the demise of Soviet Union literally deprived India of its main source of weapons. Similarly, on Economic front, the import of Soviet raw materials at favorable rates ceased and the agreements pertaining to the exports of Indian goods had to be re-negotiated. In changed international environment India lost a true and proven friend, while, in post Cold War international arena, the United States seemed apparently willing to lean towards India, but she had some reservation due to a host of lingering problems with Indian quota restrictions, steep and question intellectual property rights. U.S. was also critical and conscious about India's nuclear missile capability development.⁹

Pakistan

The post Cold War international system opened up new horizons with some constraints and compulsions in regional and global context for Pakistan as well. The systematic change from bi-polarity to military uni-polarity and economic tri polarity resulted in the increase of dependency of periphery on core. The major changes and shifts in international system affected Pakistan more than any other country. During the Cold War period, U.S. strategists crowned Pakistan with the status of most allied ally in South Asia as the part of their grand strategy of containment. This unique type of relationship facilitated U.S. to have extraordinary intelligence gathering facility in the region, which virtually had enhanced the effectiveness of alliance system on the rim land of Soviet Union. No doubt, the rapprochement and détente between U.S., China, and USSR in 70s lessened the importance of South Asia. U.S. strategists accorded attention to this area during that specific period. Pakistan was, at that time major affect of this change owing to her overwhelmed dependence on America.¹⁰

The year 1979 added a new chapter in Pak-U.S. relations. Pakistan announced its withdrawal from CENTO on March 12, the U.S. decided to cut off all aid by invoking the provisions of the 1977. Symington amendments section 699 of the Foreign Assistance Act 1961. A month later, following the Soviet move into Afghanistan U.S. Policy took a "U" turn by keeping aside all restraints affecting U.S. Pakistan relations like issue of non-proliferations and human rights under the emerging tendency of realistic assessment of Soviet threat; Pakistan was declared "a frontline state" which warranted a complete reversal of American Policy.¹¹

The U.S. Pakistan under went a new phase of bi-lateral co-operation in the wake of the crisis of Afghanistan and Iran-Iraq war. The Unites States opted to supply money, weapons, and covert support to Afghan freedom fighters via Pakistan. Pakistan's name has been authored in the history as a country due to which West's dreams to defeat communism came true.¹²

Afghan Mujahideen's relentless resistance shattered Soviet Empire into pieces. With the dawning of new reality, the world came to know that the superpower phraseology had become meaningless. Ultimately, there was only one super-power left in the world and that was U.S.A. This was the reason why Americans were able to break Iraq as no one came to the rescue of that small power.¹³

The post Soviet-withdrawal dynamics left Pakistan in a quagmire. America, after achieving its objectives not only distanced itself from Kabul, but also labeled Afghan Mujahideen as fundamentalists and terrorists. Pakistan was also blamed for interfering in Afghanistan's internal affairs.

Henry Kissinger, once told Agha Shahi, that it is dangerous for a country to be friend the US and fatal for her to oppose it. The U.S. once called Pakistan it's most allied ally, but turned her face as soon as the U.S. objectives were achieved.¹⁴

The West and Americans left Pakistan with an army of highly trained organizations like Harkat-ul Ansar, Jihad Markaz, Dawat ul-Irshad and so many others. These groups and presence of one million Afghans even after the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan aggravated the already declining Social, Cultural and Political milieu. The war left Pakistan with more than one lasting and troubling legacy. It institutionalized the policy of active involvement of its intelligence service (ISI) in domestic and foreign policy. Successive Pakistani leaders have been unable to eliminate this interference.¹⁵

Pakistan had to suffer the massive law and order-deteriorating situation. Kalashnikov culture and widespread drug addiction were the more devastating outcomes and price of frontline status. The Soviets with heavy human loss spent 5 to 6 billion dollars per year to face the resistance of Afghan Mujahideen, leaving irremovable scars on any prospective bi-lateral relations between Russia and Pakistan in future. The most dynamic opportunity which came up after the break-up of Soviet Union, was the birth of new independent sovereign states in

Central Asia, with a wish to strengthen their cultural, and historic connections with South Asia and South West Asia.

Pakistan in the changed geo-political environments, took their desire as a remedy to redress the global disinterest in the region after the end of super power rivalry and to establish close relations with Central Asian States in regional and the global context also had economic reasons. She was among those who immediately recognized all six republics and sent delegations to encourage agreements of various kinds. Aid, though in small quantity was also through to these countries. As promised 30 million dollars for Uzbekistan and 10 million each to other five republics. Furthermore, 5000 tons of rice was offered to Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan and Russia.¹⁶

Pakistan looked CARS through prism of Islam and cultural affinity, but soon realized the differing points. Such as, she faced the handicap of unfamiliarity with the Russian language, which had remained dominating because of the colonial nation. The instability in Afghanistan and rise of Taliban and subsequently Pakistan's supportive policy towards them diminished all chances for her success to establish special ties with these states and to become a bridge between West and Central Asian States.

SAARC, a regional forum could be an effective way out to establish her international credibility in the areas of trade and security, but Pakistan and India's Cold War, regional differences clipped the efficacy of this regional organization. No major change occurred in post cold era despite the disengagement of global powers in the region.¹⁷

U.S. Evolving Interests in South Asia: (India + Pakistan)

The belief in dynamism motivates planners to alter their policies and strategies in changing circumstances, accordingly, the dramatic changes of post Cold War international scene moved U.S. strategists to review past, analyze present and devise a new course of action for future, because, the critical issues of Cold War period, after it, appeared insignificant or irrelevant.

A great debate erupted among academia and planners regarding the U.S. role in post Cold War system. Some opinion sounded in favor of disengagement of 19th, and 20th century 'isolationism in respect of global reforms, economic liberalization, and promotion of democracy abroad. By early 1992, most Americans apparently tended to believe that country's leaders should devote more time to domestic economic problems and less to foreign and defense issues. In Post World War II emergence international system, U.S. foreign policy objectives hovered over the maintaining global and regional balances of power favorable to its allies and promoting an international trading and monetary system conducive to U.S. prosperity.

These objectives, durable in nature, had been a main source of framework for U.S. foreign policy parameters. The U.S. evolved the broad interests specifically during the post-Cold War era in a way to;

- (i) Maintain the premiership of U.S. as sole super power.
- (ii) Prevent the emergence of a political military hegemonic power in Eurasia.
- (iii) Protect concerted American interests in third world specifically in Persian Gulf.
- (iv) In addition, ponder on issues like human rights, nuclear proliferations, terrorism, democracy, and economic liberalization.¹⁸

Traditionally, U.S. interests in Asia and her active involvement had been confined to Pacific Rim countries like China, Japan, and Philippines. South Asia did not figure, prominently in consistent manner, and she only looked it through the prism of Cold War.....¹⁹

So, in post Cold War arena, the value of India and Pakistan seemed lower than ever before, indirectly heightening the risk of a regional conflict. A good number of U.S. South Asian experts visited solely South Asia to deliberate on future U.S. Interests in the region and

prospects of future pattern of relationship with South Asian countries especially with India and Pakistan. The main thrust of this report was that: "Contrary to prevailing American perceptions, South Asia is a region of opportunity for the U.S. in both the short and long term".²⁰

The experts viewing Pakistan and India as single region; concluded that U.S. interests in South Asia although not vital, are important and increasing. These interests include preventing major war and non-proliferation, promoting robust democratic institutions, expanding economic growth, trade, investment, containing terrorism and drug trafficking.²¹

U.S. Policy Focuses towards India & Pakistan

The waning away of Cold War and break-up of Soviet Union virtually lessened the U.S. interests in the region. Pakistan due to history of special ties with U.S. was expected to be major affectee of these lessening interests. However, no fundamental change emerged on sea, as United States did not completely alienate herself from the peace and stability of the region. U.S. tended not to undermine the importance, size, and population of the region. Some other irrevocable factors and facts like geographical placement of South Asia, and its proximity to heart land "Eurasia" and neighboring position to the oil-rich person Gulf on one side and dynamic region of South East Asia other side actively played their role in consistency of U.S. policy towards the region. The U.S. intelligentsia in geo-political perspective viewed region as a vital link for future Heart Lands of the world i.e. jointly South West Asia and Central Asia.²²

- (i) *Nuclear Non-Proliferation (to prevent India and Pakistan from going overtly nuclear), and;*
- (ii) *Normalization Attempts (to manage regional stability through normalization between India and Pakistan).*

Other foreign policy concerns included the economic development of the region, to increase trade and investment opportunities for U.S. business, along with elimination of radical religious movements and control and reduction of narcotics.

The United States Attempts for Normalization between India and Pakistan.

After vanishing competition between super powers for sphere of influence, U.S. twice diffused hostility between India and Pakistan and assured regional stability once in 1990 and second time in 1999. Since the division of Sub-continent by British Raj, leaving seeds of confrontation, into two independent states both have appeared to be the prime factors of each other's security and foreign policy decisions making. The legacy of antagonism and distrust bred war culture and relentless arms race in the region. In this backdrop, India and Pakistan fought three wars and faced several war-like situations. Although the primary source of tension has been the conflicting claims of the two states over the state of Kashmir, but other factors have also contributed a lot in furthering mutual distrust and hostility. The disagreement between Pakistan and India on the Power structure in South Asia and India's aspiration for a commanding role in region and its leaders' belief that a strong and powerful India capable of projecting its power in and around the region is a guarantee of South Asia's Security and stability aggravated the security environment of the region. Pakistan averting to an India-dominated regional power structure strongly believes that it cannot serve as a basis for durable peace in South Asia, Pakistan's resolve to protect and promote its national identity is as pronounced as is India's determination to assert its leadership in the region."²³

Despite intense rivalry, both nations had periodic cordiality, eventually arriving at a good number of agreements.²⁴ The most remarkable event of cordial relations came up after 1971 war, when both nations concluded Simla Agreement, crafted with a desire to diffuse bilateral post war grievances and put an end to the conflicts and

conformation that had captivated their relations for long. This agreement also fixed some principles for the conduct of their bi-lateral problems. But, the diplomatic disagreements, some core contentions issues, the compulsions of history, and domestic political forces left no place for them to show any sort of maturity in the desire to normalize their relations.

Kashmiri Issue: A Fresh Startup, 1989

Kashmiris, gradually getting disillusioned with their state of affairs, rose up against India's increasing role as oppressor which had deployed 500,000 troops to suppress the voices of Kashmiris. The fresh insurgency in Kashmir and break up of Soviet Union was a coincidence. The Kashmiri Mujahideen envying Afghan Mujahideen thought that if break up of an invincible empire and a superpower could be materialized just because of brave resistance of a handful Afghan Mujahideen, then why not India could be knelt down. Even political realm in Pakistan also looked at this massive Kashmir outburst "as similar to the Mujahideen's successful war against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan and decided to replicate albeit on a much smaller scale with indirect but well-organized support for indigenous uprising."²⁵

In February 1990, Indian Intelligence disclosed 46 camps throughout Azad Kashmir that they described as "Safe Houses" where militants were given weapons and explosive training.²⁶

Robert Gates Mission: May 1990

The wide-spread insurgency in Kashmir resulted in brinkmanship of both countries. No doubt, India failed to put down the uprising. However, she consistently kept intact her military and paramilitary presence in valley and over borders. The subsequent and frequent exchanges of artillery and mortar firing along the line of control became routine matter. The international community, especially U.S feared that this frequent cross border firing and large scale presence of Pakistani and

Indian forces at borders could burst into a full scale war between the then de facto nuclear states. India's then Prime Minister V.P. Singh publicly, talked about the possibility of another war between India and Pakistan due to seemingly irreversible point of tension.²⁷

The Ambassadors in New Delhi and Islamabad William Clark and Robert Oakley respectively showed their deep concern over the rapidly deteriorating situation and prospective war. Under-Secretary of states in Washington warned of a "growing risk of miscalculation which could lead events to spin dangerously out of control. The nuclear capability of both states risked high the possibility of escalating a conventional war into a nuclear confrontation. America, realizing the high risk, instantly first acted through multilateral measures to curb away any likely nuclear war. She contacted in March and April Russia, China, and some other key European Nations to ease tension between the two traditional antagonistic states.²⁸

However, the intensity of tension on borders moved America more to take immediate and appropriate action in this respect. America decided to execute preventive diplomacy. President Bush deputed Deputy National Security Advisor Robert Gates to accomplish this task. He came to South Asia in May 1990 and extensively negotiated with high officials at Islamabad and New Delhi as well. He clarified Islamabad that if Pakistan had any intention to start a war, conventional or unconventional, she would not get any kind of support from the United States at all. However, he negated any sort of misperception among U.S. officials that Pakistan had initiated the conflict as such. He observed, "Perhaps by supporting the Kashmiris in a way analogous to the Mujahideen in Afghanistan, could make a basic change in the equation between India and Pakistan."²⁹

During his visit, India briefed that stoppage of Pakistan's support from backing to terrorism in Kashmir and Punjab would be a pre-condition of conflict resolution measures. Nevertheless, American Envoy stressed on both to end their military hostility and take appropriate tension diffusing measures to curtail an likely major war. The envoy

recommended that both parties should work out their basic difference only through negotiations. Apparently, Mission achieved its designated objectives by erasing any possibility of outbreak of war.

“Washington was not willing to lose nearly a decade of efforts spent building better US relations with both countries and using that improvement to build bridges between them”.³⁰

Kargil Episode and Washington Declaration

Bill Clinton resumed his office in Jan 1997, after a sweeping victory in the November 1996 election. Clinton selected his new team and appointed the former U.S representative to U.N Madeleine Albright to replace Warren Christopher as Secretary of State. The top career diplomat Thomas Pickering became undersecretary of state for political affairs. Karl Inderfurth, a senior member of Albright team at U.N and a National Security Council staff member of Carter Presidency, joined as Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia. This new foreign policy team aspired to renovate and broaden the base of relationship with India and Pakistan. They were seemingly inclined to lay less stress on non-proliferation matters. So, in the backdrop of this renovation of foreign policy towards India and Pakistan, a series of high-level trips were planned. Thomas Pickering Under Secretary of State emphasized in one of his statement”.

“We want to show that we do not consider South Asia, the back side of the diplomatic globe.”³¹

The security environment of South Asia had been on height of tension since May Test 1998. The linkage of Kashmir to the nuclear tests by threatening Pakistan to overrun Azad Kashmir and boasting that India’s newly acquired capability would guide negotiation over Kashmir hushed the already down security milieu. The Kashmir, feared by international fora, could explode a nuclear exchange in the already vulnerable region. The P-5, G-8 communiqués, the UN resolution 1172,

the inaugural address of President Nelson Mandela as Chairman of the NAM, all referred to Kashmir as the root cause of tension in the sub-continent and emphasized early resolution of the dispute.³²

Pakistan did respond BJP leadership's hostile attitude in befitting manner clearly maintaining that any misadventure by India would be met in resolute manner. The nuclear black mail by New Delhi with a view to impose a military solution in Kashmir was out rightly balanced by adopting a strategy of first strike. The critical position of Kashmir issue moved the U.S to ask both India and Pakistan not to disturb status quo on line of control (LOC) in Kashmir. In the end of May, a statement entailing a warning for India was issued in which Washington uttered, "We urge both the countries to respect and refrain from provocative actions".³³

Through his remarks, Mr. Lal Krishan Advani was urging Pakistan to back out from Kashmir stance and it seemed that India was foolishly and, dangerously increasing tension in the region giving no heed to world opinion. The international pressure and Pakistan's reciprocal nuclear potential moved India to set stage for bi-lateral talks with Pakistan. So, India not only announced the "No first use policy" but also agreed to resume bi-lateral talks with Pakistan.³⁴

In February, 1999, the region once again enveloped in Euphoria of peace and tranquility, when the Indian prime minister visited Pakistan on the inauguration of bus service from New Delhi to Lahore. The visit set the scene for a hope to genuinely break the ice of cold relations between both the countries for the vital interests of common people. After intensive deliberations Mr Nawaz Sharif and Atal Bihari Vajpai signed the Lahore declaration in which both leaders, in recognition of the dangers of the Nuclear Arms race undertook to give immediate notification of any nuclear related incident and warning of any ballistic missile tests. Lahore declaration meaning fully called upon both India and Pakistan to intensify to resolve all issues including the issue of Jammu and Kashmir.³⁵

The Lahore summit desired to further the dialogue process with more regular meetings of foreign minister's level. The Lahore declaration bagged widespread recognition from international community.

“The Lahore talks raised hopes that the two enemies, sobered by the dangerous implications of their decision to become overt nuclear weapon powers, might atlast begin a series of efforts to reduce tensions.”³⁶

But, unfortunately, the ink of declaration had not dried up, and peace moves and prospects of peace appeared to vanish very soon because the criticism from both India and Pakistan began to come up. Critics in Pakistan rejected the declaration on the belief that it did not mention the ways of implementation of U.N resolution on Kashmir, which to them amounted to putting the core issue on back burner. They accused the Govt. of having failed in securing any commitment from India on Kashmir. The statements in Delhi were even more provocative. Indian Home Minister Lal Kirshan Advani stated in Lok Sabha “Kashmir is an integral part of India and there can be no compromise on it at any point” He also talked of confederation under “Akhand Bharat”

The Lahore process literally crashed when Media swarmed with the News that 600 Kashmiri Mujahideen fighting against Indian occupations had virtually crossed the line of control in the North of Kashmir to occupy 15,000 feet position near the town of Kargil. The occupation of 29 peaks across a 40 km stretch over looking the national highway that joined Leh with Sringer appeared a sever blow to the India's security efforts in the area. Leh is the staging point for 20,000 feet high Siachen Glacier. Successful tactical gains of Mujahideen could not be detected by the Indian intelligence. Kargil, Drass and Baltik along LOC ensured Mujahideen a strategically important position to choke the Indian Movement. It could also severely restrict the Indian Army movement in Ladkh in future.

This operation was qualitatively different from the guerrilla tactics and put India into waters of great trouble. The India, dismayed on operation, was shocked and felt betrayed by Government of Pakistan. The tension that started after nuclearization in 1998 fully manifested it in the Kargil crisis. The Kargil stand off, once again, brought India and Pakistan to a brink of war with a threatening nuclear dimension. Throughout the Kargil crisis, Pakistan's stance was an insistence that the estimated 600 intruders who were occupying the Indian position were indigenous fighters, whom it openly supported at the diplomatic, political, and humanitarian level. Pakistan sought bi-lateral dialogue and asked UN Secretary General to send a special envoy to the region for the preservation of peace and security and to reinforce the UN Military observer groups for India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP).³⁷

U. S. Reaction

As the situation worsened in Kargil, the interest of international community increased, U.S officials viewed this operation in complete dismay and shock. On June 3, the US President wrote to prime minister of India and Pakistan discussing the matter. The Clinton administration deliberated over the crisis from the three angles.

First, the Kargil crisis posed a threat to regional stability, secondly it could usher a change in status quo, resultantly would damage the sanctity of LOC thirdly, a Kargil like situation could lead to Talibanization of Pakistan. From Pakistani perspective they saw objectives of this operation as follows: It would enhance Islamabad's leverage for negotiations with India over Kashmir, it will grab international involvement for the long-awaited solution of Kashmir, and it would rekindle a flagging insurgency against India by Kashmiri Muslims.

U.S officials accorded importance to another factor, which according to their perception was military's desire to kill the dialogue process between India and Pakistani politicians. The Pakistan move was brilliant tactically, but the strategy had the potential for being a great fiasco. "The U.S officials were not clear over Mr. Nawaz Sharif role in respect of

approval and lodging of this operation. An official said, "Mr. Nawaz sharif was briefed on the and approved it, he might not have understood its implications for regional stability."³⁸

President Clinton, conscious of the repercussions of crisis, and likelihood of nuclear exchange, telephoned Mr. Nawaz Sharif and asked him to withdraw from Kargil with immediate effect. To harbor the situation, C-in-C of central command (CENTCOM) General Zinni rushed to Pakistan for two days to directly convince Pakistani civil and military officials to back out from Kargil. Pakistani COAS General Pervaiz Musharaf extensively briefed U.S General about the status of Pakistani troops in the Kashmir area. He categorically refuted Indians allegations that Pakistani troops were fighting in Kargil.³⁹

Pakistan's Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif informed General Zinni that Pakistan had not urged Kashmiri Mujahideen to take up such operation. Surely, they would not cease their activities on his command. He reiterated Pakistan's stand that US must take a broader view of situation prevailing along the LOC.

China, a traditional time-tested friend of Pakistan showed her displeasure and was reluctant to support Pakistan over the Kargil issue. On international diplomatic front, Pakistan was also reminded of the consequences that would emerge in economic terms if it refuted to withdraw from Kargil. OIC's response was also not supportive one for Pakistan. However, with the visit of General Zinni and through briefing over the issue, the U.S high circles stopped directly blaming Pakistan for the operation of Kargil. Instead, they began to pinpoint the rootcause and ultimate solution of the Kashmir for peace and stability in the region.

The MOU signed by India and Pakistan during Lahore peace process clearly states that "the two sides shall periodically review the implementation of existing CBMS and where necessary set up appropriate consultative mechanism to monitor and ensure effective implementation of these CBMS. The two sides shall undertake a review of the existing communication links e.g. between the respective DGMOS

with a view to upgrading and improving these links and provide for a safe and secure communication.”⁴⁰ However, the words and deeds of CBMS come up with vice versa picture. Amid the height of tension on border, Pakistan shot down two aircrafts of Indian Air Force, which violated the LOC on May 27, 1999, a squadron based in Srinagar, while the pilot of intruding MIG 27 was taken into custody as POW. The Pilot of the other aircraft was killed in the incident. As a gesture of goodwill, and to control the wavering situation, on June 1, Pakistan returned the body of an Indian pilot and other pilot was returned accordingly.⁴¹

Under international pressure and compelling circumstances, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif telephoned Vajpai and offered to send Sartaj Aziz to New Delhi to meet his Indian counterpart and to explore ways and means to diffuse the tension in a way that could lead to peaceful settlement of Kashmir problem. Mr. Sartaj Aziz went to New Delhi and had talks with Indian counterpart, but vehemently, the talks ended in a dead lock. Indian foreign minister over the operation said on T.V “The Intruders must be immediately withdrawn or else, they will be evicted, they further reiterated, “this is the only issue on which we can have talks with Pakistan”.⁴²

Vajpayee resolute over his tough stance, in a televised speech, stated “The subject is one and only one: the intrusion and how Pakistan proposes to undo it. If the strategy now is that the intrusion should be used to alter the LOC, through talks, proposed talks will end before they have begun.”⁴³

On June 19, the “Telegraph” reported, “India has turned to Washington for help to convince the world richest and most powerful nations the G-8 of the need to send a strong signal to Pakistan to end the armed intrusion in Kargil. Therefore, on June 20, The G-8, from Cologne Summit issued a communiqué calling for the withdrawal of armed intruders from the troubled spot.”⁴⁴

International community including U.S viewed Kargil crisis beyond the core issue of Kashmir, this operation interpreted as an insurgency

carried out by Pakistan against India. To break the impasse between India and Pakistan over the Kargil, a meeting was scheduled between Bill Clinton and Nawaz Sharif. So, on July 4, 1999, following the meeting, a joint statement was issued from White House namely "**The Washington Declaration.**" The statement sidelining the core issue only focused on Kargil. The declaration pertained issues such as respect for the LOC in accordance with the Simla Agreement, the restoration of LOC, an immediate cessation of hostilities, the revival of bi-lateral dialogue in the spirit of Lahore declaration. In return, Bill Clinton assured Pakistan of his personal involvement in encouraging an expeditious resumption and intensification of those bi-lateral (India & Pakistan) efforts, which could resolve Kashmir dispute.⁴⁵

In conclusion, Pakistan Govt. had to face a wide spread criticism at home from both political and religious quarters. Addressing a news conference in Islamabad, Syed Salahuddin, Chairman of United Jihad Council, an alliance of guerrilla groups, categorically rejected the Washington Declaration. Alliance termed this Clinton-Nawaz venture as an international conspiracy against Kashmiris. Pakistan govt. took stance that this declaration was actually meant to avert the danger of a fourth war between nuclear capable countries of South Asia.⁴⁶

Critics said due to behind door strategy, for the first time, world's attention was turned away from the issue of Indian atrocities in Kashmir, even Pakistan itself, while not press this matter inked the Washington declarations.⁴⁷

Pakistan's unilateral decision under U.S pressure to withdraw from Kargil made India an aggrieved party. India successfully eluded the international opinion on its violation of human rights in the valley. Indian media overwhelmingly projected Pakistan as a state involved in escalating tensions across the border and encouraging Islam terrorism all over the world. The Kargil episode inherently changed the dynamics of Kashmir issue and on August 17, 1999, India exorbitantly announced that it would pursue a "Doctrine of credible Nuclear Deterrence" which would deter a potential aggressor that any nuclear attack on India and its

forces shall result in punitive retaliations with nuclear weapons to inflict damage unacceptable to the aggressor. Shamshad Ahmed, foreign secretary of Pakistan reacted over the so-called "Doctrine of credible Deterrence" and declared :

"Pakistan cannot afford to ignore the security implications of India's new doctrine and its ambitious plan of nuclear weapons deployment and warned that Pakistan would be obliged to match India's action by re-evaluating its own requirement of nuclear deterrence capability."⁴⁸

Nuclear Non-Proliferation (Prevent India & Pakistan from Going Overtly Nuclear)

Since 1945 the international community has faced the possibility of global nuclear war. The threat posed by nuclear war is enormous, because even an isolated experimental nuclear explosion has the potential to destroy parts of earth's ecosystem. This deadly potential of nuclear power gave rise to a host of anti-nuclear movements in North America and Western Europe because that nuclear deterrence maintained during Cold War period contributed to further insecurity in the world.

The United States pioneered in unleashing the potential deadly power of nuclear weapon at the end of World War II most ironically to end the war. The American bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki claimed, in terms of immediate death, the lives of 70,000 in Hiroshima and 35,000 in Nagasaki. The overall death toll is unknown, because many of survivors later died from ill health relating to nuclear radiation.

By 1964, five nations had joined the nuclear club. However, nuclear testing occurred in many other parts of world as well. Many Heads of States, in post World War II's first decade viewed nuclear power as a source of endless and cheap energy and as a symbol of the modern technological state. Leaders of sub-continent also made their case for nuclear capability as a route to modernization and industrial development.

The Nuclear Weapons Cycle (N.W.C. And South Asia)

The nuclear weapons cycle refers to the "Production, testing and Deployment of Nuclear weapons." This cycle formerly, began in South Asia in 1948 with Indian initiative. Pakistan joined a little bit late the race for nuclear capability.⁴⁹

At the core of politics, usually nations opt to be nuclear when they perceive a threat to their national security and survival, they tend to rely on weapons as an instrument of self-defense and an effective mode of deterrence against a potential aggressor. When India's motives to go nuclear were assessed in historical perspective, the security factor appeared less important. Right from the independence, the Indian leaders, in the deep of heart, viewed India as potentially great world power, with a huge population, affluent in resources and characterized with one of the worlds ancient culture and civilization. Dr. Homi Bhaba, a Cambridge graduate in Astrophysics and founder of India's nuclear program convinced Mr. Nehru that to make India a great power among family of nations, she had to have nuclear weapons compatibility. The nuclear capability became an integral part of a dream of "Great India"⁵⁰

The alliance and collaboration between a political leader and an ambitious scientist became the thriving force behind the India's nuclear program. In 1948, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru told parliament "of course, if we are compelled as a nation to use (Atomic Energy) for other purposes (than peace), possibly no pious sentiment will stop the nation from using it that way. So, from very outset, Nehru was firm in his conviction of acquiring Nuclear weapons.

The nuclearization of South Asia actually began with India's nuclear test at Pokhran in May, 1974 however, camouflaging it as "Peaceful Nuclear Explosion". Infused with vulnerable strategic and security precepts and environment, the late Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said:

"If India builds the bomb we will eat grass or leaves, even go hungry, but we will get one of our own. We have no alternative."⁵¹

The then American Ambassador to India Daniel Patrick Moynihan expressing his concern, commented that the “test was a great mistake. Here you were the No. 1 hegemonic power in South Asia, nobody was No. 2 and we call Pakistan No. 3, now in a decade’s time, some Pakistani General will call you up and say I have four nuclear weapons and I want Kashmir. If not, we will drop them on you and we will meet in heaven. And then what will you do.” From that day, Pakistan speeded up its efforts in concerted manner towards the acquisition of nuclear capability.⁵²

On 23rd May 1974, Pakistan’s foreign secretary told a twenty-five nation’s Disarmament Conference at Geneva that “Indian Explosion has given a death blow to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and the road has been thrown open for emergence of more nuclear powers.”

National prestige was a less weighty factor in Pakistan nuclear case. For Pakistan, the nuclear weapon option was last resort.

India and Pakistan Nuclear Tests, May 1998

South Asia in May 1998 overtly became nuclear when the two key countries of the region officially conducted a series of testing of nuclear explosive devices. Both countries also threatened each other that they would not hesitate to use bomb under pressing circumstances.⁵³ Indian foreign minister wrote in Foreign Affairs that:

“India’s May 1998 tests violated no international treaty obligations. The CTBT, to which India does not subscribe, permits parties to with-draw if they believe their supreme authority to be jeopardized. Moreover, the forcing of an unconditional and indefinite extension of the NPT on the International community made 1995 a watershed in the evolution of the South Asian situation. India was left with no option but to go for overt nuclear weaponization. The Sino-Pakistan nuclear weapons collaboration a flagrant violation of the NPT, made it obvious that the NPT regime had collapsed in India’s neighborhood.”⁵⁴

Jaswant Singh also rationalized its nuclear option based on China-centric security concerns. He more than once said that India was nervous about rising China and considered itself a victim of "nuclear apartheid." He said on several occasions: "China is the source of all our trouble; Pakistan is only a side shadow."⁵⁵

Explaining the reasons why did India break the nuclear status quo he wrote in his letter to President Bill Clinton. They had an overt nuclear weapon state on their borders, a state, which committed armed aggression against India in 196. He also took plea that this state had rendered another neighbor of ours to become a covert nuclear state. By explaining these reasons, playing China card, India hoped to win over the United States. These N-Tests accrued wide spread condemnation from the entire globe.⁵⁶

The Indian tests entirely changed the security environment of South Asia, as India started threatening openly. On May 1998, the Indian Home Minister Lal Kirshan Advani stated that Pakistan should realize the changes have occurred in respect of Geo-strategic situation of the region. Besides that, he warned Pakistan that it would be futile and costly if Pakistan did not end its intervention in Kashmir. He stressed the point that a qualitative new state of Indo-Pak relations has been brought about by the country becoming the nuclear weapon state.⁵⁷

In the continuation of same tone, Madan Lal Khorana, India's Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, asked Pakistan to nominate a time and place where it found the fourth round. Farooq Abdullah, the Chief Minister of Indian Held Kashmir advised the government of India to launch a very strong and decisive battle against Pakistan. Indian media relentlessly highlighted the geo-strategic changes and continuously advised Pakistan that it should roll back its anti-India policy, especially in Kashmir. All these statements and constant row of threats put Pakistan in the most insecure position of its history.⁵⁸

Nawaz Sharif's political govt. was under intense pressure from both internal and external forces. Foreign powers urged him not to give

a tit-for-tat reply to India. President Clinton and Prime Minister Tony Blair phoned several times to Nawaz Sharif and in spite recognizing Pakistan's right to self-defense, advised him to refrain from responding to India in same manner. Japanese Ambassador in Islamabad after delivering a personal Message from his Prime Minister told reporters. "We share Pakistan's concerns but we have asked Islamabad to act with utmost constraint."⁵⁹

The US also sent a high-level team to try to persuade Pakistan not to demonstrate its nuclear capability. The U.S. Deputy Secretary of state Strobe Talbot visited to ask Pakistan to exercise restraint. The U.S. reportedly offered some incentives such as the removal of the Pakistan specific Pressler Amendment and additional economic and military aid. At the same time, Pakistan was warned of economic sanctions if it tested nuclear device. Within country the pressure, to detonate a nuclear device increased so much that Nawaz Sharif told Clinton, "I do not think I will last in office for more than two or three days if I do not make a test."⁶⁰

A poll taken by Gallup Pakistan showed that 64 percent favored a response immediately or within a few months, 30 percent favored restraint and totally 6 percent opposed to a nuclear test by Pakistan.⁶¹

The mild response of western world and particularly of America rung alarming bells for Pakistan. President Clinton in line with U S laws on nuclear weapon testing by state other than the declared NWS imposed some economic sanctions on India. However, only a few nations stepped in following U.S. France and Russia opposed sanctions. Japan and Britain most astonishingly refused to make major cuts in aid programs.

Finally, two days later, on May 28, 1998, Nawaz Sharif in his televised address added a lot into Jubilations of Pakistanis by stating:

"We have settled the score with India by detonating five nuclear devices of our own."⁶²

U.S. Handling With Nuclear South Asia :

The United States of America's commitment to non-proliferation cause has always remained a central issue in the bilateral affairs with India and Pakistan. On March 10, 1978, President Jimmy Carter signed the nuclear non-proliferation act of 1978, Public Law 95-242 (NNPA). On the day of signing the bill, President Carter said that this "legislation would be a much more predictable factor in the decision made by foreign nations". He added that "Some of our friends abroad will have to readjust their policy". Sen. Charles Percy one of the chief sponsors of the legislation in his additional remarks said, "This day marks the moment when the nuclear non-proliferates take over against the nuclear salesmen... We insist upon safety of humanity taking first precedence, to think over the sale of nuclear materials".⁶³

Since then, certain legislators and their staffs became ardent advocates of legislation to severely restrict nuclear proliferation. That is why U.S congress from time to time enacted laws to prevent nuclear exports proliferation. The legislation in Congress to prevent nuclear proliferation continued, such as the US Congress amended section 669 and 670 of Foreign Assistance Act on the proposal of senators John Glenn, Democrat Ohio and Stuart Symington. These amendments were meant to curtail assistance to non-NPT signatories that imported uranium enrichment or nuclear fuel reprocessing technology. The Glenn Amendment barred aid to countries that had not signed NPT and that imported nuclear fuel reprocessing equipment, technology, or materials. Senator Glen's amendment covered both reprocessing and enrichment transfers.

Besides legislation, U.S. administrations, from time to time used a range of policy tools including diplomatic pressure like the withholding of nuclear co-operation, embargo on the export of nuclear technology and the leverage of U.S assistance and arms sales.⁶⁴

Before these two amendments, the section 620 E of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 was amended by adding a requirement that an

annual certification from U.S President would be required that Pakistan does not possess a nuclear explosive device during fiscal year for which aid is to be provided. This was a unique in the sense that it was a country specific amendment, humiliating and discriminatory. President Reagan certified three times before leaving the White House, due to seemingly Pakistan's front line state role and as a guardian of American interests against Soviet expansionism on a high price of possible punitive steps to its border. As soon as the US objectives were achieved, Soviet troops left Afghanistan. The US intelligence agencies took a "U" turn, and told the President that Pakistan "possessed a nuclear device. So on reporting, Bush did not issue the "certification."

When Robert Oakley returned to Islamabad from home leave in mid-September 1990, he carried a presidential letter informing Pakistan of the decisions.⁶⁵

In the year 1991, when Pakistan was the third-highest recipient of U.S aids the non-issuance of certification barred the 564 millions dollar aid to Pakistan. Before Bush, Jimmy Carter had twice suspended the aid, but Bush's actions of barring aid had substantially greater impact. The loss of \$300 million of arms and other military supplies a year was a heavy blow to Pakistan's defense establishment. Pakistan was refused the possession of F-16 Aircraft purchased from the General Dynamics Corporation. Pakistanis, in great dismay and shock at Islamabad, and media denounced the U.S action as unfair, anti-Islamic, and discriminatory. They charged that United States had once more as in 1965 proved to be a "Frickle-Friend" and also commented.

"With the Afghan war over, the United States no longer needs Pakistan. You Americans have discarded US like a piece of used Kleenex."⁶⁶

America had been engaged in persuading Pakistan not to follow India to match nuclear capability. Pakistan was subjected to severe sanctions twice in 1970s due to her relentless efforts towards nuclear weapons capabilities. Front line status of Pakistan due to Soviet military invasion changed American policy and granted Pakistan waiver from the

American nuclear non-proliferation legislations for six years alongwith a handsome amount of 3.2 billion dollars of military and economic aid.⁶⁷

But U.S Congress remained concerned over the continuing efforts of Pakistan to develop nuclear- weapons capabilities, so avoiding Pakistan's strategic importance in the 1980s passed Pressler Amendment, which required the annual certification from US president that Pakistan does not possess a nuclear explosive device during fiscal year for which aid is to be provided. The US efforts to convince Pakistan not to follow India in nuclear race had some success as Pakistan under the pressure of Reagan administration in the 1980s promised a series of non-proliferation commitments. First, not to test a nuclear explosive device, second; not to acquire nuclear technology illegally; not to manufacture nuclear weapons and finally not to enrich uranium to weapons grade. Throughout the 1980s, and 1990s, U.S policy concerted around one objective i.e. how to prevent overt nuclearization of South Asia.⁶⁸

But, U.S failed to detect the signs of nuclearization and finally in May 1998, both conducted their tests. Many observers termed these tests as President Clinton's foreign policy failure in the region.

Congressional representative Hefley commented sharply by stating that:

“The sad truth is that Bill Clinton permitted the sale of Satellite and Missile technology to Pakistan and Iran, that prompted India to boost its nuclear weapons program, not because it was afraid of Pakistan but because it was afraid of China and then Pakistan upped the ante.”⁶⁹

Immediately after the tests, U.S saw it as a direct challenge to new international order that had been building since the end of Cold War. Reacting to these tests, Clinton said, “With their recent tests Pakistan and India are contributing to a self defeating cycle of escalation that does not add to the security of either country. President Clinton calling India's nuclear tests “a terrible mistake” expressed “I want to make it very, very clear that I am deeply disturbe.”⁷⁰

He promptly imposed heavy sanctions against India under 1994 Non-Proliferation Act so; the United States cut off all aid, voted against loans by the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank and urged all other states to follow the suit. Only Japan followed the U.S precedent. World Bank and Asian Development held up their loans to India.

The parallel sanctions against Pakistan proved to be more costly for Pakistan. At the time of testing, the country had a foreign debt of \$ 30 billion and foreign exchange reserves of only 600 million dollars. Pakistani policy makers, to minimize the effects of sanctions froze all foreign currency accounts and later all account holders were asked to convert their foreign currency holding into Pakistani Rupee. On the first day of trading, after the Pakistani tests, the Karachi stock market crashed. It lost more than \$ 4 billion in value by the end of 1998. U.S officials realizing the acute situation of economy of Pakistan did not oppose IMF financial assistance. After lengthy negotiations, the Pakistanis and the IMF agreed on an economic program, more of a bandage to prevent Pakistan from going under than a comprehensive attack on the country's fiscal ills. Despite angrier attitude towards Pakistan on nuclear testing, U.S while imposing severe sanctions against Pakistan, did not forget to secure her commercial interests, as wrote by Dennis Kux. "If implemented fully, the sanctions, which barred against export credit, would cost farmers in the U.S pacific North West, already hard hit by falling grain prices, a possible sale of 350,000 tons of wheat to Pakistan, or one third of the areas production."⁷¹

So just two months after the tests, the senate voted 98-0 and the House of Representatives followed suit to exempt agricultural credits from the sanctions.

The foreign ministers of five permanent members (P-5) in a meeting in Geneva on June 4, 1998 urged India and Pakistan to take steps to reduce the danger of nuclear war (ii) sign the CTBT (iii) Join in talks about banning fissile material production (iv) strengthen nuclear export controls and (v) show restraint in missile testing and deployment.

Two days later, the U.N Security Council adopted a resolution No. 1172, which called up to India and Pakistan to stop their nuclear weapons development program to refrain from weaponization and

deployment of nuclear weapons; to cease development of ballistic missiles carrying nuclear weapons; to halt further production of fissile material for nuclear weapons. (See for the text appendices). The resolution also urged India and Pakistan to resume dialogue on all outstanding issues particularly on all matters pertaining to peace and security, in order to remove the tensions between them and encouraged them to find mutually acceptable solutions that address the root cause of these tensions including Kashmir.⁷²

Clinton administration after the overt nuclearization of South Asia decided to launch a diplomatic moot to influence the Pakistani and Indian nuclear policies. Where Mr. Strobe Talbot said, "Great Nations with broad horizons must consider whether their actions advance or hinder what Nehru called the larger cause of humanity."⁷³

Urging India to join the CTBT, he said that through this wise act, India could assume a leadership role in the global non-proliferation cause. The Clinton visit was a full-fledged attempt by both India and the U.S to lay a new foundation for managing their post Cold War --post May 1998 relationship. The vision statement the consensual draft approved by both sides, deals with nuclear issue in carefully calibrated manner and the convictions and the concerns of both sides have been accommodated.

The nuclear issue was referred in it as "India and the United States share a commitment to reducing and ultimately eliminating nuclear weapons, but we have not always agreed on how to reach this common goal. The United States believes that India should forgo nuclear weapons. India believes that it needs to maintain a credible minimum nuclear deterrent in keeping with its own assessment of its security needs".⁷⁴

Mr. Clinton, off and on during the visit pointed towards the fact that the sub-continent is the most dangerous place and Kashmir may become a nuclear flash point. Indian leaders in their respective remark and speech refuted to accept this point of view. At the joint press conference, Mr. Vajpayee in response to a question on the volatility of the region answered "I am sure after visiting part of world, the (US) president will come to conclusion that the situation is not so bad as it is made out to be.

There are differences; there have been clashes; there is the problem of cross-country terrorism.... But there is no threat of any war." Indian President also expressed the same viewpoint.⁷⁵

Broadly, the purpose of this visit to India was to seek a broad, constructive engagement with India, based on broadly conceived US interest. Washington also laid stress on this point that U.S relations with India will not be hostage to relations of the U.S.A with any other country.

After five days visit to India, the U.S President finally reached Islamabad on March 25 for only a few hours. He outlined his agenda of visit in which he urged Pakistan for returning back to democratic ways, resuming dialogue with India over Kashmir, signing the CTBT, and taking measures to eliminate terrorism.⁷⁶

President had two hours of official talks with Chief Executive of Pakistan General Musharraf in seemingly cordial and relaxed atmosphere. Clinton showed his deep concern over the problems of Pakistan. He tried to convince Pakistanis that Pakistan would benefit by lowering down the temperature on Kashmir, by reining the terrorist groups and by undertaking non-proliferation measures. About Kashmir, they had dissented views Clinton made clear that United States, although ready to help, could not mediate and that Pakistan had to deal directly with India. General Mushraf responded positively, but simultaneously he stressed that Pakistan would not do it unilaterally. Both could not agree on many issues. Generally, Pakistan was happy that India could not exclude Pakistan from the visit plan.

They were a bit unhappy over his short span in Pakistan, as quoted by Dennis Kux "one person watching the president on television in Islamabad told the NEW YORK TIME "this is a very painful thing for us only five hours in Pakistan and five days in India."⁷⁷

Clinton's visit to South Asia clearly manifested through 5 days in India, and 4 billion in foreign investment that in the after-math of the Cold War politics, globalization, growing U.S market in India and instability in Pakistan, India would be a better choice for U.S.A at the dawn of 21st century.

CONCLUSION

U.S policy and Interests in South Asian region change with changing trends of international politics and global scenario. That is why the specific policies towards India and Pakistan have been devised keeping in view the global trends and changing circumstances and were subject to contrast variations.

Despite entry of Pakistan into U.S sponsored military Alliances, U.S continued with her efforts to bring India into her sphere of influence. Therefore, during Sino-Indian conflict in 1962, America meaningfully helped India, because, at that time victory of China could diametrically go against the interests of hers.

Pakistan, abhorring this US-India Nexus, turned towards China. Indeed, Pak-China collaboration, in future, considerably strengthened Pakistan's potential to counter India's threat and hegemonic designs in South Asia. The growing ties with China led to further strains on Pakistan-US relations that specifically marked the Kennedy era. U.S imposed an embargo during Pak-India war of 1965, on supply of arms to both belligerents without considering Pakistan's long lasted alliance relationship.

The Nixon Presidency in 1972 sought to improve relations with China to take advantage of the Sino-Soviet rift in the Cold War. Pakistan played the role of intermediary in promoting rapprochement. This unleashed grave hostility and mistrust between Soviet Union and Pakistan, which subsequently took its toll, as it played a very negative role in the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971.

US policy in South Asia again took a new dimension. Democratic President Jimmy Carter showing hostile attitude towards Pakistan on its development of nuclear program imposed unprecedented heavy sanctions on Pakistan in 1979. However, the most defining event also took place in the same year, when an adjoining state of South Asia, Afghanistan was invaded by Soviet Union.

Under the pressing circumstances, America once again badly needed Pakistani collaboration to abort Soviet designs in the region. Pakistan, with the status of frontline state instrumented supply of Arms and training to Mujahideen against invading super power was in line with the U.S interests until the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, Pakistan and United States had than closest co-operation than ever before. Under Republican President Ronald Reagan, the large-scale aid was resumed in 1981 and Pakistan became the third highest recipient country of U.S aid, because of her frontline status in the last proxy conflict of Cold War period.

The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan crumbled the Washington-Islamabad axis and diluted the strategic importance of Pakistan. The bi-lateral differences as Pakistan's nuclear program re-emerged. During presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, U.S administration bestowed upon Pakistan the benefit of annual waiver from Symington and Glen Amendments as per required by the Pressler amendment. With the end of the Cold War U.S, foreign policy underwent a paradigm shift for South Asia. George Bush Sr. refused to grant waiver to Pakistan due to her clandestine nuclear program. As a result, all aid was stopped and Pressler axe fell on supply of military equipments and F.16 aircrafts to Pakistan.

In post-Cold War's U.S, "New World Order, India was singled out as the emerging power of the region. Actually, in New World Order, the question of weightage to India and Pakistan perplexed U.S policy makers at large, because it is difficult for United States to have singular relations with India setting aside sensitive and attendant issues in indo-Pakistan bi-lateral relations.

Certainly, it would be unwise for the United States to ignore developments in India and Pakistan, an area with population of 1/5 of the world, adjacent to a region considered vital to American interest i.e. Persian Gulf. In spite of it, under changing parameters of post cold war geo-political compulsions, U S. tended to give India a significant security

role in the South Asian region. This was evident from the sale of super computers to India.

Economic factor also played a key role in binding the U.S relationship with two key countries of South Asia. U.S liked to maintain an economic access to the region due to its resources and commercial potential, particularly with India owing to her voluminous emerging consumer market. Economic liberalization in India coincidentally took place in the same period when state managed economy patterns of communism waned away. Indian authorities ensured the US investors that economic liberalization would stay here for long or most probably forever. As far as Pakistan was concerned, for a certain period, her strategic significance must have gone down, but she did not completely lost it. Pakistan strategic significance is based on solid grounds. Pakistan is a moderate Muslim country, with which U.S would always require to have productive, co-operative relationship in order to maintain closer links and keep balance with Muslim world. President Clinton expressed the same view during the visit of Pakistan's former Prime Minister in early 1995 by saying that:

“U.S and Pakistan were the inheritors of a glorious traditions and Pakistan was successfully combining the practice of Islam with the realities of democratic ideals, moderation, and toleration.”

In the post Cold War era, U.S infact thought of Pakistan as a moderate country of 140 millions Muslim majority Population, with its strategic location at the tri-junction of South Asia, Central Asia and Gulf would be able to play a more meaningful role according to US perceptions. So, America would never like to undermine Pakistan.

U.S policy after the Cold War mainly concentrated on preventing New Delhi and Islamabad from further development in their nuclear and missiles weapons; and to convince them to cap, reduce and finally eliminate the missile and nuclear capabilities. On two occasions, in 1990 and 1999, U.S policy hovered around managing regional crisis. Because

of the fear that N- capability could add regional instability, fatal for other parts of world as well, and thirdly, the technology to produce these weapons could be transferred to any other nation or non-sovereign entity. Suspicions in this regard were high for Pakistan.

In view of these concerns, U.S seemed, during the period 1990-2000, very attentive and promptly acted to de-escalate tensions between Pakistan and India to prevent to burst into a full- scale war.

Clinton's visit to South Asia after overt nuclearization, visibly demonstrated a "tilt" towards India and melting down of old warmth of US-Pak nexus. Actually, Clinton administration's relationship with India in essence depicted the "Co-operation and partnership, both militarily and economically, while with Pakistan, it was one of engagement to keep lines of communication open. The past track-record of conflict and crises over long outstanding Kashmir issue, and likelihood of Kashmir as future nuclear flash point, worked as a stimulus for American policy makers to cast away the traditional attitude, which mostly and notably resulted in a short lived policy, triggered by crisis conditions and lasting only for the duration of crisis. In the words of former U.S Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, "The failure or success of the American foreign policy remains the single greatest factor in shaping its own history and future of world. The findings of research show that the most vulnerable prey to this dictum has appeared the South Asian region through the history.

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Newspapers Reliance on News Agencies : A content Analysis of the major newspapers of Pakistan

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Theoretical Perspectives of Agenda-Setting and Gatekeeping

We all are influenced by the daily news. Some times our total behavior is dictated by the news. Daily millions of people gain their knowledge of national and international affairs from the pages of newspapers. Journalists play a key role in shaping our pictures of the world for us. According to Maxwell McComb, the ability of mass media to structure audience cognitions and to affect change among existing cognitions is called as agenda-setting function of the mass communication (McComb, 1994). Here, it is important to mention that this study is to prove the importance of news agencies as agenda setters of newspapers. It has no direct concern with agenda setting theory and phenomena.

The theory of gatekeeping is one of the oldest in the area of mass communication research. For the first time, Kurt Lewin proposed a gatekeeping process in his post-world war research on social change (Lewin, 1947). Lewin's idea was picked up by the communication scholar David Manning White. His case study of a newspaper wire service editor's selection of the day's news set into motion a line of research on

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news selection (White, 1950). In the words of Pamela Shoemaker and others, gatekeeping is the process by which the vast array of potential news messages are winnowed, shaped and prodded into those few that are actually transmitted by the news media (Shoemaker, 2001). In addition to the news selection, the gatekeeping process also includes how messages are shaped, processed and handled. For example, newspapers clearly state the journalistic salience of an item through its page placement, headline and length. In short, we can say that in mass communication gatekeeping is a process through which the social reality is transmitted.

Almost three decades ago, the question was asked; who set the public agenda? The empirical answer was that to a great extent news media set the public agenda. But now, the question is asked; who sets the news agenda? The empirical answer to this question is not so easy. However, we can say on the basis of research that news agenda is influenced by a number of factors and forces. Shoemaker and Reese have written a comprehensive book on the sociology of news. The book is titled:

“Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Media Content.”

The whole book can be summarized as such :

“Media content is necessarily manipulated when relocated in news. The content is influenced by personal attitudes and orientations of media workers, media routines (like professionalism), organizational influences and influences from outside the media organizations. (Shoemaker, 1991).

Amongst outside influences, news agencies or wire services are important factors that influence content. Wire services influence the play of stories in local as well as national newspapers. According to Shoemaker and Reese, these services are also influential in passing

stories from media to media, as the story is transmitted by a wire service and picked up from town to town. The wire services act as a powerful "agenda setter" for daily newspapers (Shoemaker, 1991). Here it is important to mention that news agency service is also called wire service. News agencies and wire services are one and the same thing and there is no difference between the two terms. Some scholars call this service as news agency service while others call this as wire service.

Brief Background of Pakistan Press:

Pakistan emerged on the map of the world on August 14th 1947. Due to limited resources, print media was also in a very miserable condition like other fields and professions. The Press started its journey in Pakistan with a few newspapers, which were facing a lot of financial problems. Pakistan's society in 1947 could be described as pre-industrial, feudal, rural and pre-literate society. In such circumstances, it was not easy for the print media industry to flourish.

In spite of a number of problems, the print media industry started to flourish in early 1950s. There was a rise in new publications and increase in the size of newspapers, their circulation, and in the advertising volume, as well as in technological improvement for the press. For instance the number of dailies rose from 55 in 1953 to 103 in 1958. The total daily circulation tells the similar tale of increase over the years. The trend throughout the 1960s was one of rising circulation; the total daily circulation in 1970 was in the neighborhood of one million (Mujahid, 1982).

Till now, the Pakistani press has made a tremendous development in its standard and quality of production. Now-a-days thousands of dailies are being published throughout the country. Following are the most prominent conglomerates of newspapers in Pakistan.

1. **Herald Group:** It publishes the most circulated English daily newspaper "Dawn" from Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad. This group also publishes the magazine "Herald".
2. **Jang Group:** This owns the most circulated Urdu newspaper daily "Jang" that is published from five big cities of Pakistan. It also publishes two English dailies of the country, "The News" from three big cities. Urdu weekly "Akhbar-e-Jehan".
3. **Nida-e-Millat Group:** The second largest Urdu newspaper daily "Nawa-e-Waqt" and the third largest English newspaper "The Nation" are the property of this group. These newspapers are published from five big cities of Pakistan including Islamabad, Karachi and Lahore.
4. **Liberty Papers:** This group publishes Urdu daily "Khabrain" from six cities and it is the third largest Urdu newspaper of Pakistan according to the Newspaper Readership Report 2002-03 of the Gallup Survey of Pakistan. This newspaper is blamed as the pioneer of the yellow Journalism in Pakistan.

There are a lot of other daily newspapers being published from different cities of the country that have a considerable circulation and readership. However, there are thousands of dummy newspapers that are published only to gain advertisements and some other benefits from government and resourceful personalities, and this trend is on the increase.

Role of News Agencies

News agency is an organization that gathers news from its own sources and then transmits them to media organizations (Riaz, S. 2003). These media organizations pay monthly subscription charges to news agencies for using their service. Most newspapers depend heavily on news agencies as a source of news. The service of news agencies is also called as wire service, because the service was passed through wires till a

few years ago. Now, most of the news agencies send their service to their subscribers by email, which is the quickest, and the cheapest way of communication worldwide.

News agencies can be divided into two types: national and international. At national level almost each and every country has its own domestic news agencies working in public and private sectors. At international level, four major news agencies are ruling the media world. These are Reuters Agency, Agency France Press (AFP), Associated Press (AP) and United Press International (UPI). Reuters is a London based news agency, AFP belongs to France and AP and UPI are American news agencies. According to a research, these agencies are responsible for 80 percent of the immediate international news circulating around the world daily. Their services are indispensable to the biggest as well as the smallest newspapers. They distribute news to rich and poor countries, dictatorship and democracies. Politics and economics are the most covered issues of these agencies. The big four agencies are described as "gatekeepers" and "agenda-setters" to the world organizations that control the flow of news and set priorities for their subscribers. To the extent the agencies decide the content of their services they are gatekeepers (Parthasarathy, 1994).

The similarity between the news items released by these western news agencies suggests that this similarity is partly due to their ability to provide information that can be used almost universally. The reliance on the agencies is a reason for least resistance to editors. Due to limitations of space and time, editors, round the globe, work under the path of least resistance. Gatekeeping and agenda setting effects of these western news agencies are felt in the news content of the media organizations throughout the globe.

In Pakistan newspapers rely mostly on these international news agencies for international news. As far as the matter of national and domestic news, mostly these are provided by the national news agencies.

However, sometimes some local news are also accepted by the international news agencies but it happens seldom. Associated Press of Pakistan (A.P.P) is the first and the largest news agency of the country which is a continuation of the Associated Press of India. After partition in 1947, it was renamed as Associated Press of Pakistan (A.P.P). This is a government owned and controlled news agency that provides its service in English and Urdu. It has agreements with international news agencies for exchange of news. A.P.P is blamed as mouthpiece of the government. The news against government cannot be released by this agency. Even a statement of an opposition leader is difficult to be issued by A.P.P. This deficiency has been fulfilled by a number of news agencies working in the private sector. Pakistan Press International (P.P.I), News Network International (N.N.I), South Asian News Agency (SANA) and On Line are the most prominent news agencies working in the private sector in Pakistan. All of these have Urdu service for Urdu newspapers and English service for English newspapers. Some of them have started photo service in addition to their news service. All of the major newspapers are subscribers of these domestic news agencies so that any important news item may not be missed for publishing in their newspaper.

These national news agencies have appointed their correspondents throughout the country and also in some capitals outside the country. They release national as well as international news but their international news are seldom accepted by the newspapers. Pakistani newspapers mostly rely on international news agencies for international news and on national news agencies for national news.

Similarity and uniformity in news content is the most important quality of news agency journalism. Inter-agency competition has produced a remarkable similarity in the news content. This is the reason why newspapers appear to have the same kind of news. Occasionally their words and sentences have a surprising uniformity in their news

items (Riaz, S. 2003). The increasing importance of news agency journalism and its gatekeeping influence on news media is apparent from the similarity and uniformity of news content.

Agenda-setting role of news agencies has been confirmed by a number of research studies. For example, Shaw found that relationship between incoming wire news and wire news carried by newspapers was so strong that A.P. and U.P.I wire editors can be viewed as determining what will be news for a community on any given day (Shaw & McComb, 1977).

According to Gerald Stone, "Wire stories, particularly the top news stories are used by daily newspapers and get favorable response. In fact newspaper wire editors' production schedules work against their making selection decisions, hence the wires actually determine much of what will be published simply by their decisions of what they transmit to newspapers (Stone, 1987).

The focus of this research paper is to question of this study is :

Show as the what extent Pakistani newspapers are relying on news items released by news agencies?

Probable Questions

H1: Reliance of Pakistani newspapers on news items released by news agencies is being increased with the passage of time.

H2: The greater the reliance of a newspaper or news agencies' news items, the lesser will be the reliance on reporters' news.

Data Collection & Methodology

Data collection and content analysis of four major Urdu newspapers of Pakistan being published from the twin cities of Rawalpindi and Islamabad has been done for this study. These are written below in

the hierarchal order on the basis of their circulation according to the Newspaper Readership Report 2002-2003. These are :

- Daily Jang, Rawalpindi
- Daily Nawa-i-Waqt, Islamabad
- Daily Khabrain, Islamabad
- Daily Express, Islamabad

Due to limitations of time and resources only one month sampling was done for consecutive four years and the month of January was selected for the content analysis of the newspapers. The period of analysis is as under.

- January 2000
- January 2001
- January 2002
- January 2003

This is a longitudinal study and it is spread over a period of four years. This period was determined to find out the reliance of newspapers with the passage of time. The purpose behind the selection of this period was to enable us to conclude whether reliance of newspapers is increasing on news items released by news agencies or otherwise.

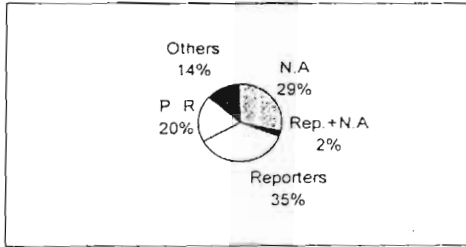
We counted the sources of news of all the news items published in these newspapers in the above-mentioned period. For empirical analysis we divided news sources into five categories. These categories along-with their operational definitions are as follows:

1. *News Agencies:* This category contains the news items published by the newspapers that were supplied by the news agencies. These news items contain the name of one or more news agencies in their credit lines in the beginning of the news. For example, Paris (A.F.P), Islamabad (A.P.P) etc.
2. *Reporters' News:* These are the news supplied by the reporters and correspondents of the newspaper. These news are having the credit line of the reporter who has supplied it to the organization. Different credit lines are allocated to different reporters. For example, news reporter, staff reporter, special reporter, crime reporter, commerce reporter, sports reporter etc.
3. *Reporters' news supplemented by news agencies:* These are the news items that were supplied by the reporters but supplemented by the news agencies' news items. These news items indicate reporters' credit line as well as the name of the supplier news agency in the beginning of the news. For example, Islamabad (Staff Reporter / A.P.P) etc.
4. *Press Releases:* These are the news that were supplied by different organizations and individuals to the newspapers. These are indicated as P.R. For example, their credit line may be written as: Islamabad (P.R).
5. *Other Sources:* The news items that don't fall in first four categories are fallen in the fifth category, which is mentioned as 'other sources.' These may be news carried from other media, desk stories and special reports etc.

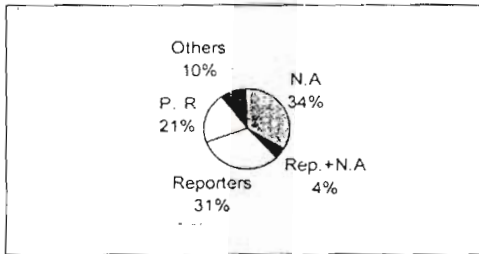
Results:

Results are clear from the following pie charts indicating the sources of news published during the period of this study.

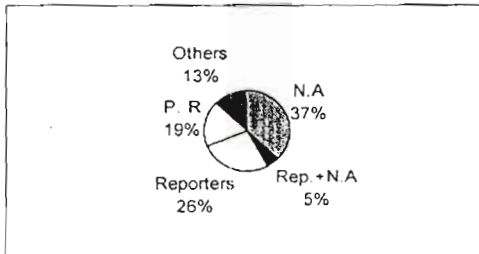
Newspapers' Reliance on News Sources



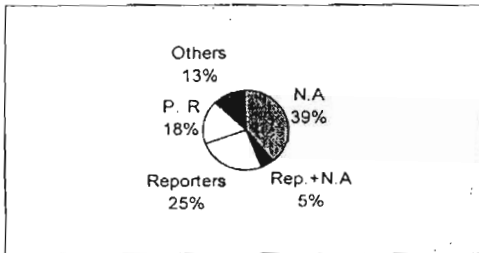
January 2000



January 2001



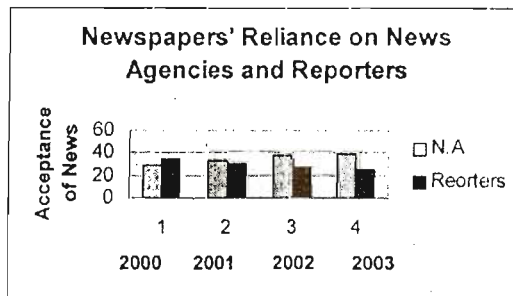
January 2002



January 2003

(To avoid numerical complications, decimals have been converted to the nearest round figure.)

1. The results show that in January 2000, 29 percent news were taken from news agencies, 35 percent from reporters, two percent news were provided by reporters but supplemented by news agencies, 20 percent from press releases and 14 percent from other sources.
2. In January 2001, news items issued by news agencies increased to 34 percent, reporters news supplemented by news reduced to 31 percent, reporters news supplemented by news agencies raised up to four percent, press releases increased to 21 percent and others news reduced to 10 percent.
3. According to the results of the analysis of the news papers in January 2002, News agencies' news items published were 37 percent, reporters' news were 26 percent, reporters' news supplemented by news agencies were 5 percent, press releases were 19 percent and other news were 13 percent. The trend of the news agencies' news items continued upward and that of the reporters' news remained downward.
4. In January 2003, news agencies' coverage increased to 39 percent. The reporters news were decreased to 25 percent while the reporters' news supplemented by news agencies were five percent like the last year's coverage. Now the press releases were 18 percent and the news obtained by other sources were 13 percent.



The above chart shows a relationship between newspaper reliance on news agencies and their own staff reporters. We can see that from the year 2000 to the year 2003, the trend of reliance on news agencies is continuously increasing while the trend of reliance on staff reporters is continuously decreasing. This proves our second hypothesis. It can be stated on behalf of these findings that influence of wire services is being increased gradually.

Discussion

The findings of this research study has proved that reliance of Pakistani newspapers on news items released by news agencies is increasing with the passage of time. The results clearly indicate that from January 2000 to January 2003, there is a constant trend of increase in the publication of news items released by news agencies. At the same time the trend of those news items provided by reporters but supplemented by news agencies is also upward from the year 2000 to 2002. However, their level was same in the year 2002 and the year 2003.

Against the concept that “the greater the reliance of a newspaper on news agencies’ news items, the lesser will be reliance on reporters’ news” is also true because the publication of news agencies’ news items have continuously increased from January 2000 to January 2003 while reporters’ news have continuously reduced during this period. This is a matter of great concern for media organizations. Reliance on news agencies has reduced the reliance on reporters. Due to this reason some newspapers have curtailed their reporting staff, which is not a good sign. This trend has raised the issue of creativity in news. In an overall atmosphere of content similarity, only creative news can break this similarity. There is a need for reporters to be more creative in an atmosphere of competition with news agencies. This is the only way for reporters to survive. When their news will be creative with some exclusive information other than the news items released by news agencies, then the editors will definitely prefer their news for publication.

CONCLUSION

The paper tried to prove that gatekeeping and agenda-setting role of news agencies for newspapers. It also shows that this role is increasing with the passage of time. Reporting is the most important component of a media organization. Giving more importance to news agencies' news and less importance to reporters' news is a matter of concern. Solution is not to curtail the reporting staff rather there is a need to strengthen them by giving them proper training. Reporters, themselves have a great challenge for their survival. Creativity and exclusiveness are the two qualities due to which they can survive.

At the same time the study has encouraging findings for news agencies. The increasing reliance on their news items is a proof of their competency and good standard. However, this is the duty of media organizations to maintain a balance between the news provided by reporters and news agencies.

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Hiding Places and Techniques used by Dacoits of Sindh to keep them Secret:

DR. IMDAD HUSSAIN SAHITO

Modus Opren di

The criminal operations by dacoits in Sindh were a big challenge to authorities in the province. It was not an easy job to kidnap some one from his own place but dacoits had made it easy through their accurate planning. Their operations were so devastating that police and other law-enforcing agencies suffered heavy losses of life and material. They were highly trained professionals and had command of fighting techniques. Their modus operandi was military oriented guerrilla warfare against the people of rural Sindh.

The main crime committed by dacoits was kidnapping for ransom. Before hunting target, all informations about the person were collected, including name, caste, relations, wealth and security etc, but most secretly. They finished all their operations within few minutes. The cause behind the rapid movement was to remove all chances of out side support. Mostly raids completed within 1 to 10 minutes time.¹ During kidnapping, various sources of transport were used but mostly they journeyed by foot as compared to other sources with ratio of 71%.² It was more secure to journey by foot as compared to other sources because there was danger of attack or chasing by forces on road. Generally people were kidnapped round the clock but extreme majority of the kidnappings took place between 7 to 9 pm. It was the time when dacoits

got benefit of darkness and law enforcement agencies avoided to chase them because of the danger of ambush, other cause to select that time was to get more time to reach their hideouts the same night. Without usage of techniques and availability of hiding places, it was just impossible for dacoits to continue their criminal activities for a long time.

Forests:

If geographical conditions of Sindh are considered, in its east is Desert of Thar, in south Arabian sea, in west Khirthar mountain range. Indus runs from north to south and both banks of river are covered with large riverine forests. These forests are so thick and scattered in large katcha areas with support of Indus water that it provided an important source of hideouts to dacoits. Majority of the dacoits (77.57%) had made these forests as the safe places to hide.³

Dacoits had adopted these forests as the places to hide. Some forests were extremely thick and full with thorny bushes, with no set delineation of tracks. Due to thick growth, foundation of the area during flood season and due to lack of defined tracks, routes, forests especially islands sandbars between river Indus and its off shoots were ideal protective hideouts for the dacoits.

Movements in the forests were restricted and operation with large force could not be undertaken mainly due to problem for co-ordination and move. Field of fire were restricted and mutual support was almost impossible. Night operations were difficult and time consuming. Proximity of river Indus to these forests provided good escape routes to the dacoits.

The area of these forests under control of Forest Department Government of Sindh is given in the following table, which gives an idea to understand the forestland on the banks of Indus.

TABLE : I

Area of Forests Under Control of Forest Department in Sindh (Acres)

Name of Forests	Riverine Forests	Irrigated Plantation	Range land area	Resumed land area	Costal forests	Total
Karachi East			275727.37			275727.37
Thatta	103066.50	29955.50	32111.00		693032.35	858165.35
Badin		29846.71				29846.71
Hyderabad	89108.70	6421.50				95530.20
M. Khas			2937.03			2937.03
U. Kot			99349.40			99349.40
Tharparkar			171265.60	3173.40		171265.60
Nawabshah	57350.98	4866.60				65390.98
Sanghar		22804.10				22804.10
N. Feroze	23177.10	2507.50		2221.14		25684.60
Dadu	71189.85	8418.70	392809.37	478.29		474639.06
Larkana	35891.58	13584.93	147621.45			197576.25
Shikarpur	26830.50	34200.00				61030.50
J. Abad	30026.59	9134.40				39160.99
Sukkur	85956.90					85956.99
Khairpur	22444.69	10395.68	8807.11			41647.48
Ghotki	15885	31170.76				47055.76
Total	560928.39	203306.38	1130596.33	590483	693032.35	2593768.28

Note :

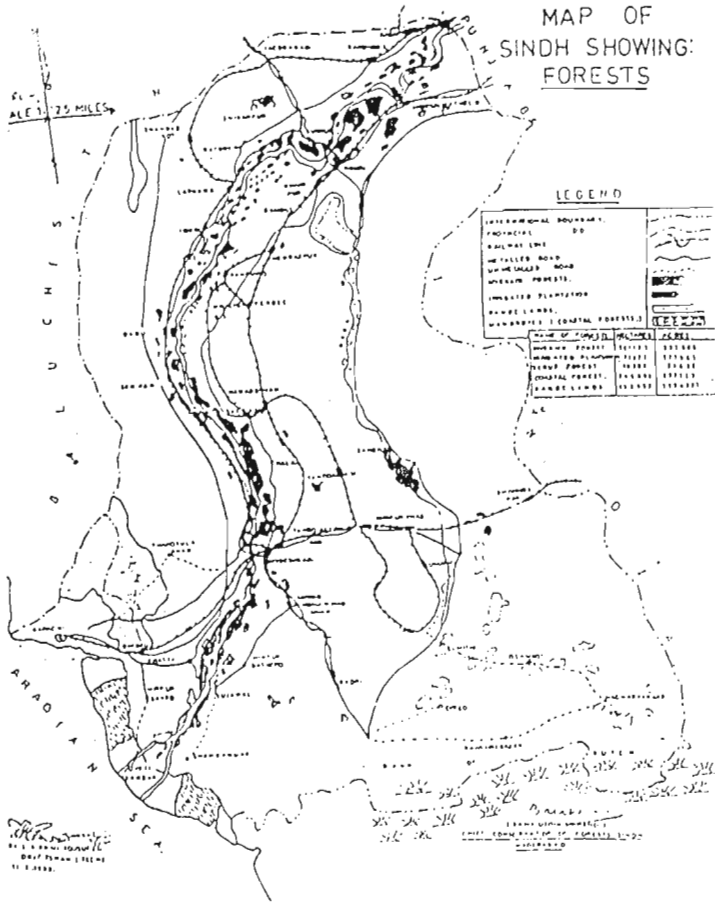
Transferred to Port Qasim Authority 159080.00 acres.

Transferred to Pano Aqil Cantonment 400.00 acres.

Area under river bed & pending Katcha claims 34852.00 acres.

Source: statement issued in response of the letter No. G(II) (b) / GB / 742 dated 9-8-1997 by office of the chief conservator of Forests Sindh Hyderabad.

These forests which consist of hundreds of kilometers, were so thick and supported with Indus water, that it was difficult for law enforcing agencies to get entrance to them. It is a fact that highest number of kidnapes were kept there. It is further highlighted in the following map that reveals the location of the forests in Sindh.



Crops and Gardens:

It was not only the forests and mountainous range, used by dacoits to hide but tall of crops and gardens had also a great importance to hide, i.e. sugarcane banana orchards, sorghum and cotton were a big source to hide especially at the time of raid and escape under cover of these crops and gardens e.g. in 1990-91 sugarcane crop in Sindh was cultivated on the area of 235280 hectares.⁴ Area under banana gardens was 19770 hectares and mango gardens covered an area of 36723 hectares.⁵ Though the crops and gardens were not so strong hideouts as compared to river in forests and mountains; but even then it played an important role to increase dacoit menace in Sindh.

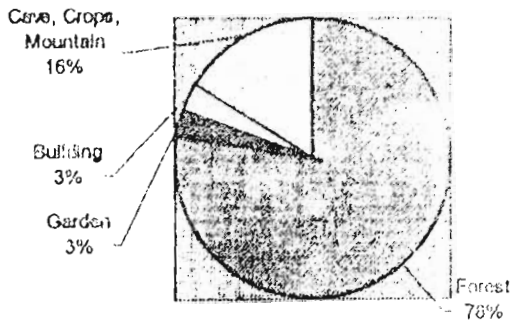
Mountains:

The natural physical feature of the Khirthar range provides perfect and inaccessible hiding places for the dacoits, outlaws of Sindh and Balochistan. The range is totally devoid of communication infrastructure barring few goat tracks. Some times when forests of Indus had come under the operations of law enforcing agencies alongwith other places, Khirthar was the best place for dacoits to hide. The rocky passes are very steep and risky for climbing up or down. It was observed that the outlaws and criminals developed a keen knowledge of the area for their hiding places and routes of escape. Towards this end, necessity being the mother of invention, they established their own careful network. Some became skilful climbers, having mastered the art of negotiating the dangerous and difficult cliffs and tracks in the scarp and the gorges in these ranges. It is therefore not easy for the law enforcing agencies to trace criminals. It was learnt that some outlaws were not only living in the range for several years, but they had built up enough facilities to live comfortably and independently.⁶

In this connection author conducted a survey in 1994-95 to find out the facts about the places of captivity of kidnapes. In this connection 495 kidnapped persons from all over the province were interviewed. The result of these interviews is given in the figure below.

FIGURE : 1

Hiding places of dacoits



Source: filed research survey data.

Mountainous areas of Khirthar, caves into them and other places in those areas have been proved as an important source of hideouts for dacoits. One of the main causes for the highest ratio of kidnapping in Dadu was due to variety of hideouts i.e. Riverine, forests as well as mountainous areas. Crops like sugarcane, sorghum, cotton etc were used as important source of hideouts.

Hiding Places :

It was common that kidnapping took place three or more hours before the day breaks or after dacoits managed to reach their liberated zone of the Katcha area adjacent to both the banks of river Indus. Where the Katcha area begins and the writ of the government ends. An unwritten agreement existed between the dacoits and the law enforcing agencies about territorial control. No one violated the authority of the other. Police and other agencies hardly ever ventured into the dacoit's area. After crossing protection bund, the dacoits arrived near their hiding places and started firing bursis mainly comprising tracer bullets to inform their fellow dacoits of their successful return. The gangs welcomed their incoming comrades in the same language of colorful tracer bullets.

Generally hiding places were known as camps where dacoits resided with gangs. Other places where gangs resided beside each other and had one chief called Shawni (Cantonment). Shawni is that place where dacoits reside for more days as compared to other place. Shawnis were known after the names of their chiefs, e.g. Shawni of Paroo Kalhoro, Shawni of Kuraro Chandio, Shawni of Qadoo Sargani and so on. It is observed that dacoit gangs comprising 50-100 dacoits were residing at these places and similarly the number of kidnapes were also residing there in large number. Landhi or Bindo were also the places to hide in Indus forests. All of the hiding places of dacoits remained under a strong security. Majority of the dacoits remained constantly on move from one place to other and preferred to walk at nighttime. Generally the Shawnies, Camps, Landhies etc. were constructed at higher places in thick jungles usually next to Indus, due to flood and other purposes. Places to hide were also changed as dacoits felt necessary for security purposes. Some camps were transferred from one place to another regularly after 2-3 days. Sometimes they moved at one side of river and sometimes crossed to the other side. For moving it was necessary to sleep at daytime and walk at nighttime.

At some camps dacoits had constructed mosques of wood and hand pumps were also available there. Residing places were constructed of wood bushes, branches of trees, grass, rounded with same type of material. Inside those residences were used Rilhis beds, blankets, cots, some times grass or leaves of riverine bushes, e.g. Kanh (Thatch grass) was also used. Paroo Chandio had used sofas at his hideout. Some dacoits had constructed the places to reside on the trees specially in the flood season.

Generally kidnapes were kept at separate Jhugies, Shades, etc. for their residence.

As Indus forests were the main places to hide, so nobody was allowed to cut the trees. In this connection once when some villagers came to chop the wood in jungle, dacoits fired a few shots to scare them,

"we are doing government job by saving the forests" commented one dacoit preserving their own sanctuaries in the process.⁷

It was not only the forests that were used as hideouts for kidnapes but many other places as well were used for the purpose such as:

- In stock of dry Jawar (Sorghum).
- In a camp in mountainous areas.
- Underground place in a forest.
- Tube well in Katcha area.
- Ottaq buildup of Katcha bricks.
- An underground hall with RCC ceiling.
- In a room where was kept a big pot to feed cattle, under that pot was a hole, an entrance to a underground room.
- Ladies and children were housed in separate rooms.
- In a Katcha house in mountains.
- At nighttime in house, daytime in jungle.
- Boat was the place of hostage during flood season.
- Hostels of the universities.⁸

In Karachi the vacant flats mostly in Gulshan-e-Iqbal were used as hideouts for the dacoits/criminals.⁹ Famous criminal Charles Sobhraj had said that Karachi is the safest place on earth for the criminals and fugitives.¹⁰

There are various hideouts to keep kidnapes in various conditions: some of them are :

Wajid Ali Mangi of Kumb (Khairpur) was kept in chains.¹¹

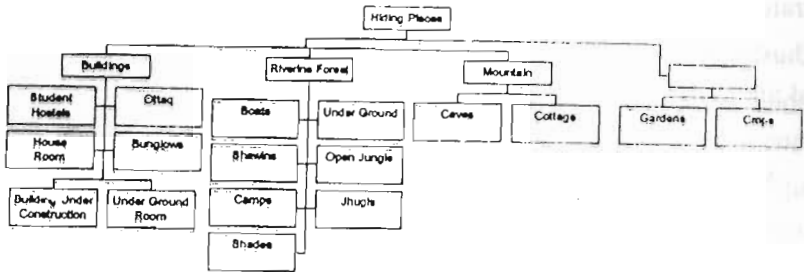
Fateh Muhammad Memon was kept at a dry lake, in a cave with chains on his legs.¹²

Naeem Ahmed Shaikh of Hingorja Town was not only kept in chains but at sleeping time one of the dacoits tied himself with his Shalwar tape.¹³

One of the employees of SRTC was kidnaped from a bus on its way to Larkana. He was kept in a cave.¹⁴ Dr. Mukesh Kumar, brother of Sindh MPA Mr. Jagdesh Kumar was kept in a Bungalow of an influential Politician Cum Landlord at Hussainabad Hyderabad.¹⁵ Professor Dr. Hussain Ahmed Shah of LMC was kept as hostage at various places including at a crop of surgarcane.¹⁶ One of the kidnapes was kept at a Banana garden.¹⁷

Following figure reveals the variety of hiding places used by dacoits.

FIGURE: 2
Hiding Places



Source : Field Research

Thus there were many places of hiding where kidnapes were kept as the hostages.

Techniques used to keep secret:

For security purpose dacoits keep themselves in secrecy and whenever dacoits kidnaped or released any person, he was blindfolded. Generally kidnapes were released at nighttime. They were taken to a

place near human settlement or on road and were told not to look behind or to open others eyes for fifteen or so minutes otherwise would be shot dead, and when they opened their eyes, found nobody there. Sometimes when any guest, friend, relative visited dacoits they kept him aloof from the kidnapes or asked kidnapes to turn their face to other side. To keep their conversation secret, they pushed cotton into the ears of the kidnapes and radios near them were tuned high.¹⁸ Sometimes kidnapes were kept blindfolded whole time. Letters for ransom were variation at nighttime in darkness under the light of torch.¹⁹ White clothes were to silent the, roaring by kidnapes, e.g. Haji Sikandar Butt of Mehar told that when he was kidnapped, he was in white clothes, on his way to the jungle, he was made to put on a black blanket.²⁰ Dacoits preferred not to operate during full moon nights. In many cases dacoits locked members of kidnapped family in a room for keeping them out of any resistance. Use of veils for journey and kidnapping purpose was also the part of strategy to keep them secret. One dacoit told that their leader Wazir Khushk instructed them, that whenever they come out from hideout, should come out one by one from different places for security purpose.²¹

Majority of dacoits remained continuously on move due to security purpose. Whenever any friend or relative visited dacoits they kept them, secret from the sight of kidnapes. They had even underground places to hide. Dacoits also knew the art of staying under water for prolonged periods by making use of weeds etcetera as snorkels. They successfully applied this technique whenever law enforcing agencies²² cordoned them. During army operation started in 1992 some Mashkezas (water leather bags) were recovered, which were without any junction and were used by dacoits for crossing ammunition from water. This type of Maslkezas were also used by dacoits for breathing under water for many hours, by fitting a pipe on its mouth. It was made by taking out all the bones of goat from head side.²³ During this operation special type of caps

were also recovered, which were just as tortoise. It is said that, when dacoits felt in danger they dropped into water with those caps and remained in movement just as tortoise till getting a chance to flee away.²⁴ For security propose Paroo Chandio had a man who would leave before by motor cycle on the same route, where from Paroo had to go and when the informer felt any danger informed Paroo by particular horn.²⁵

Use of uniform:

Many a times dacoits used uniform of the law enforcing agencies and deceived both kidnapes as well as the agencies e.g. Paroo Chandio had many uniforms of Sindh and Punjab Police including its belts, which he used for committing crimes.²⁶

Amanullah Mahesar was sitting at his Ottaq when four dacoits arrived there in police uniform and asked about a person unknown to him. Later on they attacked and kidnapped Amanullah.²⁷

Muhammad Ali Phulpoto, a kidnapes told that once he was going to participate in a Mella (fair) of Pir Dara Shah, on his way police personnel stopped him, and was taken by a tractor trolley to forest, they were the dacoits.²⁸

Mir Hassan, a kidnapes stated that he was sitting at his Ottaq when 5 policemen including one ASI arrived there by a car and asked about his father and Mir Hassan. He did not disclose his name and said both were not available, but the person sitting in the car who was ASI said he was the same person, then standing policemen took him to one car and fled. On their way, they put off their uniforms and put on him a veil and arrived at their hideout, they were the dacoits.²⁹

Thus there are many events in which dacoits used uniform to hunt their target.

Secret Movement:

Dacoits were free to visit any place of their choice within the province or outside, even foreign countries. It depended on the Waderas and Bureaucrates who wanted to see them happy for their own self interests. The main role was played by (a) Money (b) Fake National Identity Cards (c) Veils (d) Vehicles of MNAs, MPAs and Bureaucrats. Money makes many things possible. It was the looted wealth of people, which was used by dacoits for their interests. Many dacoits were holding fake national identity cards, which they used for visits to the places of interest, and during committing of the crimes, e.g. when Sunder Das of Khairpur was kidnapped, the kidnappers had crossed the rangers check post by showing fake identity cards at Sukkur.³⁰

Sadiq Gadani was in Iran for many years. Many of the dacoits frequently visited Quetta e.g. Rano Dharijo, Laiq Chandio, Mureed Sahito etc.³¹ The main source of movement was fake cards. The bribery for making a fake card is Rs. 1000 only.³² Many dacoits performed Haj, e.g. Haji Suhrah Chanu, Haji Akkan Pirzado, Haji Ahmed Burdi etc. were the dacoits who performed Haj. During field research, one person told the author that, the dacoits who had come to break central prison Sukkur in 1986, were in veils. When the brother of Faisal Saleh Hayat was kidnapped at Lahore by dacoits of Sindh, veils were used for his talking to his family at P.C.O.³³

Qalandar Bux Shaikh of Khairpur was kidnapped from a waggon on his way, when veil wearing dacoits had stopped their waggon and kidnapped him.³⁴

Whenever dacoits wished to visit cities or other places of interest, veils were used. In this connection veil wearing dacoits were sitting in the middle of the ladies and thus they were transferred from one place to

other.³⁵ Pajeros and Land cruisers of the Pirs, Politicians, Waderas and Bureaucrats remained under the use of dacoits because these vehicles were not easily checkable.³⁶ One of the dacoits told that once, when they were in Quetta, a message was received from Latif Mugheri (dacoit) that there are 30 boxes of bullets. These bullets have to be taken to Sindh. That ammunition was taken to Sindh in a Pajero of M.P.A.³⁷ Allah Bux Kuro a notorious dacoit of Sindh had remained in the company of D.I.G.P's son and many times was seen in his Pajero.³⁸ Naseer Faqir picked up a famous lady doctor of Hyderabad to visit his house to attend his ailing mother. She was dropped back at her clinic with the fee she wanted.³⁹ Sadoro Shaikh Alias Kashmir Khan was arrested from Gulshan-e-Iqbal Karachi.⁴⁰ Dacoits were free to visit any place, many of the dacoits were regular visitors to their homes.

Symbolic / Nick Names :

Dacoits kept their names secret and introduced themselves with symbolic names. It is a surprising aspect that even after passing of many days under the captivity of dacoits, majority of kidnapes as per interviews conducted were ignorant about the original names of the dacoits. The symbolic names, adopted by the dacoits as per research conducted are given as below.

TABLE: 2
Symbolic / Nick Names of Dacoits

S. NO.	ORIGINAL NAME	SYMBOLIC NAME	MEANING IN ENGLISH
1	Ramzan Kalro	Air Marshal	Air Marshal
2	Ghulam Abbas Nagraj	Badal	Cloud
3	Hidayatullah Shedi	Baktar Band	Armoured Personnel Carrier
4	Abass Sargani	Bali	Lovely
5	Sawan Sandh	Barsat	Rain
6	Aqeel Dharijo	Bhindi	Lady Finger
7	Suleman	Bhooro	Brown
8	Punhoon Kori	Bijli	Electricity
9	Abdul Ghani Channa	Chacho	Uncle
10	Bachoo Narijo	Chatti	Penalty
11	Parial Kalhoro	Colenol	Colenol
12	Ghulam Rasool Shaikh	Commando	Commando
13	Dadan Mari	Daroon	Ammunition
14	Ghaffar Mashi	DC	DC
15	Badar Sial	Dhamako	Explosion
16	Muhammad Thebo	Dilo	Jar
17	Najeeb Sindhi	Faqir	Begger
18	Immam Udin Sargani	Foji	Soldier
19	Rahim Bux Shaikh	Garho	Red
20	Guloo & Gul Mohammad	Government	Government
21	Qabil Chachar	Gun	Gun
22	Ghulam Mustafa Khoso	Hitler	Hitler
23	Mohib Shidi	IG	IG
24	Hazoori Shaikh	Jhaber	Heavy Clothes
25	Ghulam Hussan Mashi	Jhangli	Wild
26	Muhammad Bux	Jhari	Jhari
27	Ali Murad Magsi	Karo	Black
28	Allan Laghari	Khumini	Khumini (name)
29	Qabil Mashi	Kuharo	Acc

30	Khairo Chandio	Kuraro	Old man
31	Allah Bux Thebo	Wadero	Headman
32	Arab Sheedi	Launcher	Launcher
33	Ali Nawaz Khoso	Leela	Leela
34	Murad Makrani Khoso	Major	Major
35	Razan Shar	Malakal Mote	Angle of Death
36	Haji Hoat Laghari	Malango	Malango
37	Mumtaz Rajjar	Manzil	Target
38	Qadoo Sargani	Mian Sahib	Respectable
39	Abdul Majeed Soomrani Chandio	Mirch	Red pepeer
40	Nazar Punjabi	Mushiki	Blackish
41	Bashoo Marfani Chandio	Nang	Snake
42	Noor Ahmed Magsi	Noorjahan	Universal Light
43	Mukhtiar Jatoi	Pahlwan	Knight
44	Arbab Kalhoro	Pakhi	Bird
45	Abdul Karim	Raja	Monarch
46	Murad Khoso	Rode	Ball Headed
47	Ali Khoso	Sain	Sir
48	Jurio	Sepoy	Sepoy
49	Motber Chandio	Shahzado	Prince
50	Juman Kalhoro	Sheedo	Negro
51	Shahoo Rind	Sheehun	Lion
52	Mashooq Buriro	Soobidar	Police Officer
53	Karo Shaikh	Suhino	Pretty
54	Qaisar Matoo	Tar Tabah	Area Destruction
55	Mehoon Shedi	Toofan	Storm
56	Qurban Kalhoro	TR Minti	Within 3 minutes

It was observed that the entire gang was named with i.e. Shikari (hunter) number 1, 2,3,4,5 and so on. In other gangs name, were given by rank of SP to Sepoy. There was also a gang in which names were used as the first name of the member i.e. A,B,C,D etc.

Above given symbolic names prove that dacoits had adopted their names as per their conditions of life as they observed in rural Sindh. On one side they kept them secret by use of these names, other side it shows their affiliations with society. These names symbolize i.e. rural society, nature, love, beauty, hate, courage, arms, terror, status, police etc.

CONCLUSION

As per above research there were various hiding places for dacoits including in the cities and other man made places; but main source of hideouts were physical, i.e. forests, crops, gardens and mountains. Dacoits used 96.76% geographical sources as places of hiding as compared to other sources.

It was not only the availability of hideouts that increased the dacoit raids on the rural population of Sindh but the techniques used by them provided opportunities for keeping them secret for their criminal designs. In this connection police and other law enforcing agencies faced lot of the difficulties to overcome the dacoits. It is a fact that many police personnel including officials were part of dacoit intelligence. Under these conditions it was just impossible to control them properly.

Now dacoit operations have decreased but even today the dacoits are active in various areas of the province. It is possible to control them provided government considers it as serious problem of our society and makes hard decisions to implement rule of the law for all and makes proper efforts to overcome the techniques and hideouts used by dacoits in the past.

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Book Review

"Insightful analysis of Pakistan's Performance"

By

Muhammad Tehsin

Muhammad Tehsin Discovers a new work on the contemporary Pakistani political situation, the dilemmas and issues which the polity confronts and the great variance that exists between today's reality and the vision with which the nascent state had commenced its journey half a century ago. Founder's Aspirations and Today's Realities is a worthy follow-up to Roeded Khan's 'A Dream Gone Sour', and Ishrat Hussain's 'Pakistan, Economy on an Elitist State'. As an objective assessment of the performance Pakistan as a State over a period of fifty years, the book comes out with a vivid and frank presentation of the achievements and failures of the polity in the economic, political, diplomatic and social spheres of national life.

The fourteen essays contributed by scholars and public figures from the United States and Pakistan discuss in detail the problems and issues confronting the contemporary Pakistan. A great variance exists today with the vision with which the nascent state had commenced its journey half a century ago.

Pakistan has come a long way from the bubbling new born country conceived in the fertile mind of an idealist and put on the map of the world by a pragmatic lawyer and constitutionalist. It has seen the vicissitudes of economic recession, political degeneration and social disharmony. Although founded on the principles of democracy, very

soon its governance was dominated by individualistic whims which subverted the efficiency and viability of its core institutions.

While deliberating upon the vital issues of governance and political leadership, the authors have tried to identify the major causes and underlying factors which hindered the growth of a constitutional state and crippled the democratic evolution and the socio-economic well-being of the nation.

In his introductory article, Dr. Hafeez Malik identified two main factors that gave an early shock to the country's stability and proved to be the harbingers of future crises in Pakistan's political history. First was the handling by the leadership of the Muslim League of the issues of accession by the rulers of Kashmir, Junagarh and Hyderabad.

The second 'strategic error of judgment' was the yoking of East Bengal with Pakistan. The emergence of Bangladesh as a separate state in 1971 would have saved Pakistan from trauma of defeat and prevented the development of a grandiose mindset of Pakistan leadership disproportionate to its size and resources. In the context of the beginning of history of constitution-making in Pakistan, former Minister of law under Ayub Khan, S.M. Zafar writes that the Quid-i-Azam changed the oath of the office of the Governor General from 'to bear true allegiance to his majesty' to 'to bear true allegiance to the constitution'. Thereby section 6(3) of the Indian Independence Act was amended by omitting his Majesty's name for obligatory assent to every law and making it an assent by the Governor General. After the death of the Quaid-i-Azam on 11 Sept. 1948, the excruciatingly slow process of drafting the Constitution began.

S.M. Zafar point out that the leisurely pace of the Constituent Assembly might be explained by the problems faced by the new state but more so due to controversial issues between the two wings of East and West Pakistan, lack of cohesive leadership and the self-interest of the members as their life as members of parliament was tied to the enforcement of the constitution.

Regarding the emergence of the role of the judiciary, S.M. Zafar says, "With the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, the venue of the Constitutional matters shifted from the political field to the judicial forum". Although generally sympathetic to the judiciary's predicament in the complex political imbroglio, S.M. Zafar nonetheless notes,

“Reliance on the law of necessity or accepting the absence of public protest against a coup as the basis of a revolution, or working under a Martial Law regime which could and did retire judges at will, are such matters for which no defence can be offered.”

It is pertinent that the Constitution which the Quaid-i-Azam so proudly swore to uphold in his oath to the office of Governor General was set aside by his successor in office Ghulam Muhammad who abruptly dissolved the Constituent Assembly with the stroke of a pen.

Continuing the discussion on the constitutional development of Pakistan, Javid Iqbal, former justice of the Supreme Court, has brought out the brighter aspects of the role of judiciary, though without consciously blotting out the bleaker portions of its history. He mentions the Federal Court's validation of the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly by the Governor General Ghulam Muhammad in the Tamizuddin case and points out the restraint imposed by the Federal Court upon the Governor General regarding legislation on constitutional matters and the conditionality of holding early elections. Similarly, in the case of the Supreme Court decision regarding the illegality of 1969 Martial Law and declaration of Yahya Khan as 'usurper' but, by then he had already left office. Thus it has been emphasized that the judiciary struggled for its survival and independence in generally adverse circumstances and at best worked for the constitutional and political continuity of the state and in the worst cases, it only gave de jure recognition to a de facto situation when a political change had already given birth to new realities.

Dilating upon the role of the military in Pakistani politics, Khalid Mahmud Arif, a former Vice Chief of Army Staff from 1984-87 has frankly admitted the corrosive effect of repeated Martial Laws not only on the politics of the country but also on the professional efficiency of the Army. The military machine is modeled to work in silence and aloofness but when it is mashed in the rubble of intense political squabbling in complex social milieu, it is left confused and disoriented. The effects in the civil society are also telling. K.M. Arif has enumerated the causes of instability in Pakistan political system, also highlighting the importance of preventing such eventuality in the future.

Moving on to the nuclear issue which has made the subcontinent the nuclear 'flash point' of the world, Munir Ahmad Khan, former Chairman of Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission, has traced the history of the development of nuclear capability of India and Pakistan and Walid Iqbal,

an attorney-at-law with the prestigious New York Firm of Cromwell and Sullivan has focused upon the May 10, 1998 nuclear explosion, and the US reaction. He contends that India considered the economic fallout the explosion as manageable because its economy was in a high trajectory whereas Pakistan could ill-afford the debilitating consequences of economic sanctions.

Rober E. Loney, Professor of Economic based in California, has raised some poignant questions like Pakistan's economic inequality, and the future of progress and democracy in the country.

While discussing the issue of sectarianism, two authors have delved into the origin and contemporary state of the problem. They have contended that the problem, in its present violent form, is not so much inherent as being fuelled by exogenous factors which need to be plugged along with raising the awareness and tolerance levels of the society.

In the sphere of foreign affairs the ups and downs of Pakistan's relations with the US and the dynamics of its relations with Russia, have been discussed. Foreign Minister Abdus Sattar has commented upon relations with the West, China and the Middle East, and Robert G. Wirsing has discussed the perception of the Kashmir issue by the elites and the masses of both India and Pakistan. He contends that whereas the Pakistanis are less rigid in their approach to its solution the Indians are rather smug about it and seem amenable only to accepting the present Line of Control as the permanent border for the final settlement.

Nonetheless, this inflexibility and rigidity of the Indians is not as much natural as contrived. The Kashmir debate has been shrouded, as in Pakistan, behind deep curtains of secrecy in the name of patriotism and national survival. Whereas the common man in India is not aware of the travails of the Kashmiris, the Pakistanis seem unaware of the actual status of the dispute and its future prospects.

The author emphasizes upon the need to disentangle the problem from encumbrances and to adopt flexible attitude for resolving the conflict and achieving lasting peace in the region.

This thought-provoking work touches upon all issues of importance in the Pakistani scenario. Apart from political leaders and the students of social sciences it would be of interest to those preparing to appear the competitive examinations.

NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS

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

Manuscript should be clearly typed on one side of the paper 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, on a separate sheet of paper. They should be clearly drawn so that they are suitable for photocopying.

Authors should submit an 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.

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