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FRAMING THE SOUTH ASIAN HISTORY  
THROUGH FILMS

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# FRAMING THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ATTITUDE THROUGH EDUCATION: A QUEST\*

Dr. Toseef Azid  
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## Abstract

*Economic growth of any economy is not only dependent on the physical capital but also on the human capital. This is not a new concept. It has its own importance since the time of Adam Smith. Developed human capital has a positive effect on the economic as well as political and social environment. Education is the most important variable, which plays an important role in the development of human capital. A number of empirical studies have proved that the pace of economic growth of the developed countries could not be accelerated without an improvement of the stock of human capital. This paper endeavors to assess the impact of education especially primary education on the behavior of rural inhabitants. For this purpose a village in the Faisalabad district of Punjab province is selected. The study focuses on the behavior of the head of household as respondent using judgement sampling as a technique and a question are as a research tool, makes some recommendation on the basis of its findings.*

However, most of the developing countries are short of human capital. The experts are in consensus that the skill shortage is one of the major components for the disappointed growth of these countries. These countries are facing the double edge problem, on the one side they face the shortage of the physical resources and on the other they are critically short of human resources. Looking at the above problem the policy makers and experts have shifted their attention towards the development of the human resources. Their main emphasis is to improve and increase the educational level of the country. Educational investment becomes the central part of their investment strategy. In return, the enrolment of these countries has increased with a speedy rate.

It is also assumed that education also has the positive effect on the over all environment of the society. Education produces the sophistication in the human, which in return increases the well fare of

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\*This is the revised version of that paper which was presented in the 19th annual general meeting of PIDE held at Islamabad, 2004.



the economy as well as society and ultimately the rate of productivity will increase.

Among all stages of education, primary education has a central place. An investment strategy, which gives a central place to primary schooling will not only facilitate growth, but it will also do so in a more equitable way than many alternatives. Even in industrial projects, which enjoy high financial rates of return, issue of taxation, ownership and control are crucial, if these financial surpluses are subsequently to be of some benefit to poor people. By contrast, measures to extend and improve primary schooling involve direct expenditure on the poorest population groups. These expenditures subsequently increase the productivity of such people, and the returns to the investment flow mainly to the individuals involved and to the communities in which they live. Investment in primary schooling thus provides a means of tackling the poverty problems directly. It represents not only a more attractive investment in many countries but also a less risky means of increasing the income of poorest people. In the literature a number of attempts can be seen on the impact of education on the attitude of the human being, for example Caldwell (1979), Chaduri (1979), Colcough (1982), Cochrane (1979a, 1979b), Guisinger (1984), Lockheed (1980) and many others.

The objective of this study is to estimate the effects of education and especially the primary education on the behavior of rural inhabitants in a selected village. For the achievement of this purpose a village is selected from District Faisalabad. Head of the household is the respondent and his behavior will be analyzed. The study is divided into two sections. Section I presents the sample selection procedure and quantitative results, while section II discusses the empirical results. Conclusions and suggestions are presented at the end.

## **Section I**

A village of Faisalabad named SHRIEN WALA is selected to collect information. So, we used judgment-sampling technique, which is mostly used to collect data in Economics and Business statistics.

Judgment sampling is normally divided into two sub groups. The one is quota sampling and second is purposive sampling. In purposive sampling, as we use, the selections of the sampling units is based on the person's experience about the population. In this survey

this sampling technique is used and roundabout 100 households are interviewed, which gave very satisfactory results although there are few errors, which mostly occur in this technique due to interviewer's performance.

The main source of collecting information about change in life style and behavior of respondents with education level is one to one talk, for which approx. 30 brief questions were set in questionnaire. In each sampled household the interview was started after formal discussion about his/her name, caste and address of house. Further, after asking respondent's education level, family size, family income, structure of house and number of rooms, source of income, type of sanitation, and method of solid waste were asked in order to get some information about his/her life style.

In second section the respondents who were engaged in agriculture sector were asked about their landholdings, method of cultivation, credit facilities and use of fertilizers and seeds. These two sections were based on the quantitative measurements.

Finally, in the third and last section, some behavioral questions were asked for qualitative measurements of different educational level, which contains 10 different questions like decision power, types of communication, liking of women education, family planning and most important child caring activities like their diet, vaccination and medicines in case of their illness.

Let us have a look on the living conditions of people living in the said village. 13 households were found living in the kacha houses, from which 9 were living in one room house. They are not planned, particularly with regard to toilet, stores for livestock and kitchen. About 30% of population of village lives in one room house. 33% live in two-room house and 22% live in three room houses. The source of drinking water is hand pumps. A typical two room dwelling in the rural areas has 16 x 10 and 10 x 12 rooms having a varanda. It normally has water pumps and small bathroom. The smaller room of 10 x 12 is used as stable.

### **Quantitative Results**

Out of total 100 respondents, there were 63 males and 36 females. Among them 85 were married and 15 were single. 88 respondents were engaged with informal sector, 9 with formal sector and 3 were doing no job.

**Table 1**  
**List of Family Members, Structure of House and Number of Rooms Available**

Education Level	Average Family Members	Packa House (%)	Average number of rooms
No Schooling	3.77	75	2.00
Primary	4.38	89	2.50
Middle	4.36	91	3.45
Matric	4.80	100	4.40
Above	4.69	93	4.50

Source: Computed by the authors on the basis of the results obtained in the survey.

In this table, there is quite an interesting information regarding the family size, structure of the house and average number of rooms available to family

In the second column the average family members are discussed, the respondents having no education were having 3.77 family members on average while the respondents having primary education had an average family size of 4.38. It is due to awareness about the medical facilities to the educated people. From the above figure it is clear that the mortality rate decreases with the education and awareness. Further, with middle education, family size is 4.36 and with matric education, the size increases to 4.80. Now comparing primary educated person's behavior with the middle or high, one can easily understand that there is not much difference but with the higher education of college and university, there is a reasonable trend of smaller family size.

From these statistics it can be inferred that with the primary or middle education there is increased awareness regarding the medical and health facilities while with higher education there is considerable trend towards the awareness regarding family planning.

In the third column, it is clear that there is a positive relationship between the education and the structure of house. 75% of uneducated people were living in the paka house while all the 100% respondents belonging to the matriculate group were living in the paka house. In the 4<sup>th</sup> column the relationship between the average number of rooms available and the education level is shown and it is



clear that there is a positive relationship between the two, the average number of rooms increases with the increase in the education levels.

**Table 2**  
**Distribution of Income**

Education Level	Average Respondent's Monthly Income (Rs)	Average Family Monthly Income (Rs)	Per Capita Income (Rs)
No Schooling	2945.00	7765.60	2021
Primary	3323.50	8694.00	2343
Middle	4495.50	10541.00	2253
Matric	3300.00	10320.00	2493
Above	8254.00	11923.00	2428

Source: Computed by the authors on the basis of the results obtained in the survey.

Table 2 describes the relation of education level and the monthly income. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> column, average respondent income is calculated. There is positive relationship between education level and average income of respondents. The average income increases as the education level increases except in the case of matriculated people. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> column the average family income is calculated. There again a relationship is clear that the average family income increases with the increase in the education level. Per capita income, calculated in the 4<sup>th</sup> column also shows a positive relationship with the education level.

**Table 3**  
**Use of Source of Communication by Different Educational Levels**

Education Level	VCR	Phone	Radio	Satellite Dish	News Papers
No Schooling	75	14	43	7	4
Primary	92	15	38	8	23
Middle	100	50	62	0	25
Matric	80	40	40	0	20
Above	92	70	62	0	62

Source: Computed by the authors on the basis of the results obtained



in the survey.

Table 3 shows the relationship between education level and the use of different type of communication devices. In 2<sup>nd</sup> column the relationship between the education level and the use of Television is discussed. Interestingly, there is a positive relationship between the two variables, i.e. with the increase in the education level the demand for TV sets also increase. The main cause of this increase is the awareness regarding the world issues, the national problems and favorite programs. Similar is the case with the use of telephone. The use of telephone increases with the increase in the education level. The only exception in the case of use of telephone is in the matriculated group, this is, may be due to the sample error because only 5 matriculated respondents were interviewed among the sample of 100. In 4<sup>th</sup> column the relationship between the use of radio and education level is discussed, generally there is a positive relationship between the use of radio and the education level. The 5<sup>th</sup> column describes the relationship between the use of Satellite Dish Antenna and the education level. Surprisingly, there is no clear relationship shown between the use of Dish and the education level. Among the set of respondents only a small percentage of people belonging to no education and primary education use dish antenna while respondents form all other groups were not using the device. While in the last column the relationship between the education level and the reading of newspaper is shown, and here also the positive relationship is clear.

**Table 4**  
**Attitude of Respondents Having Different Education Groups**

Education Level	Self	Mutual Opinion
No Schooling	58	42
Primary	33	67
Middle	45	55
Matric	40	60
Above	23	77

Source: Computed by the authors on the basis of the results obtained in the survey

Table 4 describes the behavior of respondents about the decision making with different education level. It is observed that involvement in decision-making increases with the increase in the

education level. One reason for this behavioral change is the fact that the educated man is more liberal and open-minded. They think that the involvement of their family will make more positive decision and will be better for all. They, in a way, accept the importance of their family members e.g. wives, children and parents. From the table it is clear that 58% of uneducated people don't involve their families in decision-making, probably, they feel insult to take any type of opinion from their families. 33% of primary, 45% of middle, 40% of matric and 23% of higher educated people do not involve their families in decision-making activity. The most involved family in the decision-making is the family with the highest educated respondents of College and University i.e. 77%. So one can conclude that the involvement of family members in decision-making increases as the education level of respondents increases.

**Table 5**  
**Use of Family Planning, Vaccination and Behavior about Education and Health Care Activities**

Education Level	Liking of Women Education (%)	Women's Health Facility (%)	Family Planning (%)	Vaccination (%)
No Schooling	52	82.60	51	27
Primary	88	88	82	50
Middle	91	91	82	57
Matric	100	100	75	75
Above	92	100	67	90

Source: Computed by the authors on the basis of the results obtained in the survey.

Table 5 shows the relationship of level of education with the liking of women's education, women's health facilities, role of family planning and vaccination. 2<sup>nd</sup> column shows the percentage of liking for female education i.e. how many people like to educate their daughters. The attitude is very much visible from the table i.e. as the respondents climb the educational ladder the more liberal behavior towards female education they have. Sophistication, liberal attitude, broader vision can be among the reasons for such an attitude.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> column discusses the availability of female health

facilities. The relationship is once again positive i.e. the awareness about the female health increases with the increase in the education level. The 4<sup>th</sup> column shows the relationship between the education level and the use of contraceptives, which is very essential to check the rapidly growing population of Pakistan. The column depicts a positive relationship between the education level and the role of family planning. Only 51% uneducated respondents like the use of contraceptives, 75% of High and 67% of Higher educated people like it. Here is a very interesting situation with the primary and middle education group. The 82% people form these age groups recognize the importance of family planning. So, it is clear that 5 to 8 years of schooling have more positive effect on the use of contraceptive activities. The last column discusses the relationship between the courses of vaccination with the different education levels. With the acquisition of more education, persons are more aware of the importance of vaccination and this is also clear in the last column of this table.

**Table 6**  
**Daily Diet Taken by Different Educational Groups**

Education Level	Milk	Eggs	Fruit	Meat	Rice	Wheat
No Schooling	45	28	26	30	97	100
Primary	75	33	33	58	100	100
Middle	62	50	37	75	100	100
Matric	75	75	50	75	100	100
Above	90	80	40	90	100	100

Source: Computed by the authors on the basis of the results obtained in the survey.

Table 6 shows the daily diet of respondent's children. Usually small children need milk, eggs, fruit, meat/beef, wheat and rice in their daily diet. More educated people are more aware of this daily diet chart. In the entire table it is clearly visible that with the increase in the education levels the use of milk, eggs, fruit, meat, rice and wheat increases. The most important fact is that wheat and rice are being used by almost all the members of all education groups, the reason, may be that these two constitute a major portion of diets of people of Pakistan due to social, economic and geographic reasons.



**Table 7**  
**Use of Different Types of Sanitation Facilities**

Education Level	Govt. Provisions (%)	Village community (%)	Own (%)	Any Other (%)
No Schooling	70.50	19.60	7.80	1.9
Primary	81.25	18.75	0	0
Middle	70.00	30.00	0	0
Matric	80.00	20.00	0	0
Above	92.30	76.00	0	0

Source: Computed by the authors on the basis of the results obtained in the survey.

Table 7 describes different types of sanitation used by the respondents belonging to different education levels. 70.5% of uneducated respondents get government service and it is almost same for the middle education persons. The condition is better for the primary and the high education group i.e. 81.25% and 80% respectively, and it increases with the College and University achievers i.e. 92.3%. All other respondents who do not get government service use source generated by village community but about 10% of uneducated persons use other sources generated by their own selves or from any other source. It is clear from the table that as the education level increases there is less dependency on the village community and they rely on government services.

**Table 8**  
**Use of Different Methods of Disposal of Solid Wastes by Different Educational Groups**

Education Level	Dung hills (%)	Servants (%)
No Schooling	89.00	11.00
Primary	68.75	31.25
Middle	60.00	40.00
Matric	60.00	40.00
Above	38.40	61.60

Source: Computed by the authors on the basis of the results obtained in the survey.



Table 8 shows the use of servants for disposal of solid wastes of respondents by different education levels. Very clear and positive relationship is there, i.e. the use of servants increases as the education level increases. Only 11% of uneducated persons take the service of servants. It increases to 31.25% for primary and 40% for both middle and high education groups. It becomes 61.60% for college and University achievers. The reasons can be that the educated people are more particular about the health and cleanliness and they give neatness and cleanliness in homes and society a greater importance because they are aware of the fact that the diseases are caused by the bad atmosphere and as they are particular about health they use every possible measure to keep their homes and near about clean and neat. For this purpose they employ servants to look after the affairs.

**Table 9**  
**Estimation of Child Care Facilities.**

Education Level	Doctor (%)	Hakims (%)	Dispensary	Taweez	House Tips
No Schooling	29.00	12.50	60.40	16.60	25.00
Primary	92.80	0	21.42	7.10	7.14
Middle	75.00	12.50	75.00	0	0
Matric	75.00	0	25.00	0	0
Above	90.00	10.00	20.00	0	0

Source: Computed by the authors on the basis of the results obtained in the survey.

Table 9 describes the relationship between the education level and the childcare activities. In 2<sup>nd</sup> column it is discussed how many people of different education levels consult doctor during the illness of their children. Only 29% of uneducated people consult doctors and this ratio increases with the increase in the education level and it is highest in the primary education group where the ratio is 92.80%. In 3<sup>rd</sup> column the role of Hakim is discussed, 12.50% of uneducated and middle pass respondents consult Hakims during illness. 4<sup>th</sup> column shows that 60% of uneducated people get medicine from dispensary without complete check up of their child and this tendency decreases with the increase in education level. There is quite an interesting situation in column 5, which shows that 16.60% of uneducated people and 7.10% of primary pass people believe in Taweez instead of doctor and similarly in column 6, it is clear that only uneducated and primary pass people rely on house tips. No other class is

interested in Taweez and house tips. So, it is clear that, with the spread of education people depend on doctors and medicine facilities rather on Hakims and house tips.

**Table 10**  
**Use of Agriculture Tools by Different Educational Levels**

Education Level	Tractor (%)	Tube well (%)	Threshers (%)
No Schooling	21.40	14.20	14.20
Primary	28.50	0	14.20
Middle	37.50	25.00	0
Matric	25.50	0	0
Above	22.20	11.11	11.11

Source: Computed by the authors on the basis of the results obtained in the survey.

Table 10 shows relationship between education level and use of agriculture tools. Interestingly, there is no direct relationship between the two.

**Table 11**  
**Use of Fertilizers by Different Educational Groups**

Education Level	Natural (%)	Chemical (%)	Both (%)
No Schooling	7.60	15.38	76.90
Primary	0	14.28	85.75
Middle	0	25.00	75.00
Matric	0	25.00	75.00
Above	0	33.00	66.66

Source: Computed by the authors on the basis of the results obtained in the survey.

Table 11 discusses the relationship between different education standards and use of fertilizers. There are three categories of fertilizers, Natural; Chemical and Mixed. 7.6% of uneducated people still use natural fertilizer only, no other class is using the natural fertilizer alone. The use of chemical fertilizers is increasing with the increase in the education level while in the case of mixed category there is a negative relationship with the education levels.

**Table 12**  
**Use of Seeds**

Education Level	Self Made (%)	HYV (%)	Both
No Schooling	100.00	0	0
Primary	83.30	16.66	0
Middle	85.70	14.28	0
Matric	50.00	25.00	25.00
Above	66.60	33.33	0

Source: Computed by the authors on the basis of the results obtained in the survey.

Table 12 shows the relationship between education level and the use of seeds. Again there are three categories of seeds: Self made, HYV (High Yielding Seeds) and Mixed (both). It is evident from the table that all the uneducated people use self-made seeds. More than 80% of primary and middle pass people use self-made seeds. This ratio decreases with the higher standards of education. 25% of matric pass people use the mixed category of seed while no other class use mixed seed. In class of HYV no uneducated person use them. The ratio of HYV use increases with the increase in the education levels.

## **Section II**

### **Empirical Testing**

This section measures the impact of education on the respondents of understudy survey. This survey was conducted in a village of Faisalabad. 100 heads of household were approached. In the empirical estimation education is considered as an independent variable whereas living style, nutritional status and agriculture productivity are taken as dependent variables. OLS and Logit models are applied. For some questions both are applied simultaneously.

Dependent variables are quantitative as well as qualitative in their nature. Size of family, family income, source of income, structure of house, number of rooms, method of solid waste, type of sanitation and the source of communication, etc. are included in the living style. Nutritional diet and health care activities are included in the nutritional status. Productivity of land is also considered as the dependent variable. All these variables are quantitative. Whereas if they are in favor of female education, family planning, they appreciate and respect the opinion of other family members and take



part in the community welfare considered as the qualitative variables.

The independent variable is considered as:

- $E_1 = 1$  for no schooling, 0 otherwise.
- $E_2 = 1$  for primary, 0 otherwise.
- $E_3 = 1$  for middle, 0 otherwise.
- $E_4 = 1$  for matriculation, 0 otherwise.
- $E_5 = 1$  for higher education, 0 otherwise.

The dependent variables are constructed as:

- $S_f =$  Size of family (total members of family)
- $I_f =$  Family Income (per capita income of the household)
- $S_H =$  Structure of the House (1 for Paka, 0 otherwise)
- $N_R =$  Number of Rooms (total number of living rooms in house)
- $W_E =$  Women Education (1 if they like it, 0 otherwise)
- $W_H =$  Women health facility (1 if they visit the doctor, 0 otherwise)
- $F_P =$  Family planning (1 if they use contraceptives, 0 otherwise)
- $V =$  Vaccination (1 if yes, 0 otherwise)
- $P_A =$  Production per acre (value of production per acre)
- $N_D =$  Diet (1 if they take egg, meet or milk daily, 0 otherwise, fruit is not included)

Where dependent variables are binary, Logit model is applied otherwise simple OLS is applied.



OLS		Logit											
Independent Variables	Intercept	E <sub>1</sub>	E <sub>2</sub>	E <sub>3</sub>	E <sub>4</sub>	E <sub>5</sub>	E <sub>1</sub>	E <sub>2</sub>	E <sub>3</sub>	E <sub>4</sub>	E <sub>5</sub>	R <sup>2</sup>	R <sub>1</sub>
S <sub>F</sub>	2.37* (2.98)	0.23 (0.98)	0.44 (0.93)	0.33 (0.25)	0.42 (0.35)	0.39 (1.03)	----	----	----	----	----	92%	----
I <sub>F</sub>	2.42* (3.09)	0.42 (0.97)	0.59 (0.32)	0.63 (1.29)	0.72 (2.82)*	0.88 (2.73)*	----	----	----	----	----	93%	----
S <sub>II</sub>	2.49* (3.82)	----	----	----	----	----	0.74 (1.03)	0.88 (1.23)	0.90 (1.39)	1.02 (2.93)*	1.05 (2.99)*	----	78%
N <sub>II</sub>	4.79* (4.02)	1.02 (0.78)	2.05 (1.73)	3.56 (2.92)*	4.42 (2.97)	3.79 (2.78)*	----	----	----	----	----	90%	----
W <sub>E</sub>	2.82* (2.22)	----	----	----	----	----	0.92 (1.39)	0.79 (1.22)	0.88 (1.31)	1.03 (2.92)*	1.09 (2.99)*	----	72%
W <sub>II</sub>	2.95* (3.07)	----	----	----	----	----	0.02 (0.98)	0.17 (1.32)	1.39 (2.76)*	1.38 (2.97)*	1.44 (2.78)*	----	69%
F <sub>P</sub>	2.82* (3.09)	----	----	----	----	----	0.83 (1.09)	0.32 (1.39)	0.88 (1.45)	1.39 (2.98)*	1.82 (3.34)*	----	71%
P <sub>A</sub>	2.07* (4.23)	2.39 (2.38)*	1.32 (2.75)*	1.22 (1.30)	1.82 (2.92)*	1.89 (2.79)*	----	----	----	----	----	89%	----
N <sub>D</sub>	2.09* (4.56)	----	----	----	----	----	0.89 (2.32)*	0.41 (2.24)*	0.73 (2.95)*	0.69 (2.77)*	0.67 (2.87)*	----	88%

## **Family Size**

It is assumed that education has negative effect on the size of the family (Colclough 1982), especially Chocrane (1979 a ) surveyed the literature and conclude that family size is negatively associated with the level of education. However, the sample of this study does not confirm the study of Chocrane. Different levels of education have insignificant effect on the family size. May be the family size in the rural areas of Pakistan is not only dependent on the educational status but also on the tradition of society. In this under-study village, traditions look dominating in the decision of family size. All coefficients in this equation are insignificant.

## **Family Income**

Blaug (1970), Colclough (1974) UNECA (1978) and Bernel (1978) reported that education is playing a vital and significant role in the improvement of the earning of family. This study estimates the determinants per capita income of the family. First three levels of education have insignificant effect whereas the other two levels have the significant effect on the per capita income of the family. However all the coefficients have the positive significance. It may be also due to the social and cultural environment of the family; whereas with no schooling up to 8 years have the same effect.

It is also based on the labor market and it treats them (first three levels) on equal basis whereas the last two levels have the significant effect on the per capita income.

## **Structure of the House**

In this equation the dependent variable is converted in to dummy variable. 1 for pakka house and 0 otherwise. For the estimation of this model, Logit model was applied. The results are similar to the second equation i.e. for the first three levels the coefficients are insignificant and for the last two levels the coefficients are positive and have significant impact. This is, may be, due to the wealth status of the family; as the rural structure of Pakistan shows that, it is easier for rich people to get education as compared to the poor people. So, the educated people are living in the Pakka houses. Therefore, it may be the income effect instead of education effect, or in some studies it was observed that more education

generates more income and the more educated people can afford themselves to live in the Pakka houses instead of Kacha.

### **Number of Living Rooms**

OLS was applied to estimate this equation. Only the last level of education has significant and positive impact. It is observed from the number of empirical studies that education is giving the sense of cleanliness, hygienic environment etc. So due to this, the more educated people have more living rooms than the people having less education. Here also the income effect is prevailing because again the same hypothesis that more education generates more income comes to play.

### **Women Education, Health and Family Planning**

Both these variables are significantly determined by more education. More educate people have positive behavior towards the health and education of female members of the family. As the education level of the head of the family increases, the education standard of other family members also increases. These variables are positively correlated with each other. Similar results have been observed in the study.

### **Productivity Benefits**

Lochheed, et. al (1980) concluded that education levels of small farmers affect their production efficiency. Further it was confirmed by Caldwell (1979), Berny and Sabot (1978) and Standing (1978). All of them concluded that, as the number of school years increases, it improves the modern environment of the society. So the use of new technology, new crop varieties or access to sophisticated equipment is an outcome of education.

### **Nutrition**

This equation gives all significant variables. It is, may be, due to the cultural and social environment of the village. As the understudy village is near to Faislabad (a major industrial city of central Punjab) and to some extent much prosperous as compared to other villages of the area. So, its own environment may create the diet consciousness.



## Conclusion and Suggestions

This study suggests that in the village under study the role of primary education is insignificant. It does not mean that primary education is not a primary tool for the improvement of the society as well as economy. However, what has been observed is the outcome of our educational system, because educational system in Pakistan especially in rural areas is unable to achieve its targets. However, partially it has some importance in the agricultural sector. It implies that primary schooling increases the income of the farmer and is a cause of reduction in the poverty levels. Similarly, primary education creates the good sense of diet. However, an important conclusion drawn in this study is that only 10 years of schooling has positive and significant impact on the variables, so it may be concluded that in Pakistan, the minimum level of education that gives the individuals some sense about the life is Matriculation and not the primary level. This study suggests that authorities have to give proper attention towards primary education which could enable someone to become the productive agent of the economy and the standard of primary education should be improved.



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## NAM-ITS RELEVANCE IN PRESENT WORLD

*Dr. Nasima Zaman*

### **Abstract**

*The relevance and meaningful role of Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in the now changed unipolar world have been questioned by many visionaries and stalwarts. Great leaders had established NAM for the achievement of noble ideals of equality, independence, peace, mutual trust, development and exploitation-free world. In fact, it was evolved to strengthen the socio-economic and politico- strategic basis of the new countries. But many of these aims are yet to be achieved in respect of the developing countries. Moreover, cold war is not yet a past phase of international relations. Today the Cold War is to set not only with inter-bloc tension but also intra- bloc rivalry. Political analysts are anticipating another cold war between the West and China. There is every reason to believe that China is shaping up like a superpower and the US has already started its campaign against it in many fields such as human rights and intellectual of property rights. So, the importance of non-alignment, therefore, is all the greater and not less for safeguarding the sovereignty and independence of its member states. It can still play a positive role in major and continuing global concerns like' disarmament, development and terrorism. Non-alignment is, in essence, an alternative vision of the management of international relations among nations and hence a unique contribution' to contemporary thinking. Thus, it is high time that NAM has to get its acts together and redefine its goals and priorities with more unity and understanding among the member nations. In the present unipolar situation, the relevance of NAM is revived once again. It can pave the way for smooth functioning of the international system. Therefore, NAM has to play, a significant role in the years to come.*

### **Introduction:**

The Non-aligned movement (NAM) is almost synonymous with the Third World as because it is a coalition of the developing and poor states, mostly former colonies. It appeared on the international scene soon after the Second World War. It emerged as an important political force in the midst of a new post war international scenario



marked by cold war politics. "Born not only as alternative," says Milos Dramnjak, "to the block policy of dividing the world into spheres of interest by means of domination, exploitation and subjugation of smaller and medium-sized states and nations, but also as a reflection of the perceived imperative need strictly to implement the principles of the United Nations (UN) Charter... the policy and movement of nonalignment" have been functioning in order to achieve its objectives.<sup>1</sup> Since inception, the movement has been functioning as a sub-system in the world politics, aimed at changing the unequal global relationship between the developing and the peaceful countries and an even and peaceful world order. As the Third World countries viewed NAM as the main vehicle of guaranteeing their newly earned independence, world peace and stability, its size, focus and activities started expanding in a rapid way. The NAM has 116 member states so far.

There is no denying the fact that the NAM is the brainchild of the first Prime Minister of India -Jawaharlal Nehru. The protagonists of the movement were President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic (Egypt), Joseph Broj Tito of Yugoslavia, Ahmed Sukarno of Indonesia and U Nu of Burma (Myanmar). Their concerted efforts made the movement a dynamic principle of international relations. It is one of those phenomena of international relations, which evolved after the Second World War, and were closely linked with the cold war that followed the "Great Divide" and played ominously along the "gaping political and ideological chasm between East and West".<sup>2</sup> All the protagonists of NAM acknowledged that the necessities of world politics and a prudential regard for the national interest both pointed to nonalignment as the best policy.

As the world scenario has dramatically changed over the last few decades, NAM has shifted its focus from decolonization, world peace and detente. In order to meet up the requirements of current world politics, the movement has shifted its priority on global economic issues and North -South dialogue. In fact, the shift was oriented by the changing need of the developing countries themselves. The object of this study is to examine the validity of the movement as a whole in present world politics. Has NAM opted for a fresh political course of action rejecting the earlier political rhetorics and prejudices? The survival of NAM depends largely on its course of action suitable to the current changes in world politics.



## Raison d'etre of NAM

World War II raised the curtain of colonization from Asia, Africa and South America and left the newly independent countries vulnerable to the power game of the superpowers. It is obvious that a country's interests are diverse, and measures to promote these interests may vary with time, may not be fully consistent with one another and may not always conform to high moral principles. The leaders of the emergent states regarded the superpowers rivalry-the cold war as dangerous and destructive. They chose a middle path i.e. a policy of positive neutralism and nonalignment with either the Communist bloc or the Western coalition. They wanted to maintain political independence, world peace and freedom of opinion and action on every issue in the world of cold war rivalries. The leaders opined that nonalignment does not mean moral neutrality.<sup>3</sup> In 1959 Jawaharlal Nehru said, "The only camp should like to be in is the camp of peace and good will."<sup>4</sup> The leaders realized that cold war anywhere would be a threat to peace everywhere. The non-aligned leaders were convinced that almost any problem could be solved, if it was not permitted to become a part of the cold war. They acknowledged nonaligned movement as a dynamic policy by adopting itself to the changing international context and the needs of the non-aligned community of nations. Therefore, the NAM can be justified as a counterforce to world power rivalry.

In the last five decades, the movement has consolidated and had great influence and impact on world politics covering a wide range of issues.<sup>5</sup> Initially, it was established for the achievement of noble ideas of equality, independence, peace, mutual trust, development and exploitation-free world. Many of these aims are yet to be achieved in respect of the developing countries. With the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the attack on the Twin Towers many of the non-aligned states have fallen victims of the US foreign policy. The Cold War has been replaced by 'War on Terror' that has created an environment of political and economic insecurity among most of the NAM member states. The movement has undoubtedly undergone a drastic change these days, precisely because of today's world is very different from "the world that Tito, Nasser and Nehru knew," but it cannot be a lasting phase in international relations if the movement can play a meaningful role in the now-changed unipolar world. It may be true that some of the original goals of NAM--decolonization and easing of tensions during the cold war--have been

fully or partially achieved. But today's world is more complex and factious. It is in need of such a movement in order to moderate the impact of sharp reactions created by the ideologically committed diplomatic moves. Moreover, most of the developing countries feel that its membership carries prestige. The NAM has been a type of common platform where they can unite over problems, which affect their manifold interests, and the leaders feel they can make themselves heard on some vital international issues since the hegemonistic approach to the world issues is increasing in an alarming way.

It is obvious that the policy of nonalignment is partly a projection of the newly-found self-respect and independence of the Third World states. But how far has NAM helped in increasing international and national security is concerned, there is no evidence whatsoever that it is the 'moral pressure' of NAM that has prevented the superpowers, each of them having incredible nuclear stockings, from engaging in a holocaust. It is the 'balance of terror,' or deadlock in strategic balance, rather than anything else which seems to have deterred the two colossi from indulging in mutual destruction. Even when the world for the first time came nearer to nuclear war during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, the superpowers did not approach the non-aligned leaders to mediate in the dispute, although the latter offered such services. The superpowers solved the problem bilaterally-by means of the 'hotline'. Nor has there been any evidence that the small steps taken so far toward disarmament (partial Test Ban Treaty and SALT negotiations) were the result of the influence of the non-aligned states' 'peace camp'.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, the direct or indirect role of the movement in maintaining international peace and security cannot be denied in the present unipolar world.

Since its inception, the Big powers were critical of the non-aligned movement. Some of them went to the extent of regarding it as a "Trojan Horse" in the service of the communists or dubbed as "immoral bi-alignment", but in fact, it is becoming an organized umbrella of the world's underprivileged nations. It is gaining ground as a living force not only in number but also in importance.<sup>7</sup> Some observers pointed out that original goals of the movement aimed mainly at encouraging decolonization and pressing the superpowers to prevent the cold war from turning hot.<sup>8</sup> It is beyond doubt that the present world is no more divided into two clear-cut power blocs as the cold war has ended but ground realities have radically changed and yet the continued relevance of NAM is obvious as a pressure group



for the interests of its member nations.

The 13th NAM summit was held in the Malaysian capital at a time when the world was at a critical juncture i.e. the backdrop of the 11<sup>th</sup> September terrorist attacks in the United States and the much-touted war option against Iraq by the Anglo-American alliance with or without the United Nations (UN) approval. It has been marked by a clear revival of interest in NAM of the world's developing nations, which has undoubtedly lost its original appeal at the beginning of the post-detente era. The viability of the movement became uncertain. Seemingly, the 13th summit had bounced back with a new-found relevance due to the controversy raging amongst world powers over the impending war option against Iraq by the Anglo-American alliance. It thrashed out a resolution rejecting a US-led attack on Iraq without the UN approval, ahead of the summit. It condemned the threat of unilateral use of force to disarm Iraq. The summit leaders urged to comply with the UN resolutions and scrap weapons of mass destruction to avoid war. The NAM reaffirmed its commitment to exert its efforts to achieve a peaceful solution and called for the persistent continuation of efforts to avert war against Iraq.<sup>9</sup> Thus, the nonaligned leaders were able to form a world opinion against the unjust war. The summit has proved that the NAM is no more a 'talk shop' as such critics say.

Although the NAM's efforts in the political domain are laudable, it neglected the most fundamental economic and social issue i.e. poverty reduction in the NAM member states. While the consequences of the end of cold war have begun to be observed in their true dimension, and the world economy moves along the path of the new dynamic of globalization, expectations of humanity to attain a new, and equitable international system based on respect, justice and equity among nations do not seem close to being realized. Wealth and trade have grown in an accelerated fashion in a number of nations nevertheless poverty and hunger have reached dramatic magnitudes in many non-aligned and other developing countries, more than 500 million people suffer from hunger and many die as a result.<sup>10</sup> The disparity between rich and poor has widened. Currently, 12 percent of the world's population living in North America and Western Europe account for 60 per cent of consumption, while the one-third living in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa account only for 3.2%.<sup>11</sup> The NAM expressed its concern over the adverse external economic environment that continues to impact negatively upon the economies of the developing countries. If the NAM is to be relevant, it has to



enhance its unity and cohesion and coordinate positions of member countries towards the major international issues, with a view to strengthening their negotiating power vis a- vis the developed countries. It has to redefine its characteristic of the new international order to be based on justice, equality and democracy in international relations and adopt a common strategy to that end.

The 14th summit concluded in the Cuban capital, underlined the need to reactivate the movement. It called for unconditional negotiations to resolve the tense standoff over Iran's nuclear programme. The non- aligned members stated their firm belief that the absence of two conflicting blocs in no way reduces the need to strengthen the NAM as a mechanism for the political coordination of underdeveloped countries. Its leaders expressed their desire not to divide the world further but to reduce tensions. While attending the 14th summit, the Indian Premier said, " there was new anxiety in the world on how to deal with terror and the role of non- state actors and the NAM must live up to its new potential in the highly uncertain, insecure world that we live in. For NAM to remain relevant, it could not equivocate on terrorism." <sup>12</sup> It is obvious that the movement is no more a state of mind -to think independently about options and widen development choices -and in that sense the NAM is relevant today as it was before. It has certainly not lost its *raison d'être* in the unipolar world politics.

### **Promoter of the UN role**

The world community witnessed the emergence of many dynamic forces in international politics. The UN was launched as a viable world organization to maintain international peace and security. The NAM emerged as a third force between the two superpowers. Though that was a different era. The absence of superpower rivalry could not ameliorate the uneasy global political condition. But with the change of world scenario, the NAM became the most influential group within the UN. It may well be true that all the previous conferences of the movement were aimed at strengthening the role of the UN as an authentic world organization to promote peace and stability in the world. Even in the first summit conference of the NAM in Belgrade in 1961, all problems concerning the principles of the UN Charter were considered as well as the composition of the UN organs, implementation of their decisions, and achievement of universalization of the UN. It is worthwhile to

mention here that at the ninth summit conference in 1989 at Belgrade, the UN was given the top priority in view of its peacekeeping role in the changing global scenario.<sup>13</sup>

It is always difficult to measure intangibles in mathematical terms. Influence is qualitative as well as quantitative. But certainly the non-aligned countries have brought new customs, new ideas, new voting patterns and new problems to the United Nations. In both number and outlook, they have made a significant impact upon the UN, though the organization is going through profound physical and ideological changes since the demise of cold war. Under the auspices of the UN, the non-aligned movement acted as an opinion forming body on various issues, embracing politics, economics, strategic, social and humanitarian. Such collective opinion had its positive ramifications on many of the crucial global issues at least from the psychological point of view. The non-aligned countries became the ardent campaigners of rapid decolonization, disarmament, and voiced for the creation of a just international economic order. Since Lusaka summit conference, the emphasis has been shifted to demands for economic decolonization. It was due to the efforts made by the non-aligned and petroleum exporting countries (OPEC) that the UN called special session in the General Assembly to recognize the new international economic order (NIEO) based on the principles of equality and justice in 1974. The non-aligned countries insisted on ending their subservient role as mere suppliers of raw materials. They demanded far-reaching reforms in areas such as international monetary matters, development, foreign investment, technology transfer and industrialization. Thus, within a short time, the movement was successful in introducing some new problems, ideas, interests and priorities that substantially influenced international relations. It made a major contribution to the transformation of the international system and proved to be a viable communication model of international relations and as such a futuristic alternative to the balance of power model.<sup>14</sup> In order to promote the UN role, the non-aligned countries reaffirmed their commitment to the purposes and principles of the UN Charters. In this context, they stressed the need to democratize the UN to better reflect the universal nature of the organization and fulfill the principle of sovereign equality of states. They underlined, in particular, the need for full democracy and transparency in the work of the Security Council in view of its recent practices and performance.<sup>15</sup> They considered it essential to substantially increase the number of permanent members in the



Security Council and review their veto power. It can be argued that being the largest group within the UN, the non-aligned movement did not pay only lip service to the importance of the world body. On many occasions, the NAM recognized the obvious truth that the UN is not powerful enough to keep the peace in any real confrontation of the great powers. The non-aligned leaders preferred small power intervention under the UN flag as an alternative to great-power intervention and competition. Therefore, the impact the non-aligned countries have had on the United Nations cannot be minimized.

### **Concluding Remarks**

The 21<sup>st</sup> century has dawned with many changes on world scenario. The demise of Cold War, the disintegration of the Soviet Union globalization as the economic tsunami, the 'War on terror', and most importantly, the emergence of the unipolar world have literally changed the nature and scope of world's politics. The 13th and 14th summit conferences of the NAM have taken place at a time when the world is in a process of radical political change. Now the world is no more divided into two clear-cut power blocs, the cold war is ended and ground realities are changed and therefore a wider scope has been created for rethinking the role of the NAM. The spirit of the movement lies in independent thinking, independent course of action, not in subservience.

It is often argued that the NAM has lost its relevance in the present day unipolar world when the superpowers rivalry is absent in world politics. This question can be effectively answered by asking some counter-questions. Is NATO now relevant when the Cold War is over and there is no scenario of superpowers rivalry? Was the NAM simply a reaction and response to the superpowers? Do there peace and security prevail in the world and are the nations free to follow their own independent decisions? Has the hegemonic approach to the world issues ended? Has the UN Security council been restructured to make it a more democratic organization? Are its five permanent members willing to give up their veto? What about the sinister re-emergence of the new avatar of imperialism in the shape of economic and industrial apartheid, protectionism, restrictive trade practices, new labour laws etc?

It is true that the concept of non-alignment has taken some heavy battering in the last two decades. Another fact that has dogged the NAM countries is the division among them. Some of them are



pro-American, while some are extreme leftists and anti-American. If the movement is to be relevant, its leaders had to speak in unison on issues. It has to rediscover its precise role in world politics and direct its energies as a pressure group with the intention of removing poverty among their nationals, as a forum for the like-minded nations, and as an organization against any kind of discrimination by wealthy and advanced countries.

In the present unipolar situation, the relevance of the NAM is revived once again. The disappearance of superpower rivalry from world politics does not mean peace is guaranteed in the international community. It may, to some extent, help in maintaining world peace. Reform of the UN and democratization of its Security Council is imperative for peace and national security of the small states. Time has come for the NAM to have an assertive role. It needs a long-term strategy to play an effective role in international affairs. Post cold war period seems to be the time for the non-aligned leaders to express their concerns and see that the NAM does not become an instrument for aggrandizement of hegemonic powers. If it fails to undertake a clear road map to regain its importance through democratic reforms, the idea of peaceful co-existence would probably disappear. It is high time for the developing countries to charter a path against unipolar hegemony taking a stand for drastic NAM reforms. Thus, in any case, the relevance of the NAM cannot be rejected for its own sake. To conclude, it can be said that the NAM is a unique contribution to contemporary thinking. It can pave the way for smooth functioning of the international system.

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# DE-CONSTRUCTING THE PROBLEMATIC OF PAKISTAN'S POLITICAL CULTURE AND THE DEFECTION LAW

*Dr. Parvaiz Ahmad*

## **Abstract**

*History of Pakistan is full of political falters of its representatives in collaboration with the military rulers and bureaucratic elites who continue to rule Pakistan since 1947. It is alleged that the people's representatives are most of the time purchased by the ruling establishment who have time and again stifled the growth of political culture in Pakistan. Defection clause introduced by the government of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in 1997 should be examined against this background. To put an end to the culture of political floor crossing, the government of Nawaz Sharif inserted Article 63-A in the political parties' act 1962. The defection clause was seen by its critics as an attempt on the part of Nawaz Sharif government to impose political authoritarian rule in Pakistan in the name of party discipline. Supreme Court declared the law valid with some amendments in its final decision. The judgment may be called a better judgment in the interest of nation and democracy. No doubt it was a positive step toward the establishment of democratic culture in the history of Pakistan.*

## **Definition:**

The term 'Defection' is defined in the dictionary as quit; leave out from objective or to back out, retract from the duty of leader or party leader.<sup>1</sup>

## **Introduction:**

"It will not be out of context to mention that on account of cancerous vice of floor crossing, Pakistan was unable to achieve stability in the polity of the country."<sup>2</sup> Without democratizing society as a way of life, we cannot democratize politics as a system of government. This dilemma is the underlying cause of the frequent breakdowns of the democratic process launched with high hopes and

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lamented in deep despair.

The problem of floor crossing and horse-trading has been poisoning our national political life since the murder of Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan. It was rightly pleaded, "that right from 1950 members of political parties started changing their loyalties overnight for some allurements which has always been one of the causes of the decline and fall of democracy."<sup>1</sup> This joke remained in our political / national life in every government but its intensity might be lesser or larger. Every Pakistani citizen is convinced that delay in constitution making was due to the frequent floor crossing/horse trading of parliamentarians, which inflicted great loss on the political system of Pakistan. Thus this kind of attitude and thoughts of representatives of people did not reflect the aspirations of the nation. If this was not the position then we might have avoided these numerous political and constitutional pitfalls and crises, which the nation had to face till today.

### **Historical Background of Legislation Regarding Defection:**

Factually, the governments in every era were anxious about the defection of representatives but could not pass any kind of law related to defection. Why these governments could not make defection law. Because the existence of the governments was due to the defected members so, they could not pass any law against their wishes. Eventually, in 1958, first attempt was initiated to control the defection. "In fact attempt was made as far back as 5th September 1958 to seek the legislation on the question of defection, but before any progress could be made, the country was placed under Martial Law on 7th October 1958, resulting in the dissolution of assemblies and abrogation of the 1956 constitution."<sup>2</sup> Thus, the first go in the direction to control the defections went in vain. Chief Martial Law Administrator Ayub Khan banned all the political parties and their activities- "A life blood of democracies, political parties have been the first target of dictators."<sup>3</sup> So the need of law of defection had lost its necessity for the time being, because the Martial Law and political parties are two opposite philosophies. Martial Law government of Ayub Khan promulgated the constitution of 1962 while the role of political parties was not recognized in the constitution. He opposed the political parties and accused them of causing instability and uncertainty in the country. In absence of political parties, the legislatures would have great difficulty in organizing their affairs and

the government was facing much difficulty to manage the affairs of legislation and members. To escape from this uncertain situation, the National Assembly passed the Political Parties Act, 1962. The act was very hard for the government and political parties but they had no choice except to accept it. However, the first legislative measure in political and legislative history of Pakistan dealing with the problem of floor crossing/defection by elected members of a political party was introduced in Political Parties Act 1962. The section 8(2) of the act provided rules to limit the defections. Section 8(2) of this act provided as under,

"If a person, having been elected to the National or Provincial Assembly as a candidate or nominee of a political party, withdraws himself from it, he shall from the date of such withdrawal, be disqualified from being a member of the Assembly for the unexpired period of his term as such member unless he has been re-elected at a bye-election caused by his disqualification."<sup>6</sup>

Z.A.Bhutto took over the control of government from Martial Law government of General Yahya Khan after the separation of East Pakistan in 1972. Yahya Khan did not ban the political parties, so the Political Parties Act 1962 remained effective. Bhutto's regime was the regime of popular democracy and mass awakening. He did not care the section 8(2) of political parties act and welcomed a lot of members of opposition in his party. In 1975, Z.A Bhutto government repealed the above section while omitted it with retrospective effect from 8th May 1974.<sup>7</sup> Hence, there was no comprehensive law to control the defections/floor crossing except the article 96 clause (5) of the constitution of 1973 which remained effective till 2nd March 1985. Article 96 section (5) of the 1973 constitution provided that,

"However, for the first ten years, a provision was made in order to prevent floor crossing to the effect that the vote of a member, elected to the National Assembly as candidate or nominee of a political party, in favour of the resolution would be disregarded if the majority of the members of that political party in the National Assembly had cast its votes against such a resolution."<sup>8</sup>

President General Zia omitted the article 96 of the constitution by ML orders on 2nd March 1985. Now once again politics was without defection/floor crossing law, as it was since 1947 to 1961 To fill this gap, President Zia introduced section 8-B in the Political Parties Act 1962 on 24th December 1985 before lifting the ML while this ordinance was not placed before the legislature after the restoration of civil government within prescribed time limit, so it



stood repealed. The inserted section 8-B provided that, if a member of the house (Parliament or provincial assembly), having been elected as a candidate or a nominee of a political party or having become a member of a political party after such election, defected or withdrew himself from the political party, he would stand disqualified from being a member of the house for the unexpired period of his term as such member, unless he has been re-elected at a by-election held after his disqualification. An appeal against a decision of the Election Commission shall lie to the Supreme Court, within 30 days of the decision. The question of disqualification would be determined by the election commission on a reference by the leader of the parliamentary party to which he belonged. "

Every government declared the floor crossing-an immoral act of the representatives but did not even try to control the evil with high handed. Floor crossing and horse-trading had become one of the norms of our political culture. In the existing culture of defection Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) got two third majority in 1997 elections which was expected due to the then existed scenario. Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) president stressed on the introduction of constitutional changes for the stability of political system during the election speeches and reiterated for the introduction of constitutional package on the eve of winning 2/3 majority in parliament. The introduction of amendments in the constitution had been necessary but why Nawaz Sharif government was in a hurry in resolving some of the most important matters of the constitution as his government did. Law of defection was one of them. Nawaz Sharif had faced the situation of defection in his first term in the province of Punjab, so he did not want to take any kind of risk in this second term while he had 2/3 majority in parliament for the said purpose. Nawaz Sharif government decided to introduce the 14th The Amendment Said: for the control of horse-trading and floor crossing. "Whereas it is expedient further to amend the constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan in order to prevent instability in relation to the formation of functioning of government."<sup>10</sup> The amendment was introduced in the parliament and got passed within hours unanimously. The law was passed by relaxing the rules of business without any dissenting vote. "The passage of anti defection bill was widely hailed by almost all the party leaders in the parliament and it was hoped that it will help eliminate the politics of blackmailing, lotacracy, horse trading and other such evils, which were causing great damage to the politicians and destroying the



democratic institutions. It was also hoped that the bill would promote cleanliness and honesty in politics that was need of the day.”<sup>11</sup> The Amendment added Article 63-A to the constitution. Again the amendment was passed at midnight within hours by relaxing the rules of business of the Parliament like the 13th amendment.

### **Law of Defection 1997**

A new article 63-A was added in which the grounds for disqualification were inserted if defection occurred.

“If a member of a parliamentary party defects, he may by means of a notice in writing addressed to him by the head of the political party or such other person as may be authorized in this behalf by the head of the political party, be called upon to show cause, within not more than seven days of such a notice, as to why a declaration under clause (2) should be made against him. If a notice is issued under this clause, the presiding officer of the concerned house shall be informed accordingly.”<sup>12</sup>

### **Ways of Defection**

A member of a house shall be deemed defected from a political party in which he has been elected, if he,

- (a) commits a breach of party discipline which means a violation of the party constitution, code of conduct and declared policies, or
  - (b) Votes contrary to any direction issued by the parliamentary party to which he belongs,
- or
- (c) Abstains from voting in the house against party policy in relation to any bill.<sup>13</sup>

All the groups of people and political parties appreciated the passing of law of defection. Opposition parties in the parliament protested on the introduction of bill for the defection because they were not taken into confidence for this purpose. Despite their opposition, the bill was passed unanimously in a matter of minutes by bulldozing the rules of law making at midnight. It was a positive step of all parliamentary members in the direction of flourishing of the democratic culture. Though, such kind of issues needed detailed and comprehensive debate inside and outside the parliament but in the national and democratic interest it was tolerable. We can say for the sake of democracy it is better late than never.

It is true that some pieces of the law were undemocratic in nature but even then the legislation on defection was a blessing in that environment. The law provided that the head of a political party or an authorized person to which the member belongs can hold the inquiry and then the disciplinary committee of the party decides the light of show cause whether the concerned member had breached the party discipline such as violation of the party constitution, code of conduct, or declared policies. If the member is not satisfied with the decision made against him by party disciplinary committee then he can appeal to the head of the party whose decision would be final. After adopting the due process the seat of concerned member will be declared vacant by the chief election commissioner. All the steps to put an end to the floor crossing/horse trading were necessary but one cannot understand the philosophy of excluding the superior courts jurisdiction. "Notwithstanding any thing contained in the constitution, no court including the Supreme Court and a high court shall entertain any legal proceedings exercise any jurisdiction, or make any order in relation to the action under this article."<sup>14</sup> The part of barring the superior courts in the matters decided by the head of political party seems to be beyond the natural justice and an attempt of undermining the judicial system. It clearly demonstrates non-confidence on the existing judicial system. Excluding the judiciary from deciding the final judgment was the only negative aspect of this law; otherwise it was accurate in the prevailing circumstances. "This constitutional bar has made heads of political parties in parliament and the provincial assemblies' virtual dictators. Such an amendment was passed because all party heads wanted to keep dissenting members in line."<sup>15</sup>

In the smooth running of Nawaz government, a sudden controversy arose between the chief justice of Pakistan and prime minister on the issue of Anti-Terrorism Act and the issue of appointment of judges to the Supreme Court. These disputes enhanced the war of survival between the two constitutional functionaries. The intensity of disputes made it open before the public, so some persons and organizations tried to use these controversies for political gains but through judiciary especially by using the anti prime minister passions of chief justice. Have these people succeeded or not, it's a separate issue but they tried to use this situation for personal interests rather than to create national consensus.



## Law of Defection Challenged

The political parties opposed to the Nawaz government challenged the defection law, in the court. On 24th October 1997, Dr. Abdul Basit on behalf of the Vokla Mahaz Barai Tahafeza-I-Dastoor (Lawyers coalition for protection of constitution) filed the constitutional petition before the Supreme Court under article 184(3) original jurisdiction, challenging the validity of 14th amendment (law of defection) and prayed for its suspension.<sup>16</sup> A three-member bench headed by the Chief Justice of Pakistan heard the petition. The petitioners argued that all the Members of Parliament of the respondent party had gone in the personal control of parliamentary leader / political boss. That was a violation of fundamental rights of freedom of speech granted by the constitution of 1973. The petitioner's lawyers stressed for the interim relief because the relations of government and judiciary were in troubled waters. Attorney General requested for appropriate time to consulting the government for the reply that was declined ignoring the procedure and traditions of the court. The court held that it was an important case in the given circumstance, so the Attorney General had to take proposed government stand on the issue.<sup>17</sup> On 29th October 1997, after four days of filing the petition, Supreme Court granted the interim relief by suspending the 14th amendment. The court restrained the respondents from taking any action against any Member of the National Assembly for violation of 14th constitutional amendment. "According to the press reports, this order was passed without hearing the Attorney General and Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, the senior counsel, who had requested time for arguments.<sup>18</sup> There was no urgency for the disposal of this petition but Chief Justice wanted to leave no stone unturned to weaken the government. Supreme Court was challenging the executive whereas both have their sphere of influence or orbit. We cannot find such a terrible situation any where in the world because the judges cannot speak but their decisions speak. What a strange that in this case the Chief Justice was praised by the newspapers. The conspiracy to spoil the constitutional institutions was on full swing and the conspirators were pulling the strings from back milieu. The Prime Minister and Chief Justice were on war in those days and both were trying to bow down each other. The interim order of 14th Amendment was one of the products of this judicial activism, which further made the situation from bad to worst. Though, the leading words of Justice in



his decision Justice Shafiur Rehman Said: of defection. "Defection of elected members has many vices. In the first place, if the member has been elected on the basis of a manifesto, or on account of his affiliation with a Political Party, or on account of his particular stand on a question of public importance, his defection amounts to a clear breach of confidence reposed in him by the electorate. If his conscience dictates to do him so, or he considers it expedient, the only course open to him is to resign to shed off his representative character, which he no longer represents, and to fight a re-election. This will make him honorable, politics clean, and emergence of principled leadership possible. The second, and more important, the political sovereign is rendered helpless by such betrayal of its own representative. In the normal course, the elector has to wait for years, till new elections take place, to repudiate such a person. In the meantime, the defector flourishes and continues to enjoy all the worldly gains. The third is that it destroys the nonnative moorings of the constitution of an Islamic state.<sup>19</sup> Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah attempted to alter the constitutional amendments by the court order, which many people thought was not legally and constitutionally justified. There was also an opinion that Chief Justice went beyond his constitutionally limits<sup>20</sup>.

### **Criticism of Prime Minister and Parliamentarians on Supreme Court Interim Order**

"The ruling party construed the above order as a license given by the Supreme Court to MNAs to cross the floor of the house in order to topple Nawaz Sharif government."<sup>21</sup> It was a fateful moment in the history of nation that the ruling party and allied party members criticized the Supreme Court's interim order regarding the law of defection in strong words calling it illegal, unconstitutional and an attempt to legalize the practice of horse-trading and (floor-crossing) lotaism. "Prime Minister accused Chief Justice of Pakistan of reviving horse trading in the country."<sup>22</sup> Prime Minister held the meeting of Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) members of parliament for considering the situation and addressed the press conference after meeting. He declared that the court had no powers to suspend the amendment passed by the parliament. He said that the issues of controversies had been settled in the meeting of big fours (president, prime minister, Chief of Army Staff and Chief Justice of Pakistan) but Chief Justice busted the agreement by suspending the 14th

amendment, thus we have been free to proceed as we like in this regard. On the same day in evening session of the National Assembly, some members criticized the Chief Justice of Pakistan in strong words calling the role of Chief Justice as negative. The treasury members also demanded the strict and prompt action against the Chief Justice for attacking the supremacy of the parliament. None of countries in the world could be pointed out where the Chief Justice of the highest court had challenged the executive head and tried to punish him. At this point, judiciary-executive dispute took another turn and furthered the already worse situation. Chauhdry Muhammad Akram, Additional Secretary of the Supreme Court Bar Association, filed the petition of contempt before the Supreme Court under article 204 against the Prime Minister and Members of Parliament on their speeches in the parliament, humiliating the Chief Justice and Supreme Court of Pakistan by using derogatory language on the suspension of 14th amendment. Supreme Court initiated the proceeding of contempt against the Prime Minister, Members of Parliament and editors of the leading dailies. During this deteriorating situation, Army Chief tried to calm down the executive-judiciary relations that could not go for a long. Later on the court got divided into two groups. The government-backed group suspended the Chief Justice and forced him to go on long leave before retirement. Before his retirement, a Supreme Court bench of other than judges of ex chief justice group reversed the Chief Justice as judge of Supreme Court. Due to the prevailing conditions, the Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah could not succeed in deciding the petition against law of defection.

### **Decision Of Supreme Court**

After going the Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah went on long leave, the Supreme Court was running in the normal way. The new Chief Justice Ajmal Mian once again fixed the petition of defection for hearing and constituted the seven-member bench headed by Chief Justice. The seven-member bench heard the case at length but the petitioners were facing different bench that was not as friendly as the previous bench headed by former Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah. The bench held the 14th amendment valid under the constitution by six to one majority judgment. The Chief Justice wrote the judgment and four other judges concurred with the judgment while two judges, though concurring, wrote different findings about some clauses of the 14th amendment/law of defection. One judge declared the



amendment unconstitutional. The judgment may be called a milestone in the constitutional history of Pakistan because it solved the unending problem of defection—a poison for the development of democracy.

The Chief Justice wrote that the members were only bound to talk according to the party policies inside the house. He disagreed with the explanation that Article 63-A would include the conduct of the legislatures outside the house. Therefore, a legislature cannot be declared disqualified under Article 63-A for misconduct committed outside the area of the parliament. He also held that the amendment does not restrict the Supreme Court and high courts to examining the orders of the leader of the party or action taken against any member of the party with regard to defection. Thus the principle of judicial review will be applied on the decisions taken by the leader of the party.<sup>23</sup>

The chief justice held that "the freedom of speech in a parliamentary form of government, subject to reasonable restrictions, was sine qua non and Article 63-A could not be construed in a manner which would defeat the basic feature of the parliamentary form of government."<sup>24</sup> "The court held that there had been a consistent view from the very beginning in Pakistan that the provisions of constitution cannot be struck down by holding that it was violative of any prominent feature, characteristic, or structure, and that it has no application to strike down a constitutional amendment."<sup>25</sup> It was also held that no enactment could be made in respect of the provisions of the constitution relating to the fundamental rights, democratic principles blended to the Islamic principles and the independence of judiciary. These are the built in limitations in the constitution, completely independent from political morality and force of the public.

The chief justice held that the different clauses of law of defection should be interpreted in conjunction with Article 66 [privilege of members of parliament and Article 19 of the constitution [freedom of speech] and efforts should be made to preserve the right of freedom of speech on the floor of the house, subject to reasonable restrictions without which a parliamentary form of government cannot be run effectively. The court held this assumption with reference to arguments of different counsels that Article 63-A could be exploited or misused by the leader of a political party. There seems to be no conflict between paragraphs (a) to explain a clause (i) of Article 63-A with Article 19 and 66 of the constitution, as these do not



expressly provide that a member cannot express his views in exercise of his right under Article 66 on any matter, which is brought before the house.

While the other two judges, though, concurring with majority judgment wrote different finding on some provisions of the law of defection. They held that the members of parliament elected on the party ticket would be bound in their conduct to behave inside and outside the parliament according to their party policy. Justice Saiduzzaman Siddique and justice Irshad Hasan Khan held that clauses (A), (B), and (C) of Article 63-A are of independent of each other. They differed from the chief justice on the explanation of article 63- A, though concurring with the judgment. Both the judges held that "clause (a) of Article 63-A covers the acts of an elected member of a political party both inside and outside the house, while clauses (b) and (c) relate to his actions inside the house only. The act of defiance by an elected member of a political party of the constitution, code of conduct and declared policies of the party outside the assembly is as much damaging to the image and working of that party as his conduct inside the assembly. A divided party is looked upon with suspicion by the people and is likely to loose the confidence of its electorate. A member of the political party who after his election to the assembly on the ticket of that party, publicly denounces the constitution, code of conduct, or declared policy of the political party to which he belongs, cannot claim the right to represent that party in the assembly on any moral, ethical or legal ground."<sup>28</sup> The act of rebelliousness by an elected member of a political party of the established code of conduct and declared policies of the party outside the assembly is as much damaging for the image and working of that party as his conduct inside the assembly. The role of representative creates suspicion in the people's mind and was likely to loose the confidence of its electorate. "A person seeking election on the ticket of a political party agrees to hold fast to the constitution, code of conduct and declared policies of that party. He cannot claim right to denounce and defy the policies and code of conduct of that party after his election as member of the assembly on the ticket of that party on any known principle of law or morality. However, the right of honest dissent cannot be held to include defiance and denunciation of the discipline, code of conduct and declared policies of the party. If an elected member of a political party feels so strongly that he cannot stand by the policies of his party on account of his convictions on those issues, he may shed his representative character which he

acquired by getting elected on the ticket of that party by resigning from his seat and seek a fresh mandate from the electorate on the basis of his conviction.<sup>27</sup> "Despite the bar provided in clause (6) of Article 63-A the jurisdiction of high court as well as this court under article 199 of the constitution will be available in respect of the actions which are coram non iudice, mala fide or are without jurisdiction."<sup>28</sup>

### **Dissenting Judge Decision**

Justice Mamoon Quazi disagreed with the majority judgment. He held the amendment void and unconstitutional while declaring it against the fundamental right of freedom of speech.

He held "that Article 63-A is repugnant to the right of the people to be effectively represented their chosen representatives. Although, the learned counsel has sought support from the objective resolution in this regard, but in my opinion, freedom of expression without any doubt, is one of the essential postulates of democracy. It is he right of the members elected to the assemblies to freely articulate their views in the house or at the party meetings. Therefore, any legislation, which purports to deprive members of political parties of such right, would be violative of the right of freedom of expression, if nothing else.

To be dealt with in accordance with law is the inalienable right of every citizen of Pakistan. (Article 4 of the constitution) Clause (6) in Article 63-A, however, purports to takeaway the court's power of judicial review in case any action is taken against a member of an assembly by his party head under the said article. The object behind Article 63-A, therefore, clearly appears to be to vest the party head with absolute and uncontrolled power in this regard. It has already been pointed out that any legislation which vests the authority concerned with such unrestricted and arbitrary powers which can be used by him as instrument of repression, would be violative of Article 25 of the constitution, which guarantees equality of all citizens before law. Clause (6) in Article 63- A for the reasons earlier stated is, therefore, clearly in conflict with Article 8 of the constitution which constitutes one of the essential features of the constitution. It has been pointed out by the counsel, the impugned legislation was passed without resistance even by those members of the parliament who represented the opposition, but it has been called in question by persons who have no direct concern with the parliament. The members who passed the legislation were well aware of the



consequences, which might flow there from. If the legislation purports to put any clog on the freedom of expression, then the members themselves consented for the same. Can anyone raise objection on behalf of the members who were themselves a consenting party. Therefore, any provision, which is incorporated in the constitution, will not only bind the present members, but it will equally bind the future generations. The mere fact that it was passed unanimously cannot clothe it with immunity from judicial review.<sup>29</sup>

"The new article aims to eradicate the evils and malpractices of the elected members of the parliament to change their loyalties from the party on whose tickets they were elected and defecting to some other party for ulterior motives and considerations to advance and gain personal ends. This practice of defecting from one's own party to other is commonly known as indulging in horse-trading and was one of the major factors contributing to destabilizing and dislodging any government."<sup>30</sup> The reaction of politicians and others groups was variegated on the decision because the environment of the politics in the country had been entirely changed which was present at the time of filing the petition in the Supreme Court. The Nawaz Sharif government had been too powerful after the expulsion of Sajjad Ali Shah, former chief justice of Pakistan and President Farooq Leghari in 1997. Now the heavy mandate of Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) had been really heavy in all the matters of politics and government. "The contention was raised that provisions of the 14th amendment clearly indicated that the intention was not to bring in a law against defection but the whole emphasis was that none should disagree with the leader of the party and, therefore, the object was to produce an 'anti-dissent law,'"<sup>31</sup> In short, the 14th amendment made the Prime Minister too powerful as compared with the past. Reduction in the powers of president and curbing the freedom of speech for the members of parliament through an amendment the mandate of Nawaz Sharif became heavy in reality. In spite of approving the amendment, President Farooq Leghari was not happy on these amendments.<sup>32</sup> In coming months, President and Chief Justice got together to oust Nawaz Sharif, thus the President planned to use the shoulders of Chief Justice of Pakistan to complete the mission but he could not get desired results because the actual force of the power game -the army remained neutral in this controversy. "<sup>33</sup> "One wonders, why Nawaz Sharif did not make any effort to obtain consensus of all in the parliament when the 13th and 14th amendments were passed in a great hurry without debate after



relaxing the rules. For Same the answer is that he was not sincere and he wanted to make a lot of noise for political leverage.”<sup>34</sup>

## Conclusion

Political field of Pakistan remained open for the defection/floor crossing by the elected representatives from 1947 to 1958. Different regimes tried to control the defections by introducing the law but the situation continued. Nawaz government introduced the constitutional amendment to control the defection while making the party leader a dictator. Supreme Court judgment was very marvelous. In spite of three different points of views of the judges about the 14th amendment, it was necessary for the political stability, strengthening the party system and democracy. In absence of such kind of laws our nation will remain in confusion and democracy will be at stake. We will remain standing on the same place as we were in 1950' s. The law of defection was challenged due to the encouraging behavior of Chief Justice because the government and Chief Justice were on war with each other. Political parties and opposite individuals tried to use the disputed environment according to their interests. The division of judges failed the plans of many groups and individuals in this regard. The law of defection silenced dissent within political parties rather than the defections there from. Nawaz and other political parties' heads tried to kill all dissension, thus reducing the members of parliament to mere rubber stamps. But in spite of all these defects it was a sign of positive thinking towards the establishment of democracy and constitutional history of Pakistan. It is true that, for keeping himself in power and breaking or bending state institutions to his liking, Nawaz Sharif got passed rigid amendments in the 1973 constitution, making it impossible to remove the government through the usual constitutional process. The amendment shifted the balance of power in favour of prime minister, enabled him to establish his dictatorial control over the members but Supreme Court the balance by declaring void some of the provisions of Amendment.

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# HUMAN RIGHTS AND EDUCATION: EMPIRICAL STUDY OF DHAKA CITY SLUM DWELLERS

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## Abstract

*Slum, predominant image of Bangladesh, particularly in urban area is not uncommon. Specifically speaking, their numbers in Dhaka City have turned into a dismaying picture. In estimation it has been seen that about 4.5 million people live in nearly 3500 slums in Dhaka city which contains more than 1.2 crore people including slum dwellers. Slum dwellers suffer from abject and groveling poverty, pass days in ignoble lives and live in the most appalling conditions. There is absolute poverty, in most cases, in the slums where slummy people live huddled together in unclean huts, eat inedible food and die of diseases without medicine very often. The people in there slums live in a state of groveling poverty. Being poor they are deprived of paper education. The lack of education keeps them unaware of their basic and fundamental rights guaranteed under Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Thus, there is a close link between education and awareness about human rights. Without education, people avail cannot themselves of basic freedom and facilities under human rights.*

Slum is an over crowded dirty locality. Slum is defined as "a street or district of old buildings in a poor dirty condition, often crowded with people. Contextually mentioned there is another world 'Ghetto', nearly synonymous with slum, is defined as," the area of a town mainly lived in by a particular national or social group. Ghettos are usually crowded with poor housing conditions. Slum has been defined in the dictionary of social welfare as, "Physically deteriorated and socially disorganized area, usually near the downtown area, in which criminals, vicious and social inadequate classes tend to congregate." Slum, according to Marshall B. Cliner, "Sociologically it is a way of life, a sub-culture with a set of norms and values, which is reflected in poor sanitation and health practices, deviant behaviour and characteristics attributes of a pathy and social isolation."

Thus slum may be defined as, "the place of unclean huts, situated by roads or railway stations of the city, sordid and

insalubrious, where poor, low classes and disorganized people live in huddled together and which is dilapidated and torn-out." Sometimes, squatter is generally termed as slum but in real sense 'slum' and 'squatter' are not legally synonyms. Because slum is built on a legal way while squatter is basically illegally-built slums. So it can be said that slum is divided into two categories- legal slums and illegal slums- illegal slums are generally built without the approval of the proper authority.

The study particularly focuses on the human rights and education condition and their relation in case of Dhaka city slum dwellers. The research has been done with a view to analyzing the role of education in reducing human rights violations, to find out the relationship between human rights and education, to identify why slum dwellers are deprived of education, to assess the role of government in combating human rights violations and finally to suggest measures for reducing human rights violations faced by the backward section of citizens.

Emaciated faces of slummy people in a sordid, squalid and filthy rooms along the roads, pavements, rail lines and other unhygienic and murky places are seen while going past the areas. I have visited most of the slums and squatters situated in Dhaka city to collect data for the research purpose and have got shocked observing abysmal plight, abject poverty and sub human living condition of slummy people who are living in dilapidated and torn-out houses and even under the canopies and open sky. The number of floating evicted slum dwellers has been increasing by leaps and bounds as a number of slums have been evicted without any rehabilitation program.

In addition to that, my present visit to the slums in order to interview with the slummy people shows the following pictures which is pitiable to dwell on. Almost every house wherein slum dweller live is very indecent and dilapidated because slums- jhupris, huts, tong, chhoi are made of bamboo wood, tin, plastic, polythene and other waste materials usually gathered from the garbage dump. The slums and squatters both on private and public lands are normally situated on slopes of ditch, embankment, railway track, canal, lake, sewage canal and on other vacant lands in the 90 wards of Dhaka city. The slum sojourners dwell in the tiny, shabby, stinky and turbid areas sorrowfully and suffer from ignoble lives and miscondition of finance and whose happiness is beyond their thoughts as their precarious and retched shelters, legal or illegal, are occasionally



bulldozed on the plea of eviction by RAJUK, DCC, developing partners or other agencies creating an inhuman, pathetic and untold sufferings on the excuse of beautification of Dhaka city area in the face of strong protest by some NGO, like ASK (Ain o Shalish Kendra). Last but not the least, threadbare rooms wherein hopeless and wretched sojourners lives are cramped since they put up with their number of family members in the virulent as well as deleterious jhupris.

Following information, however, have been found during the investigation:

**Firstly**, Dhaka city area measuring 215.04 sq. kilometers has 90 wards, 3500 slum dwellers in 90 wards, 45 lakh slummy people.

**Secondly**, 85% of dwelling places constructed in the slum are made of bamboo, wood, tin, plastic, polythene and other waste materials usually collected from the garbage dump while 15% houses are tin shed and semi pucca.

**Thirdly**, in most cases, there is no latrine and bathroom for the dwellers living under the open sky after being evicted without rehabilitation. In some cases there is one latrine sordid and filthy for 30 families together. Potable water is out of their reach. 45% of the dwellers do not have the facility of electricity, gas and potable water.

**Fourthly**, in the rainy season, most of the slums go under rain water. When asked about the flood of 1987, 1988 and 1998, all the jhupris, huts, tongs, chhoi were under water.

**Fifthly**, almost 70% of the adult dwellers are quite illiterate. All the persons, men or women, adult or minors are accustomed to polygamy. A very great number of slummy people above 18 years including women are addicted to smoking, drug or others.

**Sixthly**, among the earners rickshaw pullers constitute the major portion and other than this, transport workers, manufacturers, factory workers, construction workers, shop and hotel boys, hawkers, day labourers, porters, gardeners, temporary domestic helps, maid-servants are also found in the slums. Family conflicts, discords, affray, quarrels are also a daily affairs in the slums which are the centre place for misdoers, druggist, murderers, rapists, snatchers, extortionists and fugitive criminals.



## 2. Objectives:

The objective of the study is to make them aware about human rights and education, that is, the study has put particular focus on Human Rights and Education of the backward section of citizens, Dhaka City slum dwellers. However, specific objectives of the study aim-

- i) To analyze the role of education in reducing the violations of human rights in Dhaka City Slum Dwellers.
- ii) To find out the relationship between human rights and education.
- iii) To identify the problems as to why Dhaka City slummy people are deprived of education and human rights and
- iv) To suggest measures so as to promote human rights of slum dwellers and to aware about education.

## 3. Terminology

### 3.1 Human Rights:

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) containing 30 articles was adopted on the 10<sup>th</sup> December, 1948 by United Nation (UN) for all the people of the world. This declaration is regarded as 'Magna Carta' for all the people in the world. These articles are divided into five classes: (1) Civil rights (2) Political rights (3) Economic rights, (4) Social rights (5) Cultural rights.

The UDHR, one of the greatest achievements of the (UN), has been mainly adopted to create awareness among the world people. There are three main characteristics of Human Rights: (i) Universal inherence (ii) Inalienability (iii) Primary obligation.

So, Human Rights are universal inherent, inalienable and inviolable rights of all members of human family, which primarily the states are to ensure for their citizens.

It may be defined another way, Human Rights are those universal, inalienable and fundamental rights and freedoms of all members of human family which they shall equally enjoy freely.

Human Rights include the rights relating to life, liberty, equality and dignity of the individual guaranteed by the constitution of the Peoples Republic of Bangladesh and such rights embodied in the international human rights instruments adopted by the (UN) General Assembly, which have been acceded to and ratified by the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Thus HRs should be defined in this way "Human rights are the rights, opportunities and basic necessities entitled to be manifested by all member of human family who, in the event of infringement, can claim as of inviolable, in alienable and universal right.

### 3.2 Education:

'Educate' means to bring up and instruct, to teach, to train. Education etymologically has come out from the two linguistic assertion, E. ex and decree due. These E.ex and 'Decree due' words denote 'pack the information in and draw the talents out'. This basic conception correlates the reality of information and talents.

Some opine that 'Education' has come out from the Latin word 'Educare' which means "to bring up or to nourish". Some others opine that "Education" has come out from Latin word "Educere" which means "To draw out or to lead out". Again others opine that 'Education' has originated from Latin word 'Educatium' which means 'Teaching'.

It would be better to define education in this way, "Education is an art or a process or a concept which stimulates to know anything, positive or negative, but intention must be positive and pragmatic, resulting well or bad or both." The definition gives following salient features.

- i) It is an art or a process or a concept,
- ii) It stimulates to know anything
- iii) Its aims and objectives must be positive and pragmatic
- iv) The thing to be learned may be positive or negative
- v) Result may be good or bad or both.

### 3.3 Slum and slum dwellers:

Slum is an over crowded dirty locality. According to the definition of the dictionary of social welfare (p. 184), "Physically deteriorated and socially disorganized area, usually near the downtown area in which criminal, vicious and social inadequate classes tend to congregate".

Marshall, B. Cliner in his 'slums and Community Development' said: "Sociologically it is a way of life, a sub culture with a set of norms and values, which is neglected in poor sanitation and health practices deviant behavior and characteristics attributes of

a path and social ideation”.

Slum dwellers mean the people who generally live by the roads or railway stations sordid and insalubrious places of the cities. Their houses are built very indecently. Most of their houses are dilapidated and torn-out.

#### **4. Methodology**

To attain the objectives of the research a combination of different methods and techniques have been adopted. Here, historical method and empirical study has been introduced for tracing out the trend and understanding the national context and perspective. Survey method is imperative to collect data for the study.

Primary and secondary sources have been used to collect necessary data and information. Primary data have been collected through observation, interview, and questionnaire and from case study, and secondary sources of data have been collected through related books, journals, reports national and international as possible, documents, periodicals, internet etc. Random sampling, multi-stage sampling and stratified sampling techniques have been used for selecting the interviewees of the survey.

Three sets of questionnaires have been prepared for conducting the survey. One is for the slum dwellers, another for the policy makers and elites and other for the NGO workers. A tentative number of the interviewees of different groups may be as follows: A substantial number of slum families, a good number of policy makers and elites and a number of other organization workers worked with the slum dwellers.

#### **5. Scope and Limitation**

The research aims to identify the condition of existing human rights state as well as education of Dhaka City slum dwellers and to find out the role and impact of education. The study is aimed to provide a description and documentary analysis with an attempt to critically assess the present state of education. The study attempts to suggest the measures which have been able to reduce human rights violations to a great extent. It is pertinent to mention that human rights violation



cannot be rooted out but be reduced.

However, this study has limitation also. The study will focus on the relation between education and human rights and the condition of human rights and education of Dhaka City slum dwellers. But some other relevant phenomena may be explained to set right the sequence of the study.

As the behavioral attitude varies from man to man, the absolute flawless findings, as the scientific research shows, are not possible to explore or discover. Truly speaking the interviewees of slum dwellers are mostly illiterate and without proper awareness, so their answers have been erroneous to some extent. It is also speculated that the slum dwellers nimble to answer the questions during interviewing in the sense that they would not get direct benefits in such a work. In consequence absolute authenticity may not be found.

## **6. Acquaintance with the Study Area**

It has already been mentioned that the present study includes Dhaka City slums and its dwellers living in Dhaka City Corporation. The issues are being high lighted through the analysis of data collected through field study which has been conducted with 200 (two hundred) family heads residing in 5 slums in Dhaka City Corporation. These heads of the families have been taken for the study from various occupational groups so that it could be representative in characters and could probe the objectives empirically. Contextually mentioned that multistage sampling technique has been used for selecting slums while random sampling for family heads for the convenience of the survey. The study has been conducted with the following points under Dhaka City Corporation, which would be shown in a tabular form, graphs or charts.

### **6.1 Statistics of Dhaka City Corporation**

Area	:	302 square kilometers
Zones	:	10
Number of Wards	:	90
Slums	:	3500
Slum Dwellers	:	45,000,00 (45 lakhs)

### **6.2 Study Area Concerned**

Number of Slums	:	5 (applying on multistage sampling techniques from Dhaka City Corporation)
Name of the Slums	:	Islambagh, Shahid Nagar, Boubazar, Rishipotti, Hazerapara
Zone Concerned	:	3 (containing 9 wards- 48, 49, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65)
Wards concerned	:	59, 60, 61, 65
Respondents	:	200 family heads (selected through random sampling)

### 6.3 Information found through study

Average number per family	:	6.5 (finding from calculation through field data)
No. of Slum family members	:	206.5=1300
Male sex	:	741 (57%)
Female sex	:	559 (43%)
Children (upto 18 years)	:	754 (58%)

### 6.4 Demographic Information of Study Area

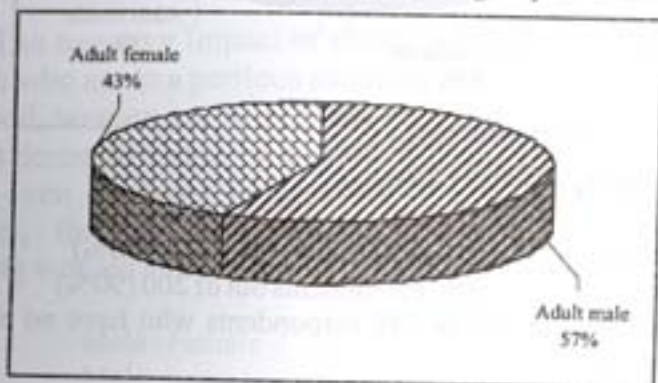
Family heads interviewed	:	200
Total population (6.5 people per households)	:	1300
Male (57% of total dwellers studied)	:	741
Female (43% of total dwellers studied)	:	559
Children of 18 years (58% of total dwellers studied)	:	754
Male children (33% of total dwellers studied)	:	430
Female children (25% of total dwellers studied)	:	324
Adult people (42% of total dwellers studied)	:	546
Adult male (24% of total dwellers studied)	:	311
Adult female (18% of total dwellers studied)	:	235
(0-60) months of children (17% of total people)	:	221
(5-18) years of children (41% of total people)	:	533

Source: Data collected through field study.

Male and female sexes out of 1300 slum dwellers are now shown in pie-chart.

**Table 1: Male & Female of Study Area**

Population	Number	Measurement of Angle
Male	741	$\frac{360 \times 741}{1300}$ ) 205.2°
Female	559	$\frac{360 \times 559}{1300}$ ) 154.8°
Total	1300	360°

**Figure 1: Male and female showing in pie-chart**

Again pie-chart showing adult male, adult female, male children and female children separately is given below:

**Table 2: Adult people & Children of Study Area**

Population	Number	Measurement of Angle
Adult Male	311	$\frac{360 \times 311}{1300}$ ) 86.123° or 86°
Adult female	235	$\frac{360 \times 235}{1300}$ ) 65.076° or 65°
Male children	430	$\frac{360 \times 430}{1300}$ ) 119.076° or 119°
Female children	324	$\frac{360 \times 324}{1300}$ ) 89.723° or 90°
Total	1300	360°



Women in the slums easily fall prey to rape, sex working and polygamy. Illicit connection between men and women is a regular phenomenon. It is pertaining to mention that 10% women do not know how to use condom, as a result sexual diseases attack women and children. In the case of disease, infested ladies cannot afford to bear medicine expenses. It has been found that women are gradually becoming addicted, to smoking in particular. Children are attacked with mostly fever, influenza, cough and itches. The survey shows that, more than 150 children among 200 families had died without medicine. The study again shows that 170 children out of 1000 died every year for the paucity of proper treatment.

### 10. State of Education of Dhaka City Slum Dwellers

According to Madan Mohon Tarkalanker, "Whoever learns to read and write rides in cars and horses". But irony is that, those who impart education have been suffering from pecuniary trouble. Educated society, very languid in financial condition, is not still being able to stand on his feet. But it is to be confessed that real aims of education are not found in men and women, now-a-days, in most cases. In addition to that, real educated person is very rare seen in the society. In the changing circumstances, certificate depending education has been increasing day by day.

Lack of ability to read and write is due to illiteracy. In Bangladesh, literacy rate is still deplorably low. According to UNESCO, ability to read, write and understand a letter written with very easy language is literacy. Accordingly, the literacy rate of Bangladesh is only 40%, other than that, literacy rate of Bangladesh is 60% while officially and unofficially literacy rate of Bangladesh are 65% and 56% respectively. [BBC Bangla Service, September 8, 2002] But field study shows the following pictures-

**Table- 4: Educational condition of slum dwellers**

Sl.No.	Contents	Number	Percentage	Remarks
1	Unable to read and write	70	70	
2	Class one to primary	25	25	
3	Six to ten	5	5	
4	SSC and above	0	0	

The table clearly shows that majority of the slum dwellers do not know how to read and write. Again, it reveals that 25% pass class one or two but regret is that they only know how to sign their names but cannot find out the letters separately. Those who pass class six or seven forget all the things they learn. And there is no SSC pass person. When the dwellers asked whether they have heard about rights, human rights, fundamental rights, constitution, UDHR, CEDAW, CRC, 90% of the respondents answer "No" while 5% only heard "rights" and 5% answer "we do not understand".

Again they were asked why they were unknown to these. 100% of the dwellers alleged "as they are uneducated so question does not arise to know".

When they were asked that "which is the most liable for your existing situation?" 98% of the respondents answered lack of education. Again they were asked if they would send their children to school, all answered positively to send their children to school.

My field study in respect of children about their education, it is found that more than 90% children (up to 18 years of age) go to school- government primary school or NGOs conducted school. It is especially noted that a good deal of change of education of slum children is being done by the NGO to a great extent. Among the NGOs UCEF, RIC, Save the children – may be especially mentioned.

The paucity of adequate supports and facilities of education in the slum area is keeping away the dwellers from literacy. Although NGOs are coming forward to develop the education condition in the slums, their activities are still limited. Under the aegis of NGOs 90% of slum children are going to school. So my study clearly shows that all the slum dwellers are illiterate and uneducated so they do not know where the human rights are written and guaranteed for them. Almost all of them depend on lot or fate but concede that their existing abysmal plight has been caused only for the lack of education. It is already mentioned that the survey has been conducted with five slums containing 200 family heads (respondents) which would be able to represent the whole situation of the slums. Total 1300 slum dwellers including children have been studied about educational pictures which are given below in following charts.

Table 5: Education state of adult male in slums

Total dwellers studied	Unable to read and write		Class one to five		Class six to ten		S.S.C. and above		Remarks
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	
311	217	69.77 %	73	23.47 %	20	6.43 %	1	0.32 %	94 Adult male
235	169	71.91 %	54	22.97 %	11	4.68 %	1	0.43 %	66 Adult female

Table 6: Education state of school going students (5-18 years)

Total children of (5-18 years)	Who do not go to school		Who goes to school	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
235	96	18%	139	82%

Again, we have seen that total children of (0-18) years old are 754 in number. So  $\left(\frac{437 \times 100}{754}\right)$  that is, 58% of total children go to school while 42% of total children do not go to school. It is to be cited that  $\{754-(96+437)\}$  or 221 which is 29.318% of the total children are below 5 years of age and unable to go to school.

Now we can show that, average education rate in slums is,  $\left(\frac{(94+66+437) \times 100}{1300}\right) = 46\%$  (approximately) while  $\left(\frac{(217+169+96+221) \times 100}{1300}\right) = 54\%$  (approximately) is uneducated. So in conclusion we may say that 46% dwellers of the slums can read and write for the time being.

## 11. Women and Children in Dhaka City Slum Dwellers: Reality to Their Education

The state of education in the slums is deplorably low. 70% of the dwellers are absolutely illiterate while 25% can sign only but can not read and write a simple sentence. 5% of slummy people can read, write and understand the writings with simple language. None of them knows that human rights and fundamental rights are guaranteed



for them. Even they do not know what are constitution, UDHR, HRs, FRs, CEDAW, CRC. Lack of education has made them ignorant and orthodox for which all of them believe in lot and nothing else. Their common belief is that Allah is the creator of the mankind and so He will provide food, clothes, shelter and wealth and all others. For the dearth of education, their outdated thought is: "The more children, the more income", that is, slum dwellers want more children with a view to having more hands to work on the field. However, the causes of being illiterate and uneducated have come to light through the questionnaires set for the slum dwellers, NGOs and elites/policy makers whose opinions are being cited here altogether-

**Firstly**, poverty and paucity of food.

**Secondly**, inadequacy of educational institutions, proper education system, much expenditure of education, rough communication among schools, bad environment of education.

**Thirdly**, the guardian's unconsciousness and superstitions, e.g., most of the dwellers think that fate / lot does not favour them to be educated.

**Fourthly**, negative political milieu, inefficacy of education system, deep-seated malaise in the society, serious consternation applied by the forces of illiberality, extremism, intolerance and bigotry on the society.

**Fifthly**, still existence of obscurantist in the society, non-existence of good governance.

**Sixthly**, dacity of plethora in respect of adult and mass education, UPE project, informal education activities, plans like education for all, coordination system among the concerned, CLC.

**Seventhly**, the mass media especially radio, TV, newspapers and others in Bangladesh seldom play role regarding basic education and practical training, adult education and mass literacy.

**Eighthly**, the real aims of education are not coming into being in Bangladesh. So the backward people are getting apathy and aversion on education and keeping away from learning.

**Ninthly**, social prejudice and customs in low society which regard new-born female child as sufferings to family and give marriage even before physical and mental maturity with dowry. Discrimination against women is very peculiar to Bangladesh but women represent about 50% in Bangladesh. Unequal treat of parents to their sons and daughters is also one of the causes.

**Principal causes:** My study shows the following reasons-

- (i) Dearth of consciousness as to education, among the people, social prejudices and customs, negative outlooks and attitude of parents.
- (ii) Drop-out of students not because of free education up to HSC for all.
- (iii) Non-existence of proper education system and real educated teachers.

Illiteracy, the root cause of ignorance frustrating all development efforts of the government and the community, is a curse to the society because for the lack of education there is happening certain social crimes like dowry, divorce, unregistered marriage, torture by husbands, child marriage, marriage without the consent of first wife and wives and other incidents amounts amounting to violations of human rights.

## 12. Remarks

Those who pass class six or seven forget all the things they learn. And there is no SSC pass person. When the dwellers asked whether they have heard about rights, human rights, fundamental rights, constitution, UDHR, CEDAW, CRC, 90% of the respondents answer "No" while 5% only heard "rights" and 5% answer "we do not understand".

Again they were asked why they were unknown to these. 100% of the dwellers alleged "as they are uneducated so question does not arise to know".

When they were asked, "which is the most liable for your existing situation?" 98% of the respondents answered lack of education. Again they were asked if they would send their children to school, all answered positively to send their children to school.

My field study in respect of children about their education, it is found that more than 90% children (up to 18 years of age) go to school- government primary school or NGOs conducted school. It is

especially noted that a good deal of change of education of slum children is being done by the NGO to a great extent. Among the NGOs UCEF, RIC, Save the children – may be especially mentioned.

Cent percent slum dwellers and backward people have been able to fathom that only illiteracy and ignorance have made them socially, physically and mentally handicapped for which they have been turned into backward section of citizens and fallen prey to victims of abysmal plight. They have been victimizing of human rights infraction as because of uneducated they are quite in the dark about their demands and rights and so cannot raise voice to realize rights, fundamental rights and human rights strategically.

All the dwellers have been made understand that the illiteracy, curse and malady to the society, root cause of ignorance and set back of all development efforts of the government and the community, impedes all progresses and prosperity. They have been able to realize that-“The higher the rate of illiteracy in a country, the greater have been the extent of poverty and backwardness”.

Thus when they were asked about, “do you have eagerness to education?” All the respondents, that is, cent percent people answered “yes”. But some of them added some conditions, e.g. free of cost and free education, good house to live, job opportunities etc.

Education, not a privilege but a basic human need like food, clothing, shelter, is the thing upon which national progress largely depends. As illiterate is considered liability, it is high time to take utmost efforts and initiatives to wipe out the illiteracy from the society. But the government alone cannot solve this big problem so these comprehensive plans can be implemented with the help of local bodies of the government as well as non-government organizations in conjunction with the layman of the villages. And only then, my study appears, we are sanguine of gaining rural flourishing and achieving self-sufficiency in all respects. And in fine, in sooth, newly rehabilitated slum dwellers in their respective villages would be able to face up and tide over all the difficulties and to protect themselves from the violations of human rights guaranteed by the constitution.

As we live in a fast changing complex world, we should give emphasis on “Poverty Alleviation” and “Human Resource Development: programme. Undoubtedly both are difficult task, education is the main factor for human resource development and poverty alleviation and education is the only factor that determines the ocean of difference between any first world countries with others, nevertheless to mention, economic factor always follows the next.



For example, the Middle East countries are enriched with oil the liquid gold, but they have to depend on the technical know-how of the west to explore and extract. So in order to achieve the goals we have to educate our people first, irrespective of high or low, poor or rich, upper-class or low class.

Now-a-days education is world-wide considered as the only mean of alleviation of poverty and human resource development. A educated person should be self-reliant with regard to his personal needs. Education can help a man to be well mannered, thoughtful, creative, kind, respectful, sympathetic and cooperative. A human being by dint of education transcends all limitation inspired on him and becomes the most dignified creation of God. Education can help one feel anguish at the distress and sufferings of a fellow human being and an urge to try to alleviate the sufferings of other human beings. An educated man respect life, rights, privilege, likes and dislikes of others as he expects the same from others.

### **13. Education, Its Impact on Human Rights Violations**

Education has been defined within the previous chapter. Here only application aspect would be discussed. Rapid progress of any country largely depends on the proper education which can be regarded as social investment of high priority for each and every state. In fact, skilled and educated people can place their families, countries in a high and exalted position with mundane gains also facing challenges and grasping opportunities and have been able to pursue professional goals with knowledge and equanimity. An educated man is never seen begging alms and does not become the burden of the society.

The provision of education is laid down in the articles 17 and 26 of the Constitution of Bangladesh and UDHR respectively. But in constitution education is enshrined in the fundamental state policy whereas education has been claimed as of right in the UDHR.

In order to protect human rights in Bangladesh, education up to H.Sc./Alim must be free and compulsory in the sense that they have been able to fathom the importance of education and ultimately be vocal to press their demanding rights guaranteed by the constitution. Again once passed H.Sc. or Alim he or she will further go for higher education and be able to be conscious to acquire own rights without the help of others.

In case of necessity, "Law of Compulsory Attendance in the Educational Institutions" may be promulgated in the country and in

connection with that budget allocation for education should be enlarged to offer stipends, scholarships, incentives, prizes, and allowances among the students. The provision of education can be shifted to fundamental rights from fundamental state policy by formulating law. It is strongly suggested that education be claimed as of reciprocal rights under the condition that both the government and the people can register case against one another for the interest of education. Education for all by 2000, and education for all by 2005 is nothing but lofty assurance and rhetoric utterance. If the fault is found with the government, people can litigate against government and vice-versa.

In order to make 'formal education' complete, significant, felicitous and effective a national education policy is a pressing need in any country. But in our country there is no suitable education policy as yet. Nevertheless, "Kudrati Khuda Commission in 1972 and Shamsul Haque Commission in 2001" are mentionable and acceptable in Bangladesh. Irony is that these reports did not bring to light because of political biasness. So the present study suggests that state to state foreign policy be dominate over party to party foreign policy in Bangladesh and elsewhere in the world under the condition that any matter purportedly deleterious to the state may declare null and void.

Education is the key to literacy and the basis for all progress for individuals, communities and countries. And Lack of ability to read and write is illiteracy. On saying goes that "education is the backbone of a nation" and "no nation can prosper without education." So it needs telling that the number of palatial buildings and monuments of a country cannot indicate of its affluence and development. Rather the literate and education people of a country is the parameter to signify its magnitude of amelioration and progress. The rate of literacy or illiteracy, specially mentioned in the context, is the index or determinant of a country whether it is developed or rich or cultured or civilized, because education makes a person well-mannered, thoughtful, creative, sympathetic, respectful, kind and helpful to his fellow human beings. True, education man is he or she who feels anguish at the distress and sufferings of a fellow human being and who feels an urge to try to alleviate the sufferings of other human beings and who has love for the creation of God the Omnipotent the Omnipresent and the Omniscient.

Education may be formal or informal, a life-long process, begins at birth and ends only at death. All the Devine books and other



religious holy Books have given emphasis to impart education to their follower so that they can, by dint of true and proper education, exercise humanity; serve mankind; help the poor, dispute and helpless; protect the lights and privileges of them; ensure justice for them; give true love and care to them and alleviate sufferings of human beings.

For the success of democracy the citizens should be fairly well educated. Just as freedom is the birthright, so is education. In our country education should be universal, compulsory and free up to class eight, with a view to spread literacy along with expansion of education and to bring maximum number of boys and girls of slums. Compulsory primary education (class one to class five) is only able to make a person put signature but cannot bring about real education. So in case of slum dwellers, uneducated, ignorant, illiterate and backward, education should be free, compulsory and universal up to class eight in the sense that after passing class eight one can be able to realize her might, demand, freedom and economic emancipation.

From the emaciated faces of the beggars on the city streets to the lean and withering course of the farmer in the village the picture is the same. It is the picture of poverty, calamity prone Bangladesh has seasons that bring a variety of natural calamities. During the period January to March it is drought. The period from April to May is the cyclone season. The period from June brings floods, and what is left of the year is covered by hailstorms or insect invasions is paradoxically the agent of destruction breeding poverty. Poverty and absence of employment opportunities in the rural areas have resulted in a large scale exodus of the rural people to the urban areas. The result is only a mushroom growth of slums and the spectre of failing social services and utilities.

As we live in a fast changing complex world, we should give emphasis on "Poverty Alleviation" and "Human Resource Development programme. Undoubtedly both are difficult task, education is the main factor for human resource development and poverty alleviation and education is the only factor that determines the ocean of difference between any first world countries with others, nevertheless to mention, economic factor always follows the next. For example, the Middle East countries are enriched with oil the liquid gold, but they have to depend on the technical know-how of the west to explore and extract. So in order to achieve the west to explore and extract. So in order to achieve the goals we have to educate our people first, irrespective of high or low, poor or rich, upper-class or



low class.

A lot about education has already been discussed. A man without backbone cannot stand lifewise a nation without education cannot forge ahead. Our citizens are backward as we are laying behind in the field of education and so we are facing a bitter experience in sphere of economy, trade and commerce. Education is the abstract thing that can realize human personality about right or wrong. Legal or illegal, use and abuse, due and undue, likes and dislikes. Education and only education make a person literate and conscious to realize demand, right, freedom, fundamental human rights and all other concerned. Education can help human beings to know about constitution, legal system, human rights instruments, general law harassing the ignorant and also help to stand on their feet. A man knowing general law and legal system can face up any challenge for the time being and raise voice to be united to tide over the small problems. An uneducated man cannot read a book with message relating to human rights and other related things.

Illiteracy, the root cause of ignorance frustrating all development efforts of the government and the community, is a curse to the society because for the lack of education, there is happening certain social crimes like dowry, divorce, unregistered marriage, torture by husbands, child marriage, marriage without the consent of first wife and wives and other incidents amounting to violations of human rights.

#### **14. Human Rights and Education: Analytical Study**

##### **14.1 Statistical Relationship between Education and Human Rights:**

So far, education and human rights have been discussed a lot. But the present study attempt to show a statistical relation after having data collected through field study. About 98% of the respondents answered: 'Our existing humiliating condition is liable for lack of education. If we are be educated, we would got jobs and could live well.' Again they made comment that they had been suffering from human rights violation because of ignorance.

So, the present study shows that there is a correlation between education and human rights more specifically with each other. We know that, the nature of relationship between two or more variables depends on some incidents, namely, spurious relation, mutual depended and nonsense correction. It has been appeared that mutual

depend is more appropriate in case of education and human rights. For example, with the increasing of education human rights violation reduces or vice-versa again, with the reducing of education, human rights violation increases.

By applying Karl Pearson's methods in computing of correlation coefficient between education and human rights violation it reveals that there exists between two variables. Limited negative degree of correlation. An example to make understand the fact is given below: (for the interest of classification only).

Here education is independent variable and Human Rights violation is dependent variable. Let education be (x) and human rights be (y). Now we shall find out calculate the co-efficient correlation between x and y.

Education (x)	30	35	37	40	50
Human Rights Violation (y)	47	40	30	20	10

**N.B.** These units have been held in imagination only to show the relation between two variables. Here other variables have been kept constant.

**Table 5: Frequency table of calculating co-efficient of correlation:**

x	y	$x^2$	$y^2$	xy
30	47	900	2209	1410
35	40	1225	1600	1400
37	30	1369	900	1110
40	20	1600	400	800
50	10	2500	100	500
$\Sigma x=192$	$\Sigma y=147$	$\Sigma x^2=7594$	$\Sigma y^2=5209$	$\Sigma xy=5220$

Now, we will find out 'r' which represents the relationship between education and human rights violation.

Now putting the formula.

$$\begin{aligned}
 r &= \frac{\Sigma xy - \frac{\Sigma x \Sigma y}{N}}{\sqrt{\left\{ \Sigma x^2 - \frac{(\Sigma x)^2}{N} \right\} \left\{ \Sigma y^2 - \frac{(\Sigma y)^2}{N} \right\}}} \\
 &= \frac{5220 - \frac{192 \times 147}{5}}{\sqrt{\left\{ 7594 - \frac{(192)^2}{5} \right\} \left\{ 5209 - \frac{(147)^2}{5} \right\}}} \\
 &= \frac{5220 - 5644.8}{\sqrt{(7594 - 7372.8)(5209 - 4321.8)}} \\
 &= \frac{-424.8}{\sqrt{221.8 \times 887.2}} = -0.958
 \end{aligned}$$

As 'r' shows the negative value 'n' -0.958 which greater than -1, so, it reveals that there exists 'a' limited negative degree of correlation between education and human rights violation.

If,  $r = +1$ , then perfect position correlation between two variables.

If,  $r = <(+1)$ , then limited position degree of correlation between two variables.

If,  $r = -1$ , then perfect negative correlation between two variables.

If,  $r = >(-1)$ , then limited negative degree of correlation between two variables.

If,  $r = 0$ , then zero correlation.

Here,  $r = \dots <(+1)$  means,  $r = +.05, +.39, +.95$  etc.

$r = \dots >(-1)$  means,  $r = -0.25, -0.60, -0.95$  etc.



## 14.2 A Relation between Education & Human Rights:

Asking the DCSD the following result have been found .....

- 99% respondents, no education, no service.
- 98% respondents, no education, no money.
- 95% respondents, no education, no comfort.
- 95% respondents, no education, no food, no cloth, no shelter.
- 94% respondents, no education, no good behave.
- 90% respondents, no education, no participation.
- 90% respondents, no education, no role/respondents.
- 90% respondents, no education, no equality.
- 98% respondents, no education, no power.

97% respondents, no education, no power security.

The Study reveals the following relationship between two variables that is,

**"No Education, No Protection of Human Rights" found from....**

2. No education, no positive mentality.
3. No positive mentality, no positive change.
4. No positive change, no development.
5. No development, no strong base.
6. No strong base, no growth.
7. No growth, poverty and weakness.
8. Poverty and weakness, tendency to give in/tendency to pocket insult.
9. Tendency to give in/Tendency to pocket insult, Victimization of any untoward situation.

Which, ultimately, cause human rights violation, that is, without education brings about human rights violations.

## 14.3 Relating Comment between Education & Human Rights

From the study, it is obvious that human rights and education vary inversely. That is to say, promotion of education results in decreasing human rights violation. Ultimately, education is indispensable to the promotion of human rights, thereby decreasing violation of human rights.

## 15. Education Facilities: Over Viewing

Cent percent slum dwellers and backward people have been

able to fathom that only illiteracy and ignorance have made them socially, physically and mentally handicapped for which they have been turned into backward section of citizens and fallen prey to victims of abysmal plight. They have been victimizing of human rights infraction as because of uneducated they are quite in the dark about their demands and rights and so cannot raise voice to realize rights, fundamental rights and human rights strategically.

All the dwellers have been made to understand that the illiteracy, is a curse and malady to the society, root cause of ignorance and a set back for all development efforts of the government and the community, impedes all progresses and prosperity. They have been able to realize that "the higher the rate of illiteracy in a country, the greater have been the extent of poverty and backwardness".

It is education on which rapid development largely depends. An educated man can take risk and face challenges to satisfy their humble lot despite coming of humble origin. But it is stark reality in third world countries like Bangladesh education is costlier and harder as the government cannot provide its citizen the basic facilities guaranteed by the constitution. Consequently, we are lagging behind as for education, let alone backward people of Bangladesh. But the study has observed that if some facilities are provided for the backward people for the education purpose, backward people, newly back to village from slums to be rehabilitated, have been able to play a vital role to ameliorate and brighten the village being educated. The following suggestions should be adopted

**Firstly**, the number of educational institutions should be magnified and allocation of budget for the education purpose must be enlarged.

**Secondly**, "Law of Compulsory Attendance in the Educational Institution 2008" must be promulgated and under the law up to H.Sc./Alim education must be compulsory and free.

**Thirdly**, everyone, youth and adults ensuring equitable opportunity for the girls and woman, should be given facilities for education designed to meet basic learning needs such as litigacy, innumeracy, problem solving, values and attitude development.

**Fourthly**, media, i.e. radio, television and newspapers should be provided in club or conspicuous places guided by any authority

concerned. These media will put up special programs like sanitation, health care and other facilities salubrious to environment through folk songs, dramas, feature films and the like.

**Fifthly**, food for education, VGD, free school uniform, teaching materials and equipments (text book, pencils, khata etc), should be free supplied to the poor family children to attract them to come to schools and colleges.

**Sixthly**, the activities of NGOs should be more encouraged. Local government, corporations and other organizations should be involved for the enhancement and heightening the education among the poorest of the poor.

**Seventhly**, new institutions should have to be established and physical facilities should be magnified. Qualified teachers with proper aptitudes should be recruited and accommodated. Close coordination among the government, SMC and NGOs programs should be established. Sufficient allocation of budget should be sanctioned to make the program success.

## 16. Findings

The findings of the research are based on primary data which has been collected through observation, case study and using a questionnaires, and secondary data collected from books, journals, magazines, periodicals, electronic media, internet, talk show and so on. For more than one year was spent on collecting data and information through the analysis of data and information collected through above mentioned research methods has yielded the following findings:

1. At present Dhaka city contains 3,500 slums where 4.5 million people live in. There are two types of slums- legal slums and illegal slums (squatters) in Dhaka city. Among them about 40% are squatters. Again it has been estimated that approximately 700 slums are situated on public land, 2350 on private land and remaining 450 slum's ownership is not yet determined. These all are lying on 90 wards of 10 zones under Dhaka City Corporation. 2500 to 3000 slum dwellers live in per hectare and .3 million people are adding every year in the slums by new birth and migration.



2. Each family has got 6.5 members on the average, Male: Female=57: 43, Children (up to 18 years) is 58%, 79% families reside in single room measuring not more than 70 sq feet on the average. Only 21% families live by and large in the slums but single room measuring more than 70 sq. feet including veranda or kitchen or bathroom, whose income per month above Tk. 3000.
3. The present study has estimated that on an average, 60% slummy people live in Katchha room, 15% in semi-pacca, 25% dwells in the rooms which are made of bamboo, paperboard, polythine, torn sacks, old-rusted tin, jute-stalk and other raw materials and even under canopies in the open sky. 75% slummy families use common toilet and bathroom while 25% use single or own-made. It is to be noted that some families (of 75% who use common toilet and bathroom) have no toilet to be used. They defecate and pass urine on the open road and drain and dirty water under the open sky.
4. Most of the slums go under water almost every year in the rainy seasons. Contextually mentioned that more than 90% slums were submerged in the flood stricken in 1987, 1988 and 1998, 55% families can enjoy electric facility. 35% gas facility and only 11% pure drinking water. Potable water is out of reach in the slums.
5. It has been found that the slummy people spend 15% of their income for house-rent paid by them. Their expense for house-rent has been shown in 8 strata which reads: Tk. up to 400 paid by 13% families, Tk. 401-500 by 16%, Tk. 501-600 by 23%, Tk. 601-700 by 18%, Tk. 701-800 by 16%, Tk. 801-900 by 12% and Tk. above 900 by 4%. 90% adult male spends some amount of money by smoking. In most cases women are also addicted to smoking.
6. The income of slummy people is very deplorably low in the context of present inflation age. Only 15% families earn up to Tk. 1000; 26% between Tk. 1001-2000; 40% Tk. 2001-3000; 8% Tk. 3001-4000,; 6% Tk. 4001-5000 and 5% above Tk. 5000. It is further noted that there is only one-earning members in 48% families and three-earning members in 11% families in the slums.

It is to be especially mentioned that, the women in one-earning member families perform only household work, in two or three earning member families deal in small business

like ash-selling, mud-soap selling, brick-breaking, working as domestic helps etc. along side house hold work. Sometimes the income from child labour is added to these kinds of families. It is better to cite that the children in the slums are engaged with hazardous work contrary to the provision of CRC, UDHR and our Constitution.

Among the Children, 75% male child and 25% female child are to work for earning money respectively.

1. Among the family heads, 45% are transport and factory workers; 15% small traders; 23% day labourers; 12% petty employees while 5% have no particular job. More than 90% are addicted to smoking. Some are concerned with illegal business. One thing has been cleared that 40% from different occupational group are more or less, rickshaw puller on everyday basis. Among them transport drivers and helpers, makers, trade workers, construction workers, matchiers of hotel, hawkers, day labourers, porters, gardeners, charwomen, domestic helps are mentionable.
2. 70% family-heads are totally illiterate, that is, they are unable to read and write. Primary pass 23%, six to ten 6% and above SSC 1%.

Among adult women unable to read and write 71.91%, class one to five 22.97%, six to ten 4.68% and SSC .43%. Among school going children, 82% goes to primary school but among total children 55% go to school.

3. Only 10% families have the ability to go to doctors in the event of disease. 90% are unable to bear the expenses of doctors. Among 90% who does not have the accessibility of health service, 10% go to kabiraz, 20% to Imam for blowing water and 60% never go anywhere in the event of disease. Child mortality is 170 per thousand.
4. 90% able couple know about family planning. 26% couple are permanent users, 10% unknown to family planning while 64% use capriciously.
5. Almost every family is involved in two or three times marriage. Even marriage by force happens sometimes. Some cases marriage comes off without registration. Divorce happens any time without hesitation. Illicit connection between the adult male and female is a daily phenomenon. Rape, theft, squirrel, affray, conflict are their daily partner. But more than 95% cases are settled by slum dwellers

themselves. So in most cases the victims do not get fair justice. 50% of adult women are co-wife of one husband. 10% couple are permanently passing conjugal life but they are in the wrong of 45.

6. Every slum family contains (4 to 10) members. Working class people work hard everyday between 12 to 16 hours. About 60 to 70% slum dwellers both male and female suffer from any mental diseases.
7. Diseases like fever, virus concerned fever, diarrhea, asma, typhoid, influenza, TB, cough, heart attack, stroke etc. is found. But 50% dwellers are attacked with the diseases namely, diarrhea, asma and typhoid. Children are mostly affected 15% are the victim of severe disease.
8. It has been clearly understood that backward section of citizens, slum dwellers in particular, are totally uneducated or illiterate only because of the absence of proper education system in Bangladesh and in consequence the lower segments of the society do not know where human rights are written down to protect the violation. This is why they are being the victims of human rights violations all the time almost in all cases.
9. There is inextricably link between education and human rights in the sense that human rights violation is happening because of ignorance and on the other hand where there is education there is less violation of human rights. One is treated as a real educated person who exercises humanity, serves man kind, helps the poor, dispute and helpless people, protects the rights and privileges of them, ensures justice for them, gives true love and care to them and alleviates sufferings of human beings. Again it is to noted that only because of education women folk are being officers like judges, teachers, barristers and raise their voices for the protection of women's rights.
10. From the study, it is obvious that human rights and education vary inversely. That is to say, promotion of education results in decreasing human rights violation. Ultimately, education is indispensable to the promotion of human rights, thereby decreasing violation of human rights.



## 17. Suggestion

This is contextually mentioned that data and information have been culled through field study like observation, case study, survey (collected) and secondary sources for the thesis. More than 90% respondents do not want to reside in insalubrious slums and have made comments to go to own villages if they have a piece of land to live on and get employed. It is to be further noted that 99% respondents have eagerness to learn and to impart education their next generation. Even some of them said that they had made a great mistake without learning and had been suffering from miserable condition for want of education and so they would not further mistake without imparting education to their next generation. Their comments are also like that better death than slums. 90% slum dwellers prefer open rural environment to suffocating city atmosphere. Following specific suggestions, however, are putting forward for the concern authority.

1. Government lands (Khas, VP, abandoned, non-resident and the like) encroached by the village touts must be recovered to give away the newly returnee slum dwellers of own villages.
2. Slum dwellers who want to back own village (90% respondents want to go to village) must return to village bag and baggage. For the purpose the government should adopt measures with subvention. In case of necessity, slums might be evicted in consistent with the provision of law.
3. A free, compulsory and felicitous system of education up to HSC level or equivalent to that must be introduced to educate all walks of life including slum-dwellers. It is stalk reality that "education for all by 2000 or 2005", TLM are not able to educate all upto the mark.
4. "Law of Compulsory Attendance in Educational Institutions" should be promulgated to ensure 100% attendance in the institutions. A lot of budget allocation for education should be created. Education could be regarded as fundamental right and should be enforceable in the court of law. Both the government and individual should given right to file case against with each other in the event of humiliating mutual interest in point of education.
5. Cottage industry must be revived and communication system should be developed. It would help the newly returnee slum dwellers in various ways. For example, they can earn money

by making and selling hand-made products and on the other hand they have been able to earn more money by pulling rickshaw or doing other things concerning road transport.

6. National Human Rights Commission comprising apolitical members should be setup on emergency basis. At the same time, recommendation of reforming section 54, 167 of Cr. P.C. made by HCD (2003) must be materialized.

## 18. The End Phase

The study revealed that, the abuse of human rights, despite the constitutional provisions for their protection, is rampant only due to the indigence of proper education which is building block on which amelioration, civilization, progress and farsightedness entirely depend on. "Exaltation of equality and equity that is equal justice for all, above political diatribe and diabolic fundamentalism" must be realized by all and sundry to restore the normalcy and the promotion of Dhaka City Slum Dwellers for development.

As human rights and education are inextricably linked together. And it is obvious that human rights and education vary inversely, it is submitted that the fate of slum dwellers can not be ensured without promoting 'equality and equity' in dealing with human rights and education which has no alternative.

### Notes

1. *The House of the Nations Bangladesh* (Recorded on March 13, 2005)
2. *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, P.1117.
3. *ibid*, p.497.
4. *The Dictionary of Social Welfare*, p.184.
5. Marshall, B. Cliner, *Slums and Community Development*, (1966).
6. Lecturer on HRs delivered by Dr. Ershadul Bari in BCS Academy, Dhaka,
7. *Samsad English-Bengali Dictionary*, 5th Edition, August, 1981, p. 338.
8. Marshal, B. Cliner, *Slum and Community Development*, 1966.
9. *Dhaka City Corporation Map as of April*, 2004.
10. *BTV News at 10 pm, Sunday*, March 13, 2005



## US POLICY TOWARDS TALIBAN

Ahmad Ejaz

### Abstract

*The Taliban regime in Afghanistan became the prime target of US-led war against terrorism. The United States policy towards Taliban was initially supportive on the basis of American strategic and economic interests in the region. So the Americans overlooked the religious extremist nature of Taliban movement. However this fundamentalist nature over the time caused to create a fuss among the Americans when Osama bin Laden and his associates started to use Afghanistan for their terrorist activities and the country consequently turned in to a sanctuary for international terrorists. Consequently the US government took a U-turn in its policy towards the Taliban and contacts between the United State and Taliban government were shattered away. Thus on August 20, 1998, the United State launched a cruise missile attack on Al-Qaeda's training campus in Khost and Jalalabad. 'Get Osama' had become the primary aim of US policy towards Afghanistan. The American government escalated pressure on the Taliban regime to extradite Osama bin Laden. However despite the international pressure and UN sanctions, the Taliban regime continued its support for bin Laden. Ultimately the United States maneuvered for a military preemptive action in Afghanistan to overthrow the Taliban regime.*

This paper attempts to examine the facts that provided ground to the asymmetrical approach of United States towards Taliban.

As soon as the Soviet occupant forces left Afghanistan, the country entered in to a new phase of political chaos. Since Afghanistan was no longer an important Cold War battleground, the United States stopped its economic and military aid programmes in Afghanistan. However, the American policy makers did not totally ignore Afghanistan in respect of pursuing the US security interests in Central Asia as well as to stem out other regional problems flowing from Afghanistan such as terrorism, illegal drug trafficking, and human rights violations. The United States continued to monitor the events in Afghanistan with its interest of ending the civil war and establishment of a broad-based representative government that

should respect the international rules especially with regard to terrorism, human rights, and drug trafficking, and an end to the foreign interference. However, to achieve these objectives in Afghanistan, the Americans avoided direct involvement in the affairs of the country and adopted a policy of supporting the UN efforts for a negotiated process to end the ethnic discord.<sup>1</sup>

The United States fully supported the UN plan for an intra-Afghan dialogue between all warring factions in Afghanistan for the formation of a broad-based government. However the UN-sponsored efforts could not be successful to bring Afghanistan out of a state of anarchical civil war. Ultimately the emergence of the Taliban as the most powerful faction in the country by the mid-1990s changed the political perspective of Afghanistan. The rise of Taliban movement was assumed to herald an era of peace and stability in Afghanistan. Caused by its strategic and economic interests in the region, the United States did not raise objection over the Islamic extremist Taliban. The Americans thought that politically, the Pushtun-dominated Taliban would overrun the pro-Iran elements and economically, a stable Afghanistan under the Taliban rule would help build the pipeline to import the gas from Turkmenistan to Pakistan and beyond through Afghanistan.

Dr. Zalamay Khalilzad, an expert on Afghanistan affairs, who was advisor to Unocal and worked as the Special Presidential Envoy to Afghanistan and was designated as the US Ambassador in Afghanistan from November 2003 to June 2005, had urged the Clinton administration to support the Taliban government. In his article titled 'Afghanistan: Time to Re-engage,' published in the *Washington Post*, he said:

The recent victory by the Taliban, a traditional orthodox Islamic group, can put Afghanistan on path towards peace. ...Instability and war in Afghanistan provided fertile ground for the terrorist groups to train and hide. Afghanistan became a greater source of drugs. The war has been source of regional instability and an obstacle to building pipelines to bring Central Asian oil and gas to Pakistan and the world markets. Perhaps most important, given the sacrifices, made by the Afghans in the Cold War's final struggle, we had a moral obligation to assist them in achieving peace. We did not. It is time for the United States to re-

engage. Recent developments in Afghanistan suggest that the United States can help bring a settlement to the Afghan conflict, but it will take leadership and determination to do so. ...The Taliban does not practice the anti-US style of fundamentalism practiced by Iran. It is closer to the Saudi model. The group upholds a mix of traditional Pashtun values and an orthodox interpretation of Islam. The departure of the Osama bin Laden, the Saudi financier of various anti-US terrorist groups, from Afghanistan indicates some common interest between the United States and the Taliban. We should be willing to offer recognition and humanitarian assistance and to promote international economic reconstruction. We should use as a positive incentive the benefits that will accrue to Afghanistan from the construction of oil and gas pipelines across its territory. These projects will go only forward if Afghanistan has a single authoritative government. Afghanistan is at another historic crossroads...US diplomatic leadership can play a crucial role in bringing peace to this distressed land. Our interests require that we try, and we have a moral obligation to do so.<sup>2</sup>

When the Taliban captured Kabul in September 1996, the US State Department gave a very supportive statement mentioning that "nothing objectionable" was found on the side of Taliban.<sup>3</sup> Senator Hank Brown, Chairman of the US Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, weighed in on the side of the Taliban: "The good part of what has happened is that one of the factions at least seems capable of developing a government in Kabul."<sup>4</sup>

The US officials started to pay regular visits to Kabul. They included the US Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia Robin Raphel, her successor Karl Inderfurth, Deputy Secretary for Political Affairs Thomas Pickering, and the US Ambassador to the United Nations Bill Richardson.<sup>5</sup> It seems that the US concern with the rise of Taliban as a binding force was primarily motivated by its political and economic interests in the region. It is also frequently quoted that the United States, to achieve its political and economic targets in the region, covertly worked with Pakistan and Saudi Arabia to support Taliban movement to emerge as a dominant force and take control of



Kabul. In fact the anti-shia and anti-Iran character of the Taliban had great appeal for the United States to get its objectives of containing and preventing the influence of Iran in Afghanistan and the natural resources- rich region of Central Asia.<sup>6</sup> Peter Symonds said that the primary factor in determining the US policy in support of Taliban regime was to secure an access to the "world's largest untapped reserves of oil and gas in the newly formed Central Asian republics Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan." He commented:

The key to the huge potential profits in Central Asia was distribution how to transport the oil and gas from this isolated, backward and landlocked region to the world's main energy markets. The only existing pipelines were those of the old Soviet distribution network through Russia. As the scramble for resources in the region intensified, the US aims were clear. It wanted to undermine Russia's economic monopoly while at the same time making sure that other rivals were kept out of the race. The pipelines therefore had to run through countries over which the US could exert substantial political influence, which excluded China and Iran.<sup>7</sup>

William O. Beeman, who has conducted extensive research on Islamic Central Asia, pointed out that there was no secret that the United States along with Pakistan and Saudi Arabia supported Taliban to make their way to capture Kabul. Commenting on the motivation behind the American support to Taliban, William said that it was only "the economics of oil." He further elaborated:

To the north of Afghanistan is one of the world's wealthiest oil fields, on the Eastern Shore of the Caspian Sea in republics formed since the breakup of the Soviet Union. Caspian oil needs to be transhipped out of the landlocked region through a warm water port, for the desired profits to be accumulated. The simplest and cheapest pipeline route is through Iran - but Iran is essentially an 'enemy' of the US. The alternative route is one that passes through Afghanistan and Pakistan, which 'would require securing the agreement of the powers-that-be in Afghanistan - the Taliban.'<sup>8</sup>

The US Congressman Dana Rohrabacher, a senior member of the US House International Relations Committee, said:

I am making the claim that there is and has been a covert policy by this administration to support the Taliban movement's control of Afghanistan... [T]his a moral or immoral policy is based on the assumption that the Taliban would bring stability to Afghanistan and permit the building of oil pipelines from Central Asia through Afghanistan to Pakistan... I believe the administration has maintained this covert goal and kept the Congress in the dark about its policy of supporting the Taliban, the most anti-Western, anti-female, anti-human rights regime in the world. It doesn't take a genius to understand that this policy would outrage the American people, especially America's women.<sup>9</sup>

Ahmed Rashid, a Pakistani expert on Afghanistan and Taliban said:

Between 1994 and 1996 the USA supported the Taliban politically through its allies Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, essentially because Washington viewed the Taliban as anti-Iranian, anti-Shia and pro-Western. The USA conveniently ignored the Taliban's own Islamic fundamentalist agenda, its suppression of women and the consternation they created in Central Asia largely because Washington was not interested in the large picture. Between 1995 and 1997 the US support was even more driven because of its backing for the Unocal project-even though at the time the USA had no strategic plan towards accessing Central Asian energy and though that pipelines could be built without resolutions to regional civil wars.<sup>10</sup>

He added:

The Clinton administration was clearly sympathetic to the Taliban, as they were in line with Washington's anti-Iran policy and were important for the success of any southern pipeline from Central Asia that would avoid Iran. The US Congress had authorised a covert \$20 million budget for the CIA to destabilise Iran, and Tehran had accused Washington of funneling some of these funds to the Taliban a charge that was always

denied by Washington.<sup>11</sup>

In fact, the US commercial interests in the region were developed by a US oil company- Unocal- which with its Saudi partner- Delta- was interested to build a gas pipeline from Turkmenistan to Pakistan through Afghanistan so that the vast untapped oil and gas reserves in the Central Asian and Caspian region could be transported to markets in South Asia, South-East Asia, Far East and the Pacific. In order to secure the Unocal pipeline deal, the United States supported the rise of the Taliban movement with overlooking the sound backing of its promoters Pakistan and Saudi Arabia and as soon as Taliban established their control on Kabul, the American Officials openly lobbied Taliban authorities for Unocal. Ishtiaq Ahmad said that "America ignored the rise of the Taliban and courted them on behalf of the US oil concerns led to a widespread perception in the regional media, also expressed officially by the anti-American Iranian regime that the CIA was behind the Taliban movement."<sup>12</sup>

The Unocal's pipeline project dominated the American policy agenda in Afghanistan. Consequently, the Clinton administration weighed in on behalf of Unocal. Ahmed Rashid wrote that "the strategic interest of Washington and the US oil companies in the Caspian" led Washington to maneuver the diplomacy in the region. He remarked that "for the USA the prospects of a gas pipeline through Afghanistan was not only attractive because it avoided Iran, but it would signal support to Turkmenistan, Pakistan and the Taliban while clearly snubbing Russia and Iran."<sup>13</sup> Kamal Matinuddin, a retired General of Pakistan Army and an expert on regional security affairs, said with reference to the report about Unocal pipeline project published in *Washington Post* of November 21, 1996, that the Unocal pipeline project had enhanced the US interests in peace in Afghanistan. He wrote: "The US administration was keen to see oil and gas pipelines constructed through Afghanistan and on to open waters which would allow the oil to pass through a more secure route than through the Iran-dominated Persian Gulf. Unocal had put in a bid to construct the pipeline, but the \$2 billion project could only come on line if a broad-based government was established in Afghanistan, this naturally increased US interest in Afghanistan."<sup>14</sup>

Similarly with regard to the US concern on rise of the Taliban, the *New York Times* reported that "the Clinton administration has taken the view that a Taliban victory... would act as a counterweight to Iran... and would offer the possibility of new trade routes that could



weaken Russian and Iranian influence in the region.”<sup>13</sup> An energy expert in the US National Security Council Sheila Heslin told the US Congress in September 1997 that the US policy in Central Asia aimed at breaking the “Russia’s monopoly control over the transportation of oil [and gas] from that region, and frankly to promote Western energy security through diversification of supply”<sup>14</sup>

The US Senator Hank Brown, Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Foreign Relations for Near East and South Asia, and a strong supporter of the Unocal project, went to Afghanistan in March 1996 where he met with the Taliban leaders.<sup>17</sup> Following month, American Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia Robin Raphel visited Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia, and urged for a political solution to the Afghanistan crisis. She said in Kabul that “we are also concerned that economic opportunities here will be missed, if political stability cannot be restored.”<sup>18</sup> Robin Raphel also referred to the Unocal pipeline project. During a press conference in Islamabad on April 21, she stated: “We have an American company which is interested in building a pipeline from Turkmenistan through Afghanistan to Pakistan. This pipeline project will be very good for Turkmenistan, for Pakistan and for Afghanistan as it will not only offer job opportunities but also energy in Afghanistan.”<sup>19</sup> She enlarged her diplomatic efforts to win situation for Unocal project.<sup>20</sup> On another occasion, Robin Raphel admitted: “We worked hard to make all the Afghan factions understand the potential, because the Unocal pipeline offered development opportunities that no aid program or any Afghan government could.”<sup>21</sup>

The gas pipeline task had been so far dominant in US policy towards Afghanistan that Washington, D.C. seemed inclined to give recognition to the Taliban regime on the international level. The American diplomats urged the international community to engage the Taliban. Speaking in a closed-door UN session in November 1996, Robin Raphel bluntly said:

The Taliban control more than two-thirds of the country, they are Afghan, they are indigenous, they have demonstrated staying power. The real source of their success has been the willingness of many Afghans, particularly Pashtuns, to tacitly trade unending fighting and chaos for a measure of peace and security, even with severe social restrictions. It is not in the interest of Afghanistan or any of us here that the Taliban be isolated.<sup>22</sup>

Ahmed Rashid said that the United States succeeded to win over Pakistan's support for the Unocal pipeline project and "with US and Pakistan support, the Taliban were now being courted by Unocal."<sup>23</sup> As Pakistan's main interest was to get the direct American recognition to the Taliban regime, important for its legitimacy, so support to the Unocal pipeline project could make the task easier. Ahmed Rashid argued that "Pakistan wanted more direct US support for the Taliban and urged Unocal to start construction quickly in order to legitimize the Taliban. Basically the USA and Unocal accepted the ISI's analysis and aims-that a Taliban victory in Afghanistan would make Unocal's job much easier and quicken US recognition."<sup>24</sup> Turkmenistan also supported the Unocal pipeline project and it showed interest in immediate commencement of the construction of the pipeline.<sup>25</sup> In May 1997, Pakistan, Turkmenistan and Unocal concluded an agreement that allowed Unocal to start construction of pipeline by the dawn of 1998.<sup>26</sup> During Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's one day visit to Turkmenistan on October 16, 1997, Pakistan, Turkmenistan and Unocal concluded one more agreement for the import of gas from Turkmenistan. After this commitment between Pakistan, Turkmenistan and Unocal over the Unocal gas pipeline project, the case was put forwarded to the Taliban. In this regard, the American and Pakistani officials approached the Taliban elite.<sup>27</sup> Nafeez Mosaddeq Ahmed quoted the *International Herald Tribune* which reported in summer of 1998 that "the Clinton administration was talking with the Taliban about potential pipeline routes to carry oil and natural gas out of Turkmenistan to the Indian Ocean by crossing Afghanistan and Pakistan."<sup>28</sup>

The Taliban government was also not hesitant to gain benefits from the pipeline project. It had entered in to an agreement with the Bidas, an Argentinean oil company and major competitor of Unocal, for construction of pipeline. Bidas obtained rights in Turkmenistan in 1992 and 1993 to explore and exploit the country's gas fields, and opened up discussions with the Turkmen and Pakistani governments in 1994 over the construction of a gas pipeline, and finally both governments signed a memorandum of understanding on the pipeline with Bidas in March 1995 and a formal deal was concluded in July 1995.<sup>29</sup> Bidas also signed a pipeline agreement with Taliban in November 1996. However Bidas finally could not be able to start work on project due to the financial crisis.<sup>30</sup> The United States successfully turned the situation in its favour. A Taliban delegation went to the United States in February 1997 which visited the Unocal



headquarters at Sugarland, Texas. As negotiations proceeded, the Unocal opened a project office in Kandhar in April 1997.<sup>30</sup> In November 1997, a Taliban delegation led by Mullah Muhammad Ghaus again visited America. The US media gave coverage to the Taliban's visit. *Reuters* and the *Sunday Telegraph* carried detailed story about this visit. The Taliban delegation held talks with the State Department officials for US recognition for the Taliban government.<sup>31</sup> Ishtiq Ahmad said that the "Taliban's visit to America was part of a series of attempts on the part of Unocal to woo the Taliban towards its own pipeline project and forbid them from cutting a pipeline deal with Bidas."<sup>32</sup>

The contacts between the United States and Taliban government were proceeding smoothly but sudden bombing attacks on the US Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania on August 7, 1998 that killed 224 people and wounded 4500, gave U- turn to the US policy towards Taliban. The United States held Al-Qaeda responsible for carrying out the terrorist attacks on the embassies. Consequently on August 20, 1998, the United States launched in retaliation a cruise missile attack on Al-Qaeda's training camps in Khost and Jalalabad.<sup>34</sup>

The halcyon days between the United States and Taliban soon had come to an end. The US government was now obsessed with bin Laden's capture. Washington asked Kabul to hand over bin Laden but the Taliban government flatly refused with arguments that bin Laden was a guest of the people of Afghanistan, so he would never be handed over to America. The Taliban leaders had taken a vociferous stand against America and started to give very furious statements against America. Mullah Omar called America "the biggest terrorist in the world."<sup>35</sup> Saudi Arabia also did not like Taliban's protection for bin Laden, so the Saudi government increased pressure on Taliban government to hand him over. The Saudi intelligence Chief Prince Turkey al Faisal visited Afghanistan in August 1998 and met with Mullah Omar and pressed him to hand over bin Laden. Mullah Omar categorically refused him. This repulsive attitude of Taliban leaders irked the Saudi government and it subsequently suspended diplomatic relations with the Taliban government and halted the flow of aid to it.<sup>36</sup>

Ultimately the bin Laden issue had widened gulf between the Taliban government and its sympathizers like Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates and America as well. The feminist groups in America were no longer ignorant to the Taliban's ruthless behavior to Afghan women. They increasingly built a huge pressure on Clinton



administration to get tough with the Taliban regime. Ahmed Rashid wrote:

American feminist groups begin to muster American public support against the Taliban and Unocal. Throughout 1998 the feminist pressure on Unocal intensified. In September 1998, a group of Green activists asked California's Attorney General to dissolve Unocal for crimes against humanity and the environment and because of Unocal's relations with the Taliban. Unocal described the charges as 'ludicrous.' Unocal first attempted to counter the feminists and then became distant in trying to answer their charges. It was a losing battle because these were American women and not foreigners, wanting answers to an issue that the Clinton administration now supported.<sup>37</sup>

The new anti-Taliban posture of the American government finally closed all channels for reconciliation with Taliban. The Unocal ultimately had to give up its pipeline project. In December 1998 Unocal closed its offices in Pakistan, Turkmenistan and Afghanistan. The indication of shift in the US policy of Taliban first appeared in early 1999 when the First Lady Hillary Clinton threw harshest criticism on the Taliban's gender policy. She said: "When women are savagely beaten by so-called religious police for not being fully covered or for making noises while they walk, we know that is not just the physical beating that is the objective. It is the destruction of the spirit of these women."<sup>38</sup> After taking shift in its Afghanistan policy, the United States took harsh measures to curtail the Taliban regime. The economic sanctions were imposed against it. On July 4, 1999, President Clinton signed an executive order-13129 that declared:

The actions and policies of the Taliban in Afghanistan, in allowing territory under its control in Afghanistan to be used as a safe heaven and base of operations for Osama bin Ladin and the Al-Qaeda organization who have committed and threatened to continue to commit acts of violence against the United States and its nationals, constitute an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States.<sup>39</sup>

The Executive Order halted trade or transactions with the Taliban government or in territory controlled by the Taliban, preventing any US investment in Afghanistan. It also ceased the Taliban-owned assets within US jurisdiction and sanctioned to freeze the Afghanistan airline's assets in America.<sup>40</sup>

'Get Osama' had become the primary aim of US policy of Afghanistan. Escalating pressure on the Taliban, the United States submitted a resolution in the UN Security Council that was adopted on August 28, 1999, calling for extradition of bin Laden to "appropriate authorities in a country where he would be brought to justice."<sup>41</sup> On October 15, 1999, the UN Security Council adopted an other resolution that deplored the Taliban government for providing shelter to the international terrorists including bin Laden. The resolution imposed sanctions on Afghanistan and asked the Taliban government to cease its support for terrorists and turn over bin Laden to a place where he would be brought to trial and justice.<sup>42</sup>

The hijacking of an Indian jet in December 1999 further intensified the US pressures on Taliban government because it had been assumed that hijackers had links with the Taliban. Congress Research Service (CRS) Report for Congress, 2001 reported:

The *Harakat-ul-Mujahideen* (HUM) is believed responsible for the December 1999 hijacking of an Indian airliner because the hijackers demanded the release of an HUM leader, Masood Azhar, in exchange for the release of the jet and its passengers. The group appears to be allied with or part of bin Laden's militant Islamic network, although its goal is the expulsion of Indian troops that occupy parts of Kashmir. It does not appear to be part of bin Laden's more far-reaching struggle against the United States. A senior leader of the HUM, Fazlur Rehman Khalil, signed bin Laden's February 1998 pronouncement calling for terrorist attacks on American troops and civilians and, according to *Patterns* 1999, some HUM fighters were killed in the August 20, 1998 US retaliatory strikes on bin Laden's training camps in Afghanistan."<sup>43</sup>

Despite the international pressure and UN sanctions, the Taliban regime continued its support to bin Laden. The US State Department annual report on terrorism, *Patterns of Global Terrorism*



2000, commented:

Islamic extremists from around the world- including North America, Europe, Africa, the Middle East, Central, South, and Southeast Asia-continued to use Afghanistan as a training ground and base of operations for their world wide terrorist activities in 2000. The Taliban, which controlled most Afghan territory, permitted the operation of training and indoctrination facilities for non-Afghans and provided logistic support to members of various terrorist organizations and *Mujahideen*, including those waging *jihads* (holy wars) in Central Asia, Chechnya, and Kashmir. Throughout 2000 the Taliban continued to host Osama bin Laden despite UN sanctions and international pressure to hand him over to stand trial in the United States or a third party. In a serious and on going dialogue with the Taliban, the United States repeatedly made clear to the Taliban that it would be held responsible for any terrorist attack undertaken by bin Laden while he is in its territory.<sup>44</sup>

The UN Security Council adopted a resolution-1333 on December 19, 2000 that further strengthened the sanctions. The resolution strongly condemned the "use of the areas of Afghanistan under the control of the Taliban, for the sheltering and training of terrorists and planning of terrorist acts," and reaffirmed "its conviction that the suppression of international terrorism is essential for the maintenance of international peace and security." The resolution also deplored "the Taliban government's policy of providing safe heaven to bin Ladin and other terrorists and permitting Al-Qaeda and other organizations to "operate a network of terrorist training camps from the Taliban-controlled territory and to use Afghanistan as a base from which to sponsor international terrorist operations." The resolution expressed "deep concern over the continuing violations of international humanitarian law and of human rights, particularly discrimination against women and girls, and over the significant rise in the illicit production of opium."<sup>45</sup> The UN sanctions included:

1. Arms embargo on the Taliban, including foreign military assistance.
2. Ban on travel by the militia's senior leaders.



3. A broader flight ban than the one imposed last year to force bin Laden's surrender.
4. Measures to close all Taliban offices overseas.
5. Restrictions on exports to Taliban areas of acetic anhydride, used to manufacture heroin.
6. Seize of funds and other financial assets of Osama bin Laden and individuals and entities associated with him.<sup>46</sup>

Speaking at the UN Security Council on December 19, 2000, the US representative to the UN Nancy E. Soderberg said about the imposition of the UN sanctions on the Taliban:

Today the Security Council takes a strong stand against terrorism and for the maintenance of international peace and security. As we speak, the Taliban leadership harbours the world's most wanted terrorist Osama bin Laden. Over a year ago, this body enacted sanctions with a single, simple demand to the Taliban leadership: Turn over Osama bin Laden without further delay to appropriate authorities in a country where he will be arrested and effectively brought to justice. And yet to date, the terrorists remain in Afghanistan. And let no one misunderstands. They remain a continuing threat to us all. The Taliban cannot continue to flout the will of the international community and support and shelter terrorists without repercussions. As long as the Taliban leadership continues to harbour terrorists-in particular Osama bin Laden-and to promote terrorism, it remains a threat to international peace and security. We must be mindful that terrorists are criminals, whatever their ethnic, religious or other affiliations. We oppose their crimes, not any religious or moral cause they purport to represent. It is in the common interest of all nations to fight terrorism. Any country that provides refuge or other support to terrorists operates outside the values of the international community. These sanctions are tough, but they are targeted. They do not cut off trade with Afghanistan. We have taken care to ensure that trade in food and medicine is not affected. These sanctions are targeted at the leadership of the Taliban and not at the Afghan people. We all share deep concern over the

deplorable plight of the Afghan people. But it is important to remember that the cause of that misery is war, drought and the draconian policies of the leadership, not the ban on Taliban aircraft and assets.

Although the sanctions had failed to force the Taliban regime to abandon its policy for supporting bin Laden but consequently the already economically devastated Afghan people were severely affected. *Toronto Sun*, quoted by Nafeez Mosaddeq Ahmed, observed that "the US engineered a punishing Iraq-style embargo of war-ravaged Afghanistan at a time when many of its 18 million people are starving and homeless."<sup>47</sup>

The Americans had now started talking about the overthrow of the Taliban regime and establishment of a new government in Kabul. The United States initiated strategy to draw together the anti-Taliban factions inside the Afghanistan<sup>48</sup> and opened a diplomatic campaign in the region to form an alliance to launch a military raid against Taliban. Amin Saikal said that the rise of Taliban's Islamic extremism and Taliban-Al-Qaeda alliance had brought serious changes in the regional strategic scenario alarming the regional powers like Russia, Central Asian Republics and India which on their part had been supplying the military and logistic support to the Northern Alliance. These regional actors perceived whole situation dreadful for their security interests in the region. The American idea for military strike against Taliban swiftly caught their attention.<sup>49</sup> By the end of 2000, meetings between the officials of America, Russia and India were carried on to discuss about the kind of future government in Kabul in place of Taliban.<sup>51</sup> The United States also maneuvered to build its influence in Central Asia. It established military relations with Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan.<sup>52</sup> General Tommy Franks, Chairman, US Central Command (CENTCOM) visited Tajikistan in May 2001. The US officials considered Tajikistan as "a strategically significant country."<sup>53</sup> *Washington Post* revealed that America had quietly got support of those in the Russian government who called for a military action in Afghanistan to eliminate the Taliban regime and to "wipe out Osama bin Laden."<sup>54</sup> Nafeez Mosaddeq Ahmed, with reference to the report of a Canadian journalist Eric Margolis, pointed out about a joint US-Russia military action against the Taliban. He said that the United States and Russia had reached an understanding for launching a "joint military assault against Islamic militant, Osama Bin Laden, and

against the leadership of Taliban." He said that for this operation the US Delta Force and Navy Seals joining up with Russia's elite Spetsnaz and Alpha commandos in Tajikistan, were to be operational. These combined forces were to be dropped by helicopters in Afghanistan to attack bin Laden's fortified base in the Hindu Kush mountains.<sup>55</sup>

Taliban regime had been recognized by only three countries including Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Pakistan. On question of bin Laden, both Saudi Arabia and UAE had withdrawn their support from the Taliban government. Pakistan was still earnestly standing by the Taliban. The Americans had realized that without the active cooperation of Pakistan, the matter relating to the Taliban, bin Laden and Al-Qaeda could not be properly settled, so they increased pressure on Pakistan to end its support to the Taliban.

Since bombings in the US Embassies in Nairobi and Dares Salaam in August 1998, the United States started to press Pakistan for help in dealing with the Taliban related matters. During his one-day stopover in Pakistan on March 25, 2000, President Clinton specially took this issue with Chief Executive General Pervez Musharraf and urged him to cooperate in expulsion of bin Laden from Afghanistan. Next month when the ISI Director General, Lieutenant General Mahmood Ahmed visited America, the US officials communicated him that "people who support those people will be treated as our enemies."<sup>57</sup> In February 2001, President Bush sent a letter to General Musharraf that pointed out that bin Laden and Al-Qaeda had posed "a direct threat to the United States and its interests that must be addressed." Bush asked Mussarraff for an active engagement in dealing with the issues of bin Laden and Al-Qaeda, using Pakistan's good relations with Taliban.<sup>58</sup> President Bush again wrote a letter to President General Musharraf on August 4 that described the US concern over terrorism with regard to Taliban extremist policy and bin laden and Al-Qaeda and urged Musharraf for cooperation in covert and overt measures against terrorists.<sup>59</sup>

The American officials subsequently entered in to "intense negotiations" with Pakistani counterparts. The US officials including the Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage, CIA Director George Tenet, Senator Bob Graham, Senator Jon Kyl and Congressman Porter Goss traveled to Pakistan in May-August 2001 and held meetings with President Musharraf and other Pakistani officials and discussed the matters related to Taliban and Al-Qaeda and Pakistan's support to Taliban.<sup>60</sup> The 9/11 Commission Report



revealed that US efforts to convince Pakistan did not bring results. "Pakistan remained uncooperative...the pieces were coming together for an integrated policy dealing with Al-Qaeda, the Taliban, and Pakistan."<sup>61</sup>

Though the US military planners were drafting plan for military operation in Afghanistan and the American diplomatic maneuvers were struggling for creating a regional scenario for implementation of this military plan, the US government did not totally close the diplomatic route to get bin Laden. All the US officials who visited Pakistan held talks with the Taliban officials too. *Washington Post* revealed that Taliban envoy Rahmatullah Hashimi also went to the United States in March 2001.<sup>62</sup> In May 2001, the US Secretary of State Colin Powell announced \$43 million economic aid for the Taliban government.<sup>63</sup> In July 2001, the US Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia Christina Rocca met the Taliban officials in Islamabad and told about this aid package. Ishtiaq Ahmad commented that Taliban used this money without any accountability. However this US cautious engagement with Taliban also remained unproductive to set a new harmonious start in their relations.<sup>64</sup>

## **Operation Enduring Freedom**

The terrorist attacks in New York and Washington on September 11, 2001 set a new wave of terrorism against the United States. The horrible attacks left a profound impact of panic within the country. This surprise terrorist incident entered the United States in a war like situation. President Bush remarked that American were "at war with a new and different kind of enemy."<sup>65</sup> Osama bin Laden was held as a prime suspect for these horrific attacks on America. Consequently the US government came up with an agenda to fight against this menace of international terrorism and vowed to hunt down terrorists, mainly bin Laden. Declaring a war against international terrorism, President Bush vowed:

We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbour them. We are at war and we will stay at war until this is done. Nothing else matters. Every thing is available for the pursuit of this war. Any barriers in your way, they are gone. Any money you need, you have it. This is our only agenda.<sup>66</sup>

The preparations for war on international terrorism brought the whole world together on one platform. The United States built an international coalition through a greater global activism. This international coalition consisted of 100 countries which offered the United States all-out support according to their capabilities and resources. Pentagon developed a military strategy to fight against terrorists that finally explained:

America would use all its resources to eliminate terrorism as a threat, punish those responsible for the 9/11 attacks, hold states and other actors responsible for providing sanctuary to terrorists, work with a coalition to eliminate terrorist groups and networks, and avoid malice toward any people, religion, or culture.<sup>67</sup>

President Bush and his 'war council'<sup>68</sup> reviewed the military plan against Afghanistan at Camp David on September 15-16 and decided to develop it more.<sup>69</sup> During the same day the US government sent a message to the Taliban government for cooperation to extradite bin Laden and other wanted terrorists and demolish the Al-Qaeda camps. This message was conveyed to Taliban leaders by Pakistan's ISI Chief Lieutenant General Mahmood Ahmed. The Taliban response was not positive. Consequently on September 21, President Bush delivered an ultimatum to the Taliban government. The ultimatum contained the following demands.

1. Deliver to US authorities all of the Al-Qaeda's leaders who hide in your country.
2. Release all foreign nationals, including American citizens you have unlawfully and unjustly imprisoned.
3. Protect foreign journalists, diplomats and aid workers in Afghanistan.
4. Close immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan. And hand over every terrorist and every person and their support structure to appropriate authorities.
5. Give the United States full access to terrorist training camps, so we can make sure they are no longer operating.<sup>70</sup>

President Bush said that "the Taliban must act and act immediately. They will hand over the terrorists or they will share in their fate." Bush warned that the demands "are not open to negotiation or discussion."<sup>71</sup> The Taliban rejected the ultimatum. The Ambassador of Afghanistan in Pakistan Mullah Abdul Saleem Zaeef said in a news conference in Islamabad: "This is not possible. There is



no change in our stand towards Osama.”<sup>72</sup> The Taliban response turned down last hope for some betterment. The US government immediately curbed the financial resources of the Al-Qaeda and all other terrorist organizations. In this regard President Bush signed an executive order on September 24, 2001 that froze the assets of terrorist organizations and individuals who supported them. Signing the executive order, President Bush said:

A major thrust of our war on terrorism began with the stroke of a pen. Today, we have launched a strike on the financial foundation of the global terror network. ... This executive order means that United States banks that have assets of these groups or individuals must freeze their accounts. And United States citizens or businesses are prohibited from doing business with them. ... We are putting banks and financial institutions around the world on notice, we will work with their governments, ask them to freeze or block terrorists' ability to access funds in foreign accounts. If they fail to help us by sharing information or freezing accounts, the Department of the Treasury now has the authority to freeze their bank's assets and transactions in the United States.<sup>73</sup>

Commenting on this executive order, the US Secretary of Treasury Paul O'Neill said: "This order is a notice to financial institutions around the world, if you have any involvement in the financing of the Al-Qaeda organization, you have two choices: cooperate in this fight, or we will freeze your US assets; we will punish you for providing the resources that make these evil acts possible."<sup>74</sup> The Secretary of State Colin Powell said: "The campaign has begun. We are going after Al-Qaeda. We are going after terrorism. And this is an indication of how we are going to use all the elements of our national and international power to do it. Terrorists require a financial infrastructure. They require safe heavens. They require places that will get succor and comfort. We are going after all of them in every way that we can."<sup>75</sup> Meanwhile President Bush approved military plan to launch attack on Afghanistan. Basically the code name of operation in Afghanistan was 'Infinite Justice' that was later changed with 'Enduring Freedom.'<sup>76</sup> This military plan was divided in four phases:

1. In first phase, the international coalition forces would move to enter in Afghanistan through the neighboring countries like



Pakistan and Uzbekistan.

2. In second phase, air strikes and raids would hit the main targets of Al-Qaeda and Taliban. CIA and Special Operations Forces would operate jointly with collaboration of anti-Taliban faction.
3. In third phase, the "decisive operations" would be carried out to overthrow the Taliban regime and eliminate the Al-Qaeda's safe heaven in Afghanistan.
4. In fourth phase, the "security and stability operations" would be carried out for the stability and reconstruction of Afghanistan.<sup>77</sup>

The whole gamut of success of Operation Enduring Freedom depended on the CIA achievements in the area. CIA started its covert operation in Afghanistan and by September 26, 2001 the CIA's first covert paramilitary team formally called as the 'Northern Afghanistan Liaison Team' (NALT) with codename 'Jawbreaker' entered in Afghanistan with an task of making way for the international coalition forces in Afghanistan with coordination of the Northern Alliance forces.<sup>78</sup>

The Jawbreaker team contacted with the Northern Alliance leaders including the commander of Northern Alliance forces General Mohammed Fahim and the Alliance Foreign Minister Dr. Abdullah Abdullah and convinced them for cooperation with the US invading forces.<sup>79</sup> The commitment of Northern Alliance leaders opened ways for Jawbreaker team's achievements in Afghanistan. It relocated an airfield in the Northern Alliance territory for use of supplies to anti-Taliban forces and it also got "frontline surveys of the Taliban and Al-Qaeda forces, getting exact geographic coordinates-precise GPS (Global Positioning System) readings."<sup>80</sup>

The success of the CIA covert operation tremendously encouraged the US war planners to go ahead with their strategy of an attack on Afghanistan and change of regime in Kabul. Before launching the 'Operation Enduring Freedom,' a message was dispatched to the US bases and stations in Pakistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan which were in full collaboration with CIA men in Afghanistan to operate secret assets and sources there. The message headed "Military Strategy" clearly communicated the US concerns:

We are fighting for the CT (counterterrorist) objectives in the Afghan theater and although this sets high goals in every uncertain, shifting, terrain, we are also fighting for the future of CIA/DOD integrated

counterterrorism warfare around the globe. While we will make mistakes as we chart new territory and new methodology, our objectives are clear, and our concept of partnership is sound.<sup>81</sup>

The message also contained following instructions:

1. Ask all Afghan tribal allies to ground and identify all their aircraft immediately.
2. Instruct the tribals to halt all significant military movements-basically to stand down and hold in place.
3. The future plan was to have the opposition forces drive to isolate enemy forces, but to wait before moving.
4. Mobilize all assets throughout Afghanistan to start to sabotage operations immediately everywhere. This would include tossing hand grenades through Taliban offices, disrupting Taliban convoys, pinning down those moving Taliban supplies and ammunition, and generally making pests of themselves.
5. Inform all assets that paramilitary insertions would go forward in the south and be combined with more specific air strikes.
6. All would have to define about no strike zones-hospitals, and schools.
7. All tribal factions and leaders should identify and locate primary targets.
8. Assets should try to identify possible escape routes in Afghanistan for bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda leadership-and then try to set up reconnaissance of the routes for interdiction.
9. Be prepared to interrogate and exploit prisoners.
10. Assess humanitarian needs.<sup>82</sup>

By the end of September, the US forces began deployment in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Kuwait, and Diego Garcia Island.<sup>83</sup> A fourteen-ship Navy task force led by the aircraft carrier U.S.S. *Theodore Roosevelt* left Norfolk, Virginia for the Persian Gulf. A Marine Amphibious Ready Group left Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, for the Mediterranean.<sup>84</sup>

In a NSC meeting at Camp David on October 6, President Bush reviewed the preparations for war and finally gave permission for military action in Afghanistan. He said: "Go, it's well thought

through. It's the right thing to do." <sup>85</sup> On next day, coalition forces invaded Afghanistan. The attack on Afghanistan was launched from the US bases in Pakistan. <sup>86</sup> President Bush, addressing the nation on October 7 said: "On my orders the United States military has begun strikes against Al-Qaeda terrorist training camps and military installations of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan.... Our military action is also designed to clear the way for sustained, comprehensive and relentless operations to drive them (the terrorists) out and bring them justice." <sup>87</sup> The Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld laid out the six objectives of military strikes on Afghanistan. They were:

- Communicating a message to the Taliban,
- Obtaining intelligence,
- Developing relationships with the anti-Taliban factions such as the Northern Alliance,
- Making it increasingly difficult for the terrorists,
- Altering the military balance over time, and providing humanitarian relief." <sup>88</sup>

Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Richard B. Myers defined the targets of the military strikes that included "Al-Qaeda brigade, early warning radar, some command facilities used by Al-Qaeda and the Taliban, Taliban military aircraft, Taliban military airports and runways, the terrorist training camps, and several surface-to-air missile sites." <sup>89</sup>

The US and British forces attacked Taliban military targets throughout Afghanistan with bombers and cruise missiles. The strikes initially focused on the area in and around the cities of Kabul, Jalalabad, and Kandahar. Within a few days, most Al-Qaeda training sites had been severely damaged and the Taliban's military structure had been destroyed. The US military campaign then focused on the Taliban's communications and command and control system and finally the Taliban forces began losing the ability to coordinate, and their morale began to sink. A number of different technologies were employed in the strike. Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff General Richard Myers stated that approximately 50 Tomhawk cruise missiles launched by British and US submarines and ships, 15 strike aircrafts from carriers and 25 bombers, such as B-1 Lancer, B-2 Spirit, B-52 Stratofortress and F-16 Fighting Falcon were involved in



the attack. Two C17 Globemaster transport jets delivered 37,500 daily rations by airdrop to refugees inside Afghanistan on the first day of the attack.<sup>90</sup>

Consequently the coalition forces successfully started their ground operations with help of the local forces to remove the Taliban regime and smoke out Al-Qaeda. By November 9, 2001 the Taliban forces surrendered the strategically important city of Mazar-i-Sharif and four days later the Taliban fled from Kabul. By early December, the US allied forces conquered the country and with the installation of transitional government of Hamid Karzai on December 22, there was impression that the Operation Enduring Freedom had entered in its fourth phase. The Afghan war was widely considered finished but war against terrorism was not over as the President Bush stated: "Afghanistan is just the beginning on the war against terror. There are other terrorists who threaten America and our friends, and there are other nations willing to sponsor them. We will not be secure as a nation until all of these threats are defeated. Across the world and across the years, we will fight these evil ones, and we will win."<sup>91</sup>

### Concluding Remarks

With the elimination of the Taliban regime, the Taliban forces have disappeared on surface but they have not been totally vanished from the scene. They are still organized. Their strongholds are still intact, particularly in the Southern part of the country. The mountainous terrains of Afghanistan provide them secret and huge hideouts. They are still equally popular among masses. Successful escape of Taliban first row leaders and Taliban's covert operations against allied forces are clear evidence of it. *Zarb-e-Momen*, a pro-Taliban weekly published from Karachi said: "Taliban are in control of major portion of Afghanistan that poses a big challenge to the Karazi government as well as America. Army, police and civil servants in the Karazi government have still close links with insurgents. Afghan people hate western culture." Newspaper further commented that in last five years, since the overthrow of the Taliban regime, Afghan society had not changed, despite introduction of new styles and trends of life but common Afghan did not accept the modernization. There was no change in his thinking and practice. Afghan people still liked Taliban and *Mujahideen*. In villages, towns and small cities of Afghanistan, the posters of Taliban and Al-Qaeda's leaders including Mullah Omar, Gulbadin Hakmatyar, and Osama

bin Laden could be seen in homes, and shops.<sup>82</sup>

With overthrow of the Taliban regime, the infrastructure of Al-Qaeda and its associated organizations in big cities of Afghanistan has been destroyed and some Al-Qaeda linked people including some second row leaders are captured but organization is still on its strong basis. Its command and control system is still intact and its main leadership is still out of reach. Many senior leaders including Osama bin Laden and Al-zawahari remain at large and continue to plan attacks against the United States, its interests, and partners. Their audiotapes contain exhortations to further violence and threaten the United States and its coalition allies.

The existence of Al-Qaeda network and reorganization of Taliban signal that terrorism is still in its full swing. There is now a general notion that the war on terror remains unproductive from Tora Bora to tribal areas of Pakistan. It is clear that the war on terrorism has made significant achievements in terms of elimination of state-sponsored sanctuaries of terrorists in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iraq but the network of terrorists is still intact. The bomb blasts in London on July 7, 2005 is its demonstration. Speaking in an interview with Sky News Television channel on October 23, 2006, a Taliban leader Mullah Amin threatened that the reorganized Taliban were determined to "export terrorism to the west."<sup>83</sup> He said the Taliban militants had large stockpiles of weapons and they were ready to hit back strongly the "foreign invaders" in Afghanistan by using the tactics put in by insurgents in Iraq like remote-controlled bombs, land mines and suicide bombers. He added that in retaliation of 2001 US-led invasion of Afghanistan, Taliban would launch attacks in Europe and kill the ordinary people there.<sup>84</sup> Taliban Supreme Commander Mullah Omar in an internet Eid message on October 23, 2006 also said that Taliban were planning to attack on people in Europe. He declared to intensify the operations against the NATO forces in Afghanistan. He also congratulated the insurgents in Iraq for their strong resistance and urged them to continue it till the retreat of America.<sup>85</sup>

Despite the elimination of safe heavens of terrorists, terrorism is still dominating the international security scene. The main cause of it is the deep rooted *Jehadi* culture prevailed in Pakistan and Afghanistan and Iraq. During the Afghans' *Jihad* against the Soviets' illegal occupation of their country in 1980s, the *Jehadi* culture in the region was swiftly developed and nurtured. Pakistan as a front line state had organized this *Jehadi* campaign with support of the United



States. Under this *Jihadi* movement, a vast number of seminaries and militant organizations were established in Pakistan where Pakistani and Afghani young people who had taken refuge in Pakistan and youngsters from other Muslim countries were educated and trained for *Jihad* in Afghanistan. This *Jihadi* campaign successfully had a deep impact on the common man approach, who had to be finally devoted to *Jihad*. The victory of *Jihadi* organizations in Afghanistan against the Soviet forces had a profound impact on whole Muslim world and as a result of that the *Jihadi* approach swiftly prevailed. Afterward this *Jihadi* spirit unfortunately was exploited by Al-Qaeda and its associate groups as well as some opportunist war lords for their own purposes.

The Islamic radical groups obsessed by religious zeal posed new challenges to the United States and carried out terrorist activities against it in the name of *Jihad*. The menace of terrorism soon threatened the international security. As a result of the US counterterrorism measures, the removal of Taliban government and significant shift in Pakistan's pro-Taliban policy led the governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan to take several measures to curb the *Jihadi* campaign. President Musharraf government in Pakistan in particular has more liabilities in this regard and it has done a lot but deep rooted *Jihadi* culture still exists.<sup>66</sup> The Taliban leader Mullah Amin revealed in his interview with Sky News TV channel that Taliban militants were "sheltering in Pakistan and being aided by sympathetic locals."<sup>67</sup> The daily *Dawn* also claimed that Taliban had institutionalized their authority in Pakistan's tribal area of North Waziristan. They had opened sub-headquarter in Miramshah, and enforced their brand of code and taxation system in the tribal agency.<sup>68</sup> It commented: "With a parallel administration, judiciary, prison system and taxation regime taking shape, the writ of the state is conspicuous only by its absence." It added more that reappearance of Taliban did not "bode well for peace and stability in the region. This emergence of state within state needs to be looked into and checked forthwith."<sup>69</sup>



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23. Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Islam, Oil and the New Great Game in Central Asia*, p.168.
24. *Ibid*.
25. *Ibid*.
26. *Ibid*; p.172.
27. *Ibid*; pp.169, 173.
28. Nafeez Mosaddeq Ahmed.
29. Peter Symonds; Ishtiaq Ahmad, "US-Taliban Relations: Friend Turns Fiend"
30. *Timeline of Competition between Unocal and Bidas for the*

*Afghanistan Pipeline*, available at:  
[http://www.worldpress.org/specials/pp/pipeline\\_timeline.htm](http://www.worldpress.org/specials/pp/pipeline_timeline.htm)

31. *Ibid*; Ishtiaq Ahmad, "US-Taliban Relations: Friend Turns Fiend."
32. *Ibid*; Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Islam, Oil and the New Great Game in Central Asia*, p.174.
33. Ishtiaq Ahmad, "US-Taliban Relations: Friend Turns Fiend."
34. 70 missiles were fired from the US naval ship anchored in the north Arabian Sea.. The United States did not inform Pakistan prior the air strikes on Afghanistan. Wide-spread anguish erupted in Pakistan over the violation of Pakistan's air space by cruise missiles. Few missiles fell on Pakistan territory that caused the death of some Pakistani people. *Pakistan Horizon*, Karachi: Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, Vol. 51, No.4, October 1998, p.106.
35. Ahmed Rashid, *Islam, Oil and the New Great Game in Central Asia* p.75.
36. *Ibid*; pp.138-139.
37. *Ibid*; p.174.
38. *Ibid*; p.182.
39. *Presidential Executive Order-13129* July4, 1999, available at: <http://www.ict.org.il/documents/documentdet.cfm?docid=26>
40. *UN Sanctions against Taliban go into Effect*, available at: <http://www.ict.org.il/spotlight/det.cfm?id=352>
41. *UN Security Council Sanctions Meeting Resolution 1267*, August 28, 1999, available at: <http://www.afghan-network.net/Culture/resolution1267.html>
42. *Press Release, S/C 6739*, available at: <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/1999/19991015.sc6739.doc.html>
43. Kenneth Katzman, '*Terrorism: Near Eastern Groups and State Sponsors, 2001*,' *Congressional Research Service*, Washington, D.C; 2001, available at: <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB55/crs20010910.pdf>



44. *Patterns of Global Terrorism 2000*, Annual Report on Terrorism, the US Department of State, April 2001.
45. *United Nations Security Council Resolution 1333*, December 19, 2000, available at: <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/806/62/PDF/N0080662.pdf?OpenElement>
46. See website [http://www.institute-for-afghan-studies.org/UNITED%20NATIONS/SANCTIONS/reaction\\_to\\_2000\\_sanctions.htm#Annan%20Against%20Kabul%20Sanctions](http://www.institute-for-afghan-studies.org/UNITED%20NATIONS/SANCTIONS/reaction_to_2000_sanctions.htm#Annan%20Against%20Kabul%20Sanctions)
47. *US Ambassador Soderberg's speech on UN sanctions against Taliban*, available at: <http://www.usemb-ashgabat.usia.co.at/archive/pr22.html>
48. Nafeez Mosaddeq Ahmed,
49. Paul Thomson, *The terror Timeline*, New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2004, p.119.
50. *Ibid*; p.121; Amin Saikal, p.228; *Jane's Intelligence Review*, March 15, 2001, reported that the United States was collaborating with Russia, India and Iran for "a concerted front against Afghanistan's Taliban regime." India supplied the Northern Alliance with weapons, technicians, and advisers. Both India and Russia were using bases in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan for accomplishment of the operation for providing support to the anti-Taliban forces.
51. Nafeez Mosaddeq Ahmed.
52. Paul Thompson, p.334.
53. *Ibid*; p.336.
54. *Washington Post*, December 19, 2000.
55. Nafeez Mosaddeq Ahmed.
56. *The 9/11 Commission Report*, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, p.183.
57. Paul Thompson, p.249.
58. *Ibid*; p.207.
59. *Ibid*.

60. Paul Thompson, pp.249, 252.
61. *The 9/11 Commission Report*, p.214.
62. *Washington Post*, October 29,2001.
63. Paul Thompson, p. 121.
64. Ishtiaq Ahmad, "US-Taliban Relations: Friend turns Fiend."
65. *The 9/11 Commission Report*, p.330.
66. *President Bush's speech to the emergency meeting of the US National Security Council on September 11, 2001*; Paul Thompson, p.468.
67. *The 9/11 Commission Report*, p.332.
68. War Council included Vice President Dick Cheney, Secretary of State Collin Powell, Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld, Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Richard Myers, CIA Director George Tenet, FBI Director Robert Mueller, Attorney General Ashcroft, National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice, and President's Chief of Staff Andrew Card.
69. *The 9/11 Commission Report*, p.332.
70. *President Bush's address to a joint session of Congress on Thursday night, September 20, 2001*, available at: <http://archives.cnn.com/2001/US/09/20/gen.bush.transcript/>
71. *Ibid.*
72. *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, September 22, 2001.
73. *Remarks by the President George Bush on Executive Order*, September 24, 2001, available at: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010924-4.html#>
74. *Remarks by the Secretary of Treasury Paul O'Neill on Executive Order*, September 24, 2001, available at: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010924-4.html#>
75. *Ibid.*
76. Bob Woodward, *Bush at War*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002, p.337.

77. *Ibid*; pp.337-338.
78. *Ibid*; p.143.
79. *Ibid*; p.155.
80. *Ibid*; pp.190-191.
81. *Ibid*; p. 202.
82. *Ibid*; pp.201-202.
83. Paul Thompson, p. 337.
84. See Website: <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/pubs/fs/5889.htm>
85. Bob Woodward, p.204.
86. *London Times*, London, October15, 2001.
87. Bob Woodward, p.209.
88. *Ibid*; pp.209-210.
89. *Ibid*; p. 210.
90. The military campaign was led by US General Tommy Franks. "US Invasion of Afghanistan," available at: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/U.S.\\_invasion\\_of\\_Afghanistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/U.S._invasion_of_Afghanistan)
91. Bob Woodward, p. 338.
92. *Zarb-e-Momen*, weekly, Karachi, June 16, 2006.
93. *The News International Pakistan*, available at: [http://thenews.jang.com.pk/arc\\_default.asp](http://thenews.jang.com.pk/arc_default.asp)
94. *Ibid*.
95. *Dawn*, Lahore, October 24, 2006.
96. President Musharraf has called for a "Jihad against extremism." He has taken numerous measures including a crackdown on militant organizations, ban on hate materials and provoking speeches by religious leaders, eviction of foreign students from madrassas, and new registration and audit of financial activities of madrassas.
97. *The News International Pakistan*.
98. *Dawn*, October 23, 2006.
99. *Ibid*; October 26, 2006.



# RAINFALL VARIABILITY AND ITS IMPACT ON SOME SELECTED CROPS OF PUNJAB-PAKISTAN 1973-2003

*Safdar Ali Shirazi, Farheen Zahid and M.H Bokhari*

## **Abstract:**

*The greatest part of mankind is busy in agriculture and directly and indirectly relates with agriculture. Leaving aside the snow bounds tundra, mountain and deserts region of world, agriculture everywhere is an important occupation but climates effects different on agriculture with the change of region. Often the linkages between climatic factors and production losses are obvious, but sometimes the linkages are less direct. The impacts of climatic change on agricultural production are global concerns today, and they are very important for Punjab (a province of Pakistan). Agriculture is the single most and the largest sector of Pakistan's economy which accounts for 20.9% of the GDP and employees 43.4 % of total work force. Agriculture in Punjab is already under pressure both from huge and increasing demands for food, and from problems of water logging and salinity and water resources depletion. The prospect of global climate change makes the issue particularly urgent. As climate largely define the global limits for vegetation, so it sets limits for production of crops and forage, which are the primary bases of today's world food supplies. General aspects of climatic influence on food production have been known for centuries. The impacts of climatic factors on crops are closely interrelated and each is modified by the other. In present study monthly rainfall data from the period during 1973 2003 have been collected from Pakistan Meteorology Department, for six districts/ stations widely distributed in Punjab. Keeping in view the availability of data, only the rainfall is selected. Two cereal (wheat, rice) and two cash crops (cotton, sugarcane) have been selected to identify the impact of rainfall as a climatic variable on the agriculture of Punjab.*

## **Introduction:**

The present study is based on one important climatic element i.e. precipitation (rainfall) and its influence on the agriculture of

Punjab. For agricultural point of view precipitation is by far one of the most important of all the climatic factors. Agriculture is essentially a combination of processes designed by man to promote plant growth in semi controlled environment. Among the elements temperature, rainfall and sunshine are directly involved in various stages of plant growth from germination to grain formation<sup>1</sup>. Second important element that provides the bases for this study is precipitation. Precipitation is the water liquid or solid forms falling to the earth. It is always preceded by condensation or sublimation or combination of the two, and primarily associated with rising air. The common precipitation forms are rain, drizzle, snow and hail. According to the physical state of falling water. The most common form of precipitation is rain, which falls from clouds formed in rising air when the temperature at least at lower level, is above 0°C. Raindrops that reach the ground range from less than 1mm to 5mm in diameters<sup>2</sup>. Keeping in view the climatic situation and data availability of the study area only one type of precipitation i.e "rainfall" has been selected for the analysis. In Pakistan data published by Meteorology Department as precipitation is available in the form of rainfall.

Pakistan is an arid and semi arid land. From agriculture point of view rainfall is by far one of the most important climatic factors. It has been the most important source of water supply as it is available everywhere irrespective of orography and relief. But in Punjab, except a narrow strip in the submountance Himalayas. Rainfall is generally low and deficient in amount and is unequally distributed throughout the years as well as within the same rainy season. Sometime it is not available precisely at the time when it is required in Punjab. It is variable from year to year and it is liable to failure and serious deficiency in some years. In the race between population and food supplies even minor fluctuations of climate over a few years could lead to widespread malnutrition and starvation<sup>3</sup>. Agriculture in Punjab is closely linked to the rest of the country. In Punjab, the major crops are wheat, cotton, rice, sugarcane. Kharif and Rabi of the main crop seasons. The Kharif season starts from April June and ends in October December while Rabi season starts from October December and ends in April May. "The actual distribution of the crop plants is determined by the combined influence of physiography, economic, social, technological and historic forces, but no crop can attain importance in agricultural system unless it is adapted to prevailing environment condition"<sup>4</sup>.

In Punjab, the climatic impact on agriculture is most



important because it is an area of high temperature, dry climate, thunder and storms, and effects the production of crops. The performance of agriculture in Punjab has been unsatisfactory, which is chiefly attributable to traditional methods of cultivation, lack of information about the natural disaster, unexpected rain and extreme weather events. The relationship between the climate and agriculture creates new horizon for the research and high yield purposes. The influence of climatic elements does not end on the fields of the farmers, but impact in large extent on agriculture production and economic development of the Punjab where the food demands are increasing day by day with the increase in population. For achieving this study of rainfall as a climatic parameter and its impact on agriculture is very fruitful for the future needs of the country.

### **Methodology:**

Weather records are the results of years of observations and analysis and yield information on climate which is essential to economic planners, agricultural scientists and other technical specialists. For more immediate use, however observations from the world network of station are exchanged between the countries of the world by high-speed telecommunication system<sup>1</sup>. It is therefore essential that more research be done in the view of the fact that Punjab is thickly populated province of Pakistan, it is very necessary to study the climatic elements such as rainfall/precipitation and its impact on the agriculture productivity in Punjab.

At present there are more than 80 observatories in Pakistan, which are recording temperature, rainfall, and cloud amount data. In present study monthly rainfall data from the period during 1973-2003 have been collected from Pakistan Meteorological Department, for six districts/ stations widely distributed in Punjab. Keeping in view the availability of data, only the rainfall is selected. Two cereal (wheat, rice) and two cash crops (cotton, sugarcane) have been selected to identify the impact of rainfall as a climatic variable on the agriculture. For four crops, six sample areas have been selected for wheat, Faisalabad and Sargodha districts. For rice Lahore and Sialkot, for cotton Multan and Bahawalpur, for sugarcane crop Faisalabad and Sargodha districts. Analysis of meteorological parameters, the data used for the investigation of meteorological parameters are correlation analysis have been made between the crop yield and rainfall by using parametric Pearson's Correlation Coefficient in order to detect possible causes of monthly variability



and the trends in rainfall data. Therefore average rainfall can be poor measure of the most commonly occurring total rainfall. Contrary the data processing for the rainfall data series, rainfall data has been manipulated by the following Percentile method.

Percentiles report just what percentage of that distribution fall below the individual score, the percentile change is computed by the formula<sup>6</sup>.

$$P.C (R1/R2 * 100) 100$$

P.C = Percentage change.

\*R1 = Rainfall of district for first period.

R2 = Rainfall of district for second period.

### **The Area of Study:**

The macro area selected for the present study is the Punjab, which has a great significance since it is a Pakistan's leading province in both population and agriculture. In present study six micro/sample districts have been selected from Punjab viz; Faisalabad, Sargodha, Multan, Bahawalpur, Sialkot and Lahore.

### **Analysis and Findings:**

The rainfall is more variable on temporal as well as spatial basis than temperature. In recent years, contemporary changes in earth's climate have become the focus of scientific effort in many aspects. These changes gain particular significance in view of the possible effects, owing to human interference in the natural environmental processes<sup>7</sup>. Numerous studies have been made on global, hemispheric and continental-scale, temperature and precipitation changes, and are critically reviewed in Ellsaesser et al (1986). Though precipitation is an important climatic element and prominent indicator of climatic change<sup>8</sup>. Bradley et al (1987) have studied the precipitation fluctuations over Northern Hemisphere land areas since the mid-nineteenth century and found significant increase in mid-latitude precipitation and concurrent decrease in low-latitude precipitation over the last 30-40 years. Though the causal mechanisms for such changes are still open for discussion, the fact remains that the long-term changes in precipitation have important socio-economic consequences, particularly on regional scale<sup>9</sup>. In a study of last 100 years rainfall data for Karachi, Naqvi (1958) suggested that a line drawn through normal values for the periods ending 1886, 1890, 1900, 1920 and 1940 indicating a raising trend

but he did not claim that this was significant<sup>30</sup>. At least two hundred years analysis (1782-1985) of precipitation variation has been conducted recently in Rome. It has studied the variations of annual data and seasonal precipitation, finding two moist periods one from 1803 to 1826 and another from 1872 to 1942. A dry period occurred in between and another from 1943 to 1985<sup>31</sup>.

### Analysis of Rainfall Trends and Variabilities:

In present study, the annual rainfall and selected crops seasons rainfall of six districts have been used for the analysis during the period from 1973-2003.

**Table -1**

### Rainfall Trends per Decade for Wheat, Rice, Cotton and Sugarcane Crop Series

Source: Data collected and computed from Pakistan Meteorology

District	Annual	Sowing season	Ripen season	Crop season
Rainfall trend per decade for Wheat crop				
Faisalabad	-9.62%	-11.34%	-9.32%	-12.85%
Sargodha	4.31%	10.87%	8.73%	5.96%
Rainfall trend per decade for Rice crop				
Lahore	-5.97%	1.25%	2.66%	-1.11%
Sialkot	2.65%	-13.14%	20.62%	1.64%
Rainfall trend per decade for Sugarcane crop				
Faisalabad	-9.62%	-5.97%	-1.13%	-7.10%
Sargodha	4.31%	-12.58%	3.56%	0.66%
Rainfall trend per decade for Cotton crop				
Multan	-2.80%	-7.54%	-33.23%	-2.20%
Bahawalpur	-26.48%	-22.23%	-55.00%	-39.61%

Department.

Table -2

**Annual and Rice Seasons Percentile Rainfall Variabilities at Sialkot District during 1973-2003.**

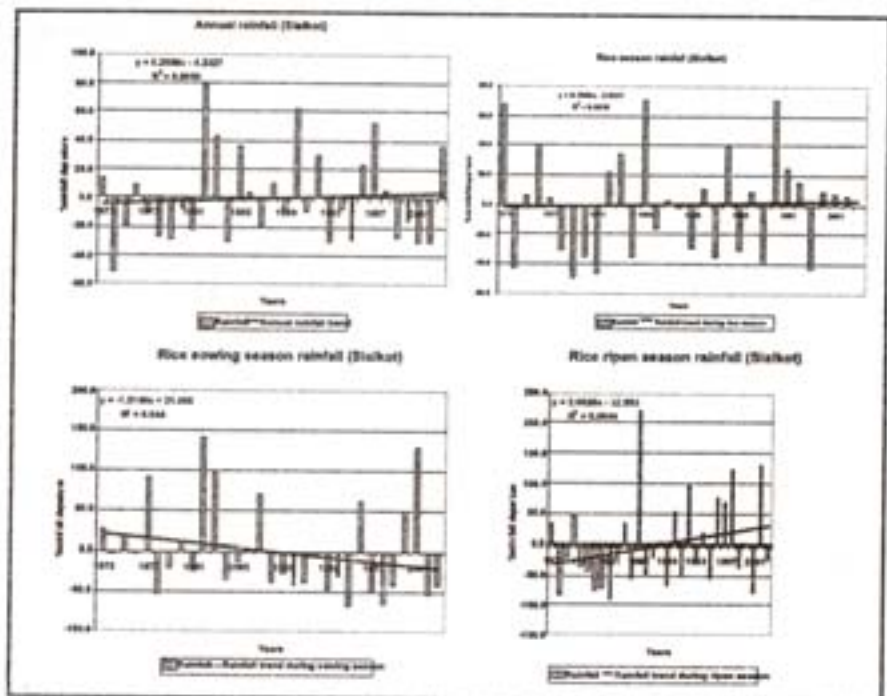
Year	Percentile Rainfall Variability			
	Annual	Sowing season	Ripen season	Rice season
1973	13.4	25.5	35.3	66.5
1974	-52.0	-2.4	-83.8	-43.1
1975	-21.1	17.5	-19.5	5.1
1976	9.0	-4.3	44.2	39.9
1977	-10.0	90.3	-36.4	4.7
1978	-26.8	-53.9	-44.1	-30.0
1979	-28.8	-20.1	-74.5	-49.3
1980	-6.9	9.9	-72.5	-34.8
1981	-21.3	-22.5	-88.7	-45.4
1982	78.9	140.9	-25.1	22.2
1983	42.5	97.8	34.1	34.0
1984	-30.1	-34.5	-55.8	-35.4
1985	35.7	-11.6	221.7	70.4
1986	4.3	4.0	-48.8	-16.6
1987	-21.0	69.4	-19.2	2.9
1988	11.0	-38.1	4.4	-2.5
1989	-8.1	-26.0	-68.6	-28.4
1990	61.6	-41.5	54.5	10.7
1991	-9.8	-38.2	-48.2	-35.7
1992	30.1	-6.6	95.8	38.8
1993	-30.5	-46.9	-27.0	-31.0
1994	-6.7	-28.8	17.3	8.5
1995	-28.9	-69.0	-56.0	-39.6
1996	23.6	62.1	75.4	69.9
1997	52.2	-48.3	70.1	24.0
1998	5.4	-66.2	123.0	16.0
1999	-26.7	-40.3	-35.2	-43.4
2000	-15.0	50.0	-1.6	9.0
2001	-29.5	128.2	-78.3	6.8
2002	-30.5	-52.6	131.8	6.3
2003	36.4	-43.1	-24.1	-0.2

Source: Data collected and computed from Pakistan Meteorology Department.



Fig.1

Annual and Rice Seasons Percentile Rainfall Variability at Sialkot District during 1973-2003



Source: As a table 2

Table-3

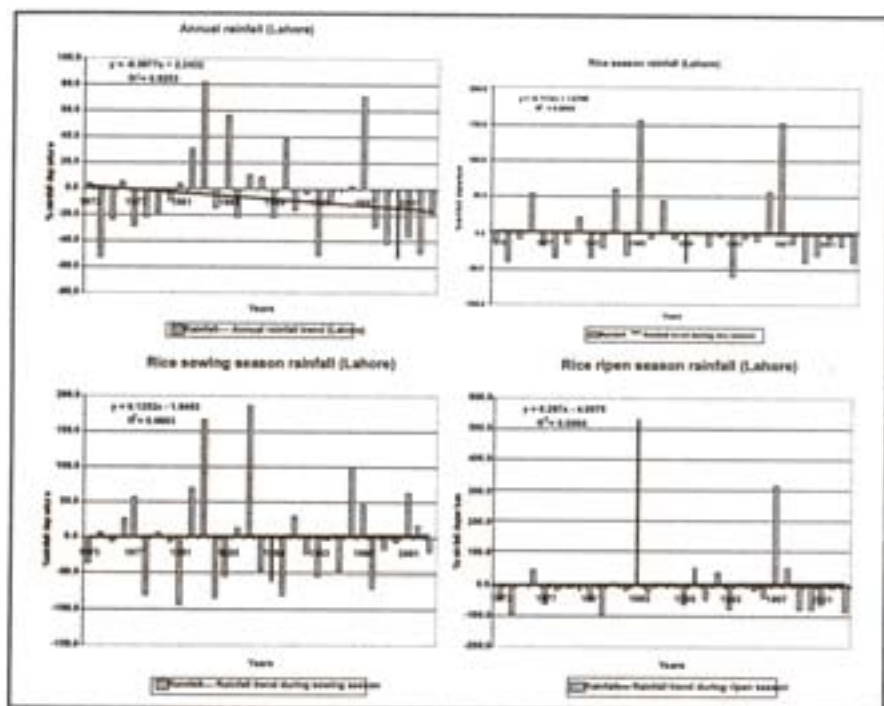
**Annual and Rice Seasons Percentile Rainfall Variability at  
Lahore District during 1973 - 2003.**

Year	Percentile rainfall variability			
	Annual	Sowing season	Ripen season	Rice season
1973	3.4	-38.4	-49.0	-13.4
1974	-53.4	5.7	-92.3	-40.2
1975	-24.7	-5.9	-2.5	-8.4
1976	4.7	26.0	41.1	55.1
1977	-28.6	56.3	-67.7	-17.8
1978	-22.3	-79.7	-21.2	-36.2
1979	-20.4	6.8	-9.2	-14.9
1980	-9.6	-8.3	-21.3	19.4
1981	2.7	-92.5	-49.3	-34.8
1982	29.7	70.6	-100.0	-20.4
1983	81.6	168.3	2.9	59.4
1984	-14.5	-83.7	-21.3	-31.2
1985	56.3	-54.5	526.5	155.9
1986	-22.2	13.7	-24.6	-8.0
1987	10.1	185.4	6.2	43.6
1988	8.9	-47.6	6.3	-7.0
1989	-22.2	-60.5	-66.6	-41.3
1990	37.4	-79.7	50.5	-3.3
1991	-16.9	31.3	-46.5	-18.7
1992	-3.9	-22.4	38.2	-3.9
1993	-51.7	-55.0	-81.1	-61.7
1994	-11.8	-2.0	5.3	-8.7
1995	-2.7	-46.3	-19.2	-12.7
1996	2.2	99.9	-43.1	56.5
1997	71.2	46.2	314.0	152.5
1998	-29.4	-69.2	51.9	-15.5
1999	-42.6	-17.5	-81.8	-42.1
2000	-52.3	-6.2	-81.7	-30.7
2001	-36.1	64.7	-61.0	-9.4
2002	-49.9	15.0	-10.9	-19.5
2003	-19.9	-18.8	-87.2	-39.7

Source: Data collected and computed from Pakistan Meteorology Department.

Fig.2

Annual and Rice Seasons Percentile Rainfall Trends and Variability at Lahore District during 1973-2003



Source: As in table 3



### **Analysis of Individual District for Rice Crop Series:**

At Sialkot district annual rainfall departure noted during the period of 1973 to 2003. Annual rainfall trend shows a little increase in the rainfall. Annual rainfall trend per decade for rice crop has been found 2.655%, which have been shown in Table 1. During sowing, ripen and total crop season rainfall trend per decade for rice crop is 13.1%, 20.6% and 1.64% maximum increase has been found in sowing season 140.9% in 1982 and maximum decrease has been observed in 1995 of 69.0%. During ripen season maximum increase has been noticed in 1985 of 221.7% and maximum decrease has been observed 88.7% in rainfall departure. Total crop season of rice shows maximum increase in 1996. This has been shown in table 1.

Rice crop season percentile rainfall variability at Lahore district. At Lahore district, rainfall variability has been shown in Table 1 which shows the trend per decade for rice crops- 5.97% for annual rainfall the maximum increase has been observed in annual rainfall 56.3% in 1985 and maximum decrease has been found 53.4% in 1974. During sowing, ripen, and total crop season trend per decade has been found 1.25%, 2.66% and 1.11% respectively which has been shown in Table 1, during sowing season maximum increase has noticed 185.4% in 1987 maximum decrease has observed 92.5% in 1981. Rainfall departure during ripen season is 526.6% in 1985 and maximum decrease has been found 100% in 1982. In total crop season rainfall variability is also analyzed, maximum increase has been found in 1985 of 155.9% and maximum decrease is 61.7%, 1993 which has been shown in Fig 2.

Table-4

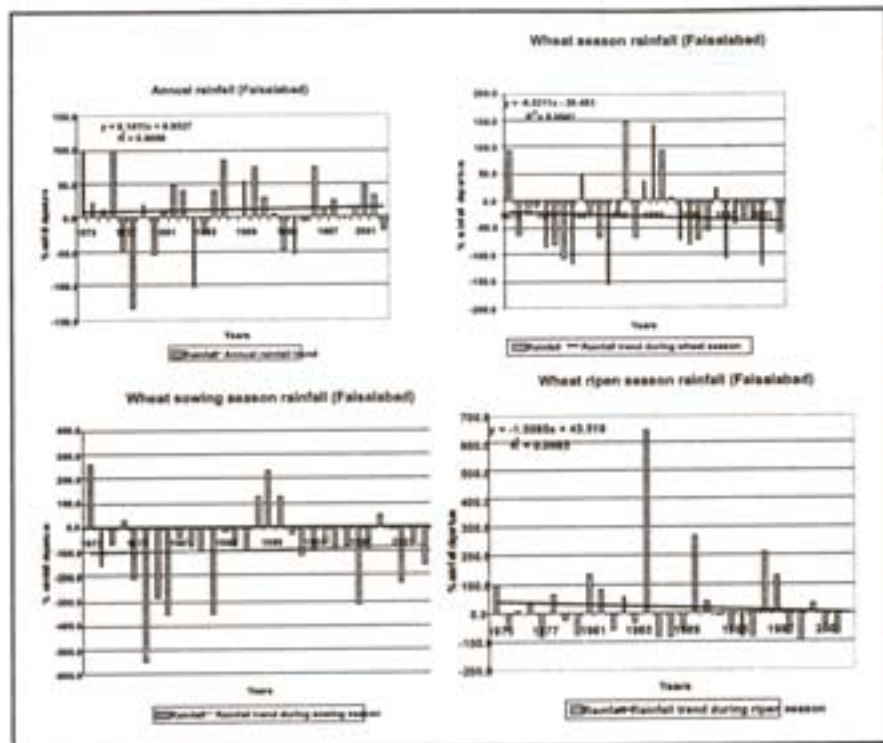
Annual and Wheat Seasons Percentile Rainfall Variability at Faisalabad District during 1973- 2003.

Year	Percentile Rainfall Variability			
	Annual	Sowing season	Ripen season	Wheat season
1973	0.5	48.8	46.4	1.7
1974	-28.8	-58.2	-66.0	-26.5
1975	-22.2	-86.5	-8.3	-35.9
1976	19.6	30.3	19.5	-16.6
1977	-20.3	-52.0	-86.3	-28.9
1978	11.4	35.9	34.1	126.5
1979	100.7	95.5	-37.0	29.6
1980	32.1	122.4	-85.2	59.7
1981	8.9	-40.0	97.5	43.3
1982	94.5	245.9	57.8	96.2
1983	-1.3	-100.0	-63.5	-69.7
1984	-11.9	34.2	43.8	-10.6
1985	-16.0	78.9	-48.4	6.7
1986	-30.1	-79.5	454.8	98.1
1987	40.6	-100.0	-89.7	-67.3
1988	-31.8	-5.1	-89.8	-14.3
1989	-12.1	39.4	-63.0	68.2
1990	29.0	-8.0	235.4	38.7
1991	-5.0	-67.5	27.4	-9.1
1992	-8.3	-90.5	-19.1	-64.7
1993	-53.3	-100.0	-65.1	-81.6
1994	-53.3	-54.7	-82.7	-70.2
1995	-67.9	-93.3	-89.3	-59.4
1996	-25.6	-73.9	159.6	10.5
1997	189.0	543.5	102.5	209.6
1998	-11.5	-87.4	-82.8	-45.0
1999	-2.9	105.0	-99.1	-6.9
2000	-55.1	-77.2	16.6	-55.9
2001	-23.0	-63.7	-56.1	-65.0
2002	-32.3	-55.7	-85.3	4.0
2003	-9.8	-83.0	0.0	-31.1

Source: Data collected and computed from Pakistan Meteorology Department.

Fig.3

Annual and Wheat Seasons Percentile Rainfall Trends and Variability at Faisalabad District during 1973-2003



Source: As in table 4



Table-5

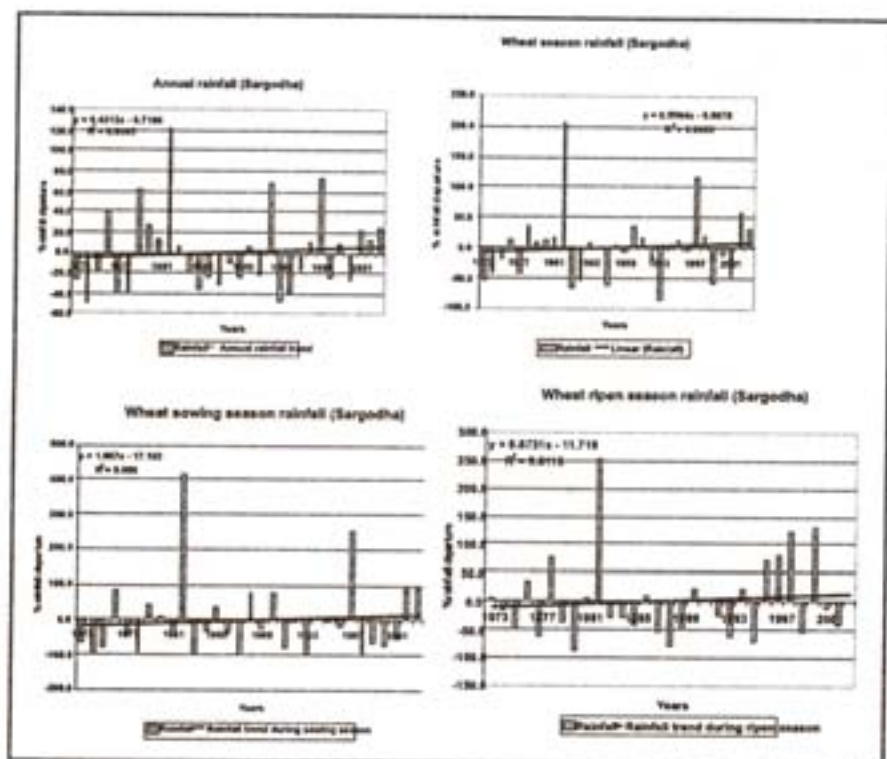
**Annual and Wheat Crop Seasons Percentile Rainfall Variability at Sargodha District during 1973-2003.**

Year	Percentile Rainfall Variability			
	Annual	Sowing season	Ripen season	Wheat season
1973	-27.2	-63.5	3.6	-52.3
1974	-48.6	-94.2	-16.6	-44.0
1975	-17.6	-80.4	-43.1	-18.2
1976	41.7	82.6	36.7	10.6
1977	-40.1	-42.1	-63.4	-40.8
1978	-39.2	-93.0	76.7	37.0
1979	60.6	45.9	-35.5	7.8
1980	25.8	12.1	-85.1	12.2
1981	12.5	-33.6	4.2	15.1
1982	121.4	414.7	252.4	207.5
1983	6.6	-99.7	-28.7	-65.5
1984	-20.1	-29.9	-26.8	-52.3
1985	-35.7	38.1	-38.7	8.7
1986	-23.6	-35.3	11.6	0.0
1987	-30.4	-100.0	-52.1	-61.0
1988	-11.4	76.1	-77.9	2.5
1989	-23.9	-23.4	-43.6	-6.0
1990	6.6	75.2	24.0	34.7
1991	-21.3	-80.8	0.1	15.7
1992	68.2	-5.9	-24.7	-19.2
1993	-46.3	-96.5	-61.9	-83.5
1994	-38.2	4.5	22.8	-3.6
1995	-16.9	-1.2	-70.4	13.9
1996	11.1	-19.2	74.4	-3.6
1997	73.0	250.9	81.3	115.2
1998	-24.4	-96.7	121.2	20.4
1999	8.5	-63.9	-51.5	-56.8
2000	-26.6	-68.2	131.9	-11.4
2001	22.6	-50.9	-9.7	-47.8
2002	13.9	98.2	-41.7	58.1
2003	24.7	89.2	0.0	33.5

Source: Data collected and computed from Pakistan Meteorology Department.

Fig.4

Annual and Wheat Seasons Percentile Rainfall Trends and Variability at Sargodha District during 1973-2003



Source: As in table 5

### Analysis of Individual Districts for Wheat Crop Series:

At Faisalabad district annual rainfall shows the trend of 0.14%, maximum increase has been found in annual rainfall 189.0% and maximum decrease has been found 55.1% in 2000 in annual rainfall variability. During sowing, ripen and total crop trends are 11.340%, -1.50% and 0.53%, during sowing season maximum increase 543.5% in 1997 and maximum decrease has been found 100.0%, in ripen season maximum increase in rainfall departure 454.8% and maximum decrease 99.1% has been observed in 1999 which has been shown in Table 3, during total crop season rainfall maximum increase 209.6% and maximum decrease 81.6% in 1993 which has been shown in Fig 3.

Annual rainfall at Sargodha district, which has been plotted in (Fig.4), the annual rainfall is showing a rising trend of 4.3% maximum increase has been observed 121.4% in 1982 and maximum decrease has observed 48.6% which has been shown in Table 5. During sowing, ripen and total crops season trends are 10.8%, 8.73% and 5.9% all are showing rising trend in Table 1 during sowing season's maximum increase has been observed 414.7% in 1982 and maximum decrease has been noticed in 1987 of 100.0% in ripen season maximum increase has been found 252.4% in 1982 and maximum decrease has been observed 77.9 % in 1988 in rainfall departure. This has been shown in Fig 4.



Table-6

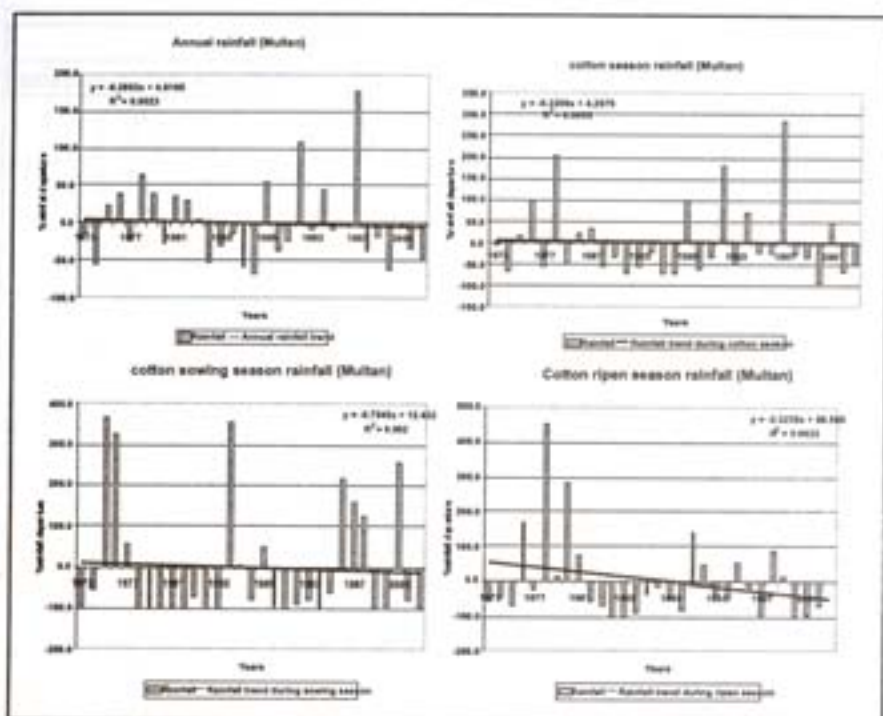
**Annual and Cotton Crop Season's Percentile Rainfall  
Variability at Multan District during 1973 - 2003.**

Year	Percentile Rainfall Variability			
	Annual	Sowing season	Ripen season	Cotton season
1973	-15.1	-100.0	-51.5	-7.9
1974	-55.1	-54.6	-47.7	-64.8
1975	24.3	365.1	-70.7	17.9
1976	39.8	325.0	166.6	96.4
1977	-25.4	53.3	-22.2	-57.7
1978	64.4	-100.0	449.7	202.6
1979	39.4	-100.0	13.5	-49.9
1980	-28.2	-100.0	282.7	23.5
1981	35.6	-100.0	76.0	32.4
1982	29.7	-100.0	-55.4	-55.9
1983	3.0	-73.7	-69.4	-34.0
1984	-52.2	-100.0	-100.0	-72.1
1985	-29.9	-100.0	-100.0	-56.5
1986	-15.9	353.3	-87.2	-24.3
1987	-57.4	0.7	-33.7	-70.6
1988	-66.6	-77.0	-10.7	-72.5
1989	55.1	52.0	-45.2	98.1
1990	-36.1	-93.4	-79.6	-59.7
1991	-23.5	-97.4	142.3	-36.2
1992	108.9	-90.1	45.4	180.6
1993	-9.7	-78.9	-33.7	-48.7
1994	44.3	-97.4	-46.4	70.2
1995	-7.8	-60.5	53.1	-21.1
1996	0.8	219.1	-14.5	-24.9
1997	177.4	156.6	-93.6	284.8
1998	-36.0	124.3	87.5	-26.6
1999	-16.6	-97.4	11.0	-35.7
2000	-62.4	-96.7	-100.0	-96.0
2001	-0.9	255.3	-94.9	47.8
2002	-33.6	-78.9	-68.1	-66.5
2003	-46.2	-97.4	0.0	-51.8

Source: Data collected and computed from Pakistan Meteorology Department

Fig.5

Annual and Cotton Season's Percentile Rainfall Trends and Variability at Multan District during 1973-2003



Source: As a table 6

Table-7

**Annual and Cotton Seasons Percentile Rainfall Variability at Bahawalpur District during 1973-2003.**

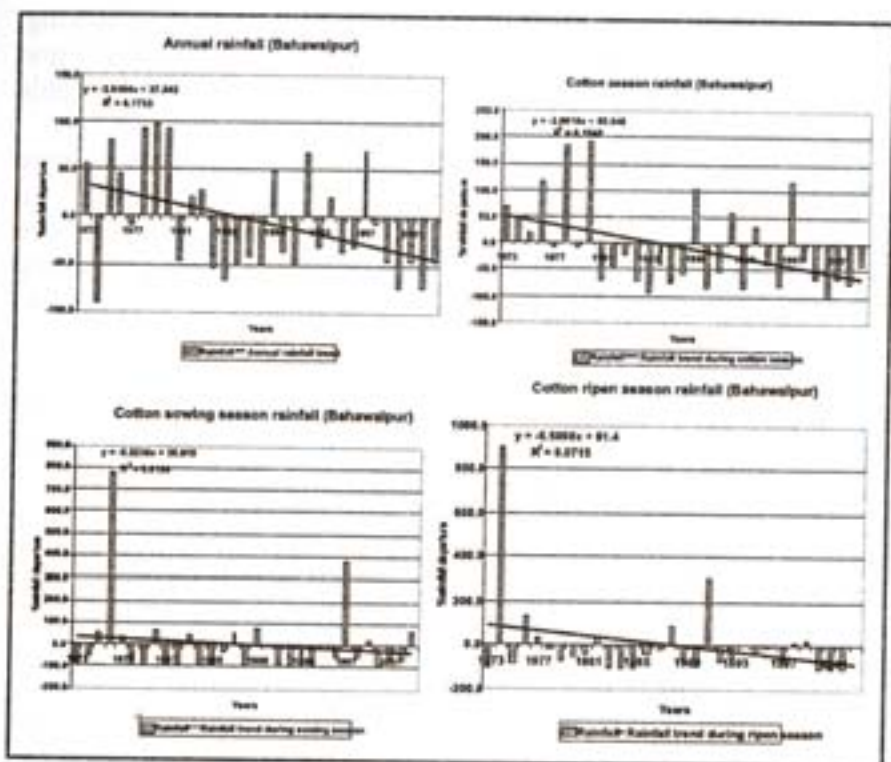
Year	Percentile Rainfall Variability			
	Annual	Sowing season	Ripen season	Cotton season
1973	56.0	-100.0	-100.0	69.9
1974	-90.3	-57.4	900.0	45.3
1975	81.8	54.1	-87.0	20.5
1976	45.7	775.8	137.0	116.8
1977	-9.5	36.4	37.0	-9.1
1978	92.7	-100.0	-24.0	182.2
1979	98.5	-95.5	-71.0	-8.6
1980	93.4	66.4	-53.0	193.4
1981	-46.9	-100.0	-42.0	-70.1
1982	20.0	-100.0	36.0	-42.1
1983	28.9	45.1	-100.0	-19.1
1984	-53.0	-100.0	-100.0	-69.4
1985	-66.7	-100.0	-100.0	-92.0
1986	-48.0	-34.7	-40.0	-36.8
1987	-42.0	53.7	-20.0	-74.0
1988	-51.4	-95.5	85.0	-58.6
1989	49.0	72.3	-70.0	101.5
1990	-36.4	4.3	-96.0	-81.4
1991	-50.0	-100.0	306.0	-54.0
1992	67.8	-100.0	-70.0	59.5
1993	-31.1	-100.0	-47.0	-84.2
1994	20.8	-90.9	-1.0	33.2
1995	-36.4	4.3	-36.0	-41.0
1996	-31.2	-53.3	-10.0	-79.7
1997	71.1	382.3	-64.0	115.6
1998	-5.1	-50.1	15.0	-29.6
1999	-46.5	26.9	20.0	-65.0
2000	-72.7	-94.1	-100.0	-99.2
2001	-47.2	-48.3	-100.0	-65.4
2002	-72.7	-68.3	-100.0	-76.2
2003	-45.0	67.7	0.0	-40.9

Source: Data collected and computed from Pakistan Meteorology Department



Fig. 6

Annual and Cotton Seasons Percentile Rainfall Trends and Variabilities at Bahawalpur District 1973-2003



Source: As in table 7

### **Analysis of Individual Districts for Cotton Crop Series:**

Annual rainfall at Multan district shows a negative trend of 2.80%, which has been shown in Table 1 maximum increase has been found 177.4% in 1997 and maximum decrease has been observed 66.6% in 1988, which has been shown in Table 5. During sowing, ripen and total crop season shows rainfall trend per decade for cotton crop are 7.5 %, -33.2% and 2.2% respectively which shown in Table 5.

During sowing season rainfall departure maximum increase is 353.3% in 1986 and maximum decrease has been found 100.0% in 1978, which has been shown in Fig 5.5 maximum decrease has been observed constantly five years during 1978 to 1982. During total crop season maximum increase 284% in 1997 and maximum decrease has been noticed 72.5% in 1988 which has been shown in Fig 6.

At Bahawalpur district annual rainfall shows a decrease trend per decade of 26.4% which has been shown in Table 1 maximum increase has found in annual rainfall 98.5% and maximum decrease has been found 90.3% which has been shown in (Figure 6) During sowing, ripen and total crop season at Bahawalpur district rainfall trend per decade are 22.2%, -55% and 39.6% respectively Table 1 has been shown the trend per decade. During sowing season maximum increase in rainfall departure 775.8% in 1976 and maximum decrease 100.0% has been observed in 1973. During ripen season maximum increase has found 900.0% while the maximum decrease also found 100.0% which has been shown in Fig 5.6 in total crop season maximum increase 193.4% in 1980 and maximum decrease has been found 99.2% in 2000.

Table-8

Annual and Sugarcane Seasons Percentile Rainfall Variabilities at Sargodha District during 1973-2003.

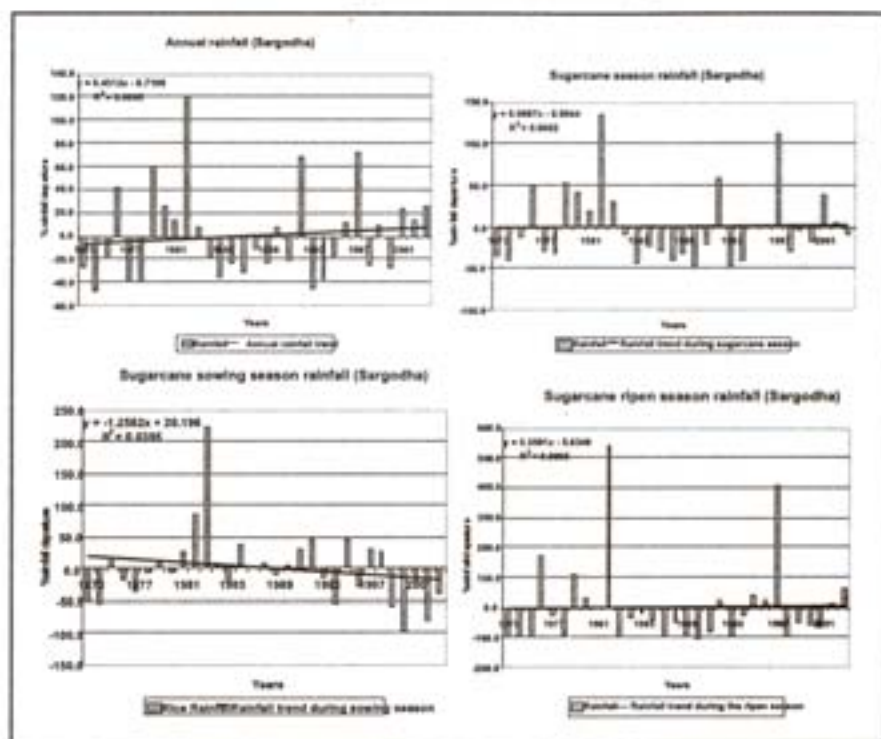
Year	Percentile rainfall variability			
	Annual	Sowing season	Ripen season	Sugarcane season
1973	-27.2	-49.1	-100.0	-34.5
1974	-48.6	-54.7	-100.0	-40.4
1975	-17.6	12.1	-100.0	-12.9
1976	41.7	-19.0	173.9	48.9
1977	-40.1	-37.1	-23.3	-29.2
1978	-39.2	-7.6	-89.5	-31.7
1979	60.6	11.4	108.7	51.7
1980	25.8	-6.6	29.7	40.3
1981	12.5	26.0	-0.4	18.2
1982	121.4	87.5	544.6	135.5
1983	6.6	221.5	-99.5	31.3
1984	-20.1	10.1	-35.2	-8.5
1985	-35.7	-21.3	-21.2	-43.6
1986	-23.6	39.8	-41.4	-23.2
1987	-30.4	0.6	-100.0	-28.9
1988	-11.4	6.9	-51.3	-40.5
1989	-23.9	-11.0	-90.8	-32.3
1990	6.6	3.1	-104.6	-49.8
1991	-21.3	30.6	-83.7	-21.6
1992	68.2	44.8	22.9	58.7
1993	-46.3	-11.8	-94.8	-47.7
1994	-38.2	-55.6	-27.0	-38.8
1995	-16.9	45.9	40.5	3.4
1996	11.1	-28.8	19.2	1.7
1997	73.0	32.1	406.2	111.1
1998	-24.4	28.5	-95.1	-29.1
1999	8.5	-57.4	-45.8	-2.7
2000	-26.6	-98.7	-54.2	-18.0
2001	22.6	-22.2	-62.8	40.1
2002	13.9	-78.6	13.2	4.2
2003	24.7	-39.2	63.6	-9.2

Source: Data collected and computed from Pakistan Meteorology Department.



Fig. 7

**Annual and Sugarcane Seasons Percentile Rainfall Trends and Variabilities at Sargodha District during 1973-2003**



Source: As in table 8

Table-9

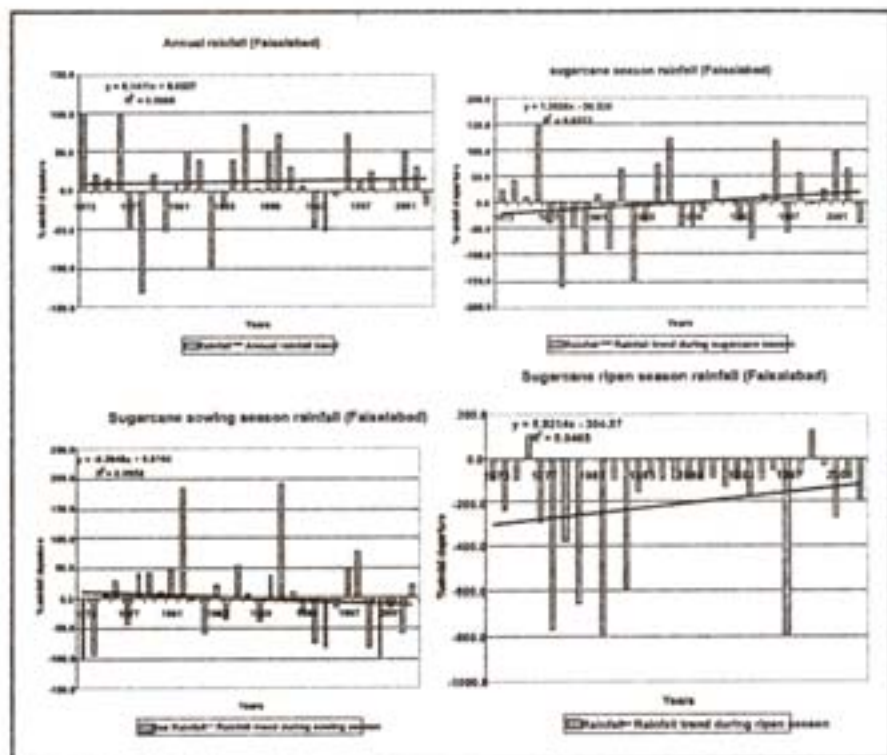
**Annual and Sugarcane Seasons Percentile Rainfall Variabilities  
at Faisalabad District during 1973-2003**

Year	Percentile Rainfall Variability			
	Annual	Sowing season	Ripen season	Sugarcane season
1973	0.5	-97.2	-100.0	-37.7
1974	-28.8	-94.3	-58.4	-17.1
1975	-22.2	5.9	-100.0	-27.8
1976	19.6	30.8	95.5	46.1
1977	-20.3	-42.2	-41.2	-0.8
1978	11.4	41.8	103.9	32.8
1979	100.7	39.8	193.3	60.5
1980	32.1	9.3	162.5	40.3
1981	8.9	47.0	-10.0	13.3
1982	94.5	185.2	115.7	66.6
1983	-1.3	-3.0	-100.0	10.5
1984	-11.9	-56.4	52.9	-10.6
1985	-16.0	20.1	99.8	-5.3
1986	-30.1	-34.4	-69.2	-21.2
1987	40.6	50.9	-100.0	63.8
1988	-31.8	4.1	-100.0	-46.7
1989	-12.1	-39.6	-100.0	-60.0
1990	29.0	35.5	-100.0	-31.5
1991	-5.0	189.6	-88.2	6.4
1992	-8.3	9.2	-90.2	-16.3
1993	-53.3	-20.7	-100.0	-43.3
1994	-53.3	-74.2	-80.4	-56.9
1995	-67.9	-83.2	-95.3	-65.7
1996	-25.6	-14.0	-60.9	-13.4
1997	189.0	48.1	715.0	224.4
1998	-11.5	77.5	-81.0	8.3
1999	-2.9	-81.9	207.5	-7.3
2000	-55.1	-98.9	-92.2	-60.2
2001	-23.0	-14.2	-49.0	-3.7
2002	-32.3	-59.4	-51.1	-15.3
2003	-9.8	20.9	-74.5	-28.3

Source: Data collected and computed from Pakistan Meteorology Department.

Fig. 8

### Annual and Sugarcane Seasons Percentile Rainfall Trends and Variabilities at Faisalabad District during 1973-2003



Source: As in table 9



## Analysis of Individual Districts for Sugarcane Crop Series:

At Sargodha district annual rainfall trend per decade is 4.31%, which has been shown in Table 1. The maximum increase in annual rainfall has found 121.4% in 1982, and maximum decrease has been found in 1974 of 48.6%, which has been shown in Fig.8. During sowing, ripen and total crops season trend per decade has found 1.25%, 0.35% and 0.06%, which has been shown in Table1. During sowing season the maximum increase in rainfall departure 221.5% in 1983 and maximum decrease 78.6% in 2002. In ripen season maximum increase has observed in 544.6% in 1982 and maximum decrease has pointed out 100.0% in the first decade total crop season the maximum increase 111.1% in 1997 and maximum decrease has been found 43.6% in 1985 which has been shown in Fig.8.

Annual rainfall at Faisalabad district shows the trend per decade which has been shown in Table 9. The maximum increase in annual rainfall departure 189.0% in 1997 and maximum decrease has been found 67.9% in 1995 Fig 5.8 shows the whole picture. At Faisalabad district during ripen and total crop season trend per decades are -5.9% -1.1% and 1.10% respectively which has been shown in Table1. During sowing reason maximum increase in rainfall departure has been found in 1991 of 189.6% and maximum decrease observes in 1973 of 97.2%. During ripen season maximum increase has been noticed 715.0% in 1997 and maximum decrease has been pointed 100.0% in 1973. In total crop season the maximum increase in rainfall departure has been found 224.4% in 1997 and maximum decrease observes 65.7% in 1995, which has been shown in Fig. 8.

## Conclusion:

The annual rainfall trend series during 1973 to 2003 period show decreasing trend except in district Sargodha. The maximum decrease in rainfall has been observed 26.48% at Bahawalpur district and maximum increase in rainfall has been observed 4.31% at Sargodha district, rainfall trend per decade for two cereal crops i.e. wheat, rice and two cash crops cotton and sugarcane has shown that the amount of rainfall has increased at Sargodha, Lahore and Sialkot during the period of study .While it has decreased at Faisalabad, Multan and Bahawalpur districts. Maximum increase and decrease in rainfall is 10.87% and 55.01% has been observed during wheat

sowing season and cotton ripen season at Sargodha and Bahawalpur district respectively. The importance of change in spatial variation is illustrated in study. There has been an indication that of the total increase in rainfall over the Sargodha, Lahore and Sialkot district and decrease in rainfall indicated in Faisalabad, Multan and Bahawalpur districts. This has proved that rain is more variable on spatial basis over Punjab. Revealing the nature of spatial and temporal changes in the frequency distribution of rainfall may provide an important tool to monitor possible changes in rainfall pattern in Punjab. In present study rainfall changes indicate that the annual rainfall decreased as compare to the previous years. These changes indicated in the proceeding sections are extremely important for the crop growth process sowing to ripen season, because different crop plants have different moisture requirements at various districts of Punjab. In time fulfillment of the needs of the water helpful for proper growth and high yield purposes in the province.

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# THE DILEMMAS OF FRONTIER! PAKHTUN WOMEN IN THE NATIONAL MAINSTREAM OF PAKISATN

*Dr. Razia Sultana*

## **Abstract**

*This paper is about what state of Pakistan claims and what it delivers in the gender sector particularly in the far flung areas and also in the urban centers of North West Frontier Province. Mostly religious and cultural norms are considered as the major stumbling blocks in the way of modernization and provision of wider space to women in the public sector. However, in reality complacency on the part of successive governments is mainly responsible for lagging behind on gender in Frontier.*

*There are broader constitutional provisions and also policy guidelines which are favourable to women in general. Some initiatives have also been taken to bring women especially Pakhtun women in the national policy ambit. However, they are not adequate enough to encourage female participation in the mainstream life and it is high time to do more. Ignoring 50% of the population on the flimsy grounds from contributing to progress on multiple fronts would deprive the nation of their skills and would also be waste of their talent.*

*No doubt, the society in the Frontier is tribal and conservative but compulsory education for female and provision of employment opportunities to make them economically empowered would bring them at par with others who already are busy in contributing to the nation.*

## **Introduction**

A frequently asked question where is women in public sphere? is usually responded in case of Frontier women that they are invisible. Interestingly they are visible if gender role outside household is closely studied at least at present. The only problem is that the ratio is very little and secondly the gender perceptions are deeply coloured and old fashioned which does not allow to notice that little presence of women in key spheres of life.

The policy sector is structured in a way that it demonstrates bias against women which is used in the Frontier to almost exclusion of women from leading role in mainstream. As there is wide gap between state policy and effective mechanism for implementation of the socio-cultural the reforms, religious prejudices against women prevail and flourish in that vacuum. Given the fact of it Frontier women in general and Pakhtun women in particular remain on the margin

A few years back I wrote an article on "the status of women in Pakhtun Society".<sup>1</sup> That piece of research provided me an opportunity to go deep down into the cultural, sociological and also religious backgrounds of the said community, which helped me to appreciate the status or identity of women in the backdrop of those, varied details. Many facts of life in the given society were not new or surprising for me as I myself belong to the same society.

However there were some very exciting aspects, I never realized before. In fact I explored them during the course of research on that piece. Such as women do not have their own individual identity but are known after their relationships in terms of mothers, sisters, daughters, wives and so on. The very fact of knowing that there is no personal identity of woman was agonizing for me.

On the other extreme there was the fact that women despite being mainly uneducated are the preservers of Pakhtunwali or Pakhtun culture in terms of training children and also transmitting or inculcating values of the same culture in their children as a great responsibility<sup>2</sup> and honor that receive due recognition from the said community.

Now the biggest challenge is how to educate women so that they could perform this laudable task in a much better way and also could contribute outside in other fields of mainstream national life. This point takes one to the arena of state policy and how gender is reflected into it. After reading credible literature about gender in politics and policy, I have come across astonishing realization that policy sector is basically masculine and hardly cater for the women's role, which means women are out of public domain. There has been feminist struggle in the west which made noticeable strides for bringing women in public roles and policy sector but in case of women of the developing world nothing of the like had happened till late.

Usually comparison between the Western and Eastern women is made by quoting leading Eastern women in politics who if counted

are quite a few than their counterparts in the West such as Prime minister Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan, Prime Minister Indra Gandhi of India, Prime Minister Khalida Zia, Prime Minister Hasina Wajid of Bangladesh. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher only belonged to England.

These leading women proved themselves in highest leadership roles through personal examples. However, in case of South Asia these women leaders are by no means a yard stick of women empowerment. The general lot is in miserable condition, grinding under extreme poverty and gender discrimination. Women in the Frontier and especially Pakhtun women are a case in point.

In my earlier paper I very briefly dealt with the role of women in the national domain. In that I mainly focused on the socio-cultural aspect and, how strongly is it reinforced by religious norms that are entrenched in ultra conservative outlook about females particularly in case of Pakhtun women. That study equipped me with relevant insight to undertake this piece of research. However, the main thrust in this paper is why the role of Frontier women in the mainstream public life is so little and how it could be maximized. Particularly what the successive governments in Pakistan have done for the uplift of women in general and how it boiled down for the Pakhtun women's betterment would make the nexus of this Paper.

Military or civil governments both claim to be favorable towards women problems. Even the Zia regime, (1977-85) which was more conservative vis-a-vis women's role in public domain, however claimed to work for the progress of women in purely traditional Islamic way which in simple terms was restriction of women mobility and public role under the notion of *Chadar aur Chardiwari*.

Now this policy of *Chadar* and *Chardiwari* (restriction of female mobility) had a wide room for debate, which is not the main theme of this paper. Even civil or democratic governments have been unable to go beyond verbal claims and cosmetic policy changes. In general cultural and religious arguments are used for not letting women issues to become a priority. Following this course of affairs, the question of Pakhtun women is an extreme case as that society is tribal, conservative and traditional to the core. Here is the treatment and relationship of women is perceived in the same narrow framework. How far claims of the successive governments to introduce favorable change in the gender realm were genuine or otherwise, fall into the domain of this paper? Also how they have



impacted on women's lives in general and of Frontier women in particular would be part of this study.

### **National Policy Architecture Over The Past Decades**

As has been mentioned in the introduction that successive governments civil or military with the exception of Zia's regime, policy architecture has been designed in such a way that turns out to be favorable towards women. However as it is usually a common feature of policies in the third world countries that the words speak lauder than the acts hence are the policies regarding women in Pakistan, which means whatever they claimed was mostly not delivered. There is another factor as well. Those initiatives on the part of government were taken either in response to women struggle or when it came as conditionality along with the aid package from donor countries. Pakhtun women and Frontier women in general lag behind in struggle for their rights or to use the favorable foreign influences to their advantage.

Interestingly, women issues have hardly been a priority for any government civil or military in Pakistan. Even during two regimes of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto very little happened for the betterment of women though her policies were favorable to women and human rights issues<sup>3</sup> in general. A couple of initiatives such as first women banks, women police stations, women study centers in five public universities (Peshawar, Lahore, Karachi, Quetta and Islamabad) in 1989, also ratification of Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination (CEDAW) Against Women on February 29, 1996 were a few examples of prioritizing women issues<sup>4</sup>.

During Nawaz Sharif government which was more prone to the vision of General Zia-ul-Haq's Islamization had included women issues as well into the ambit of his policy in general. The inquiry report of the Commission for Women (1997) recommended repealing the Hudood Ordinance which was not implemented by his government. However, the first women University named after Fatima Jinnah was inaugurated during his regime on August 6, 1998 in Islamabad<sup>5</sup>. Over his entire regime maintained the conservative approach vis-a-vis women issues.

The present government claims championing the cause of women uplift by quoting the example of significant number of female presence in the parliament and also local governments which though a good beginning however is not the yard stick to claim any

significant change in the lives of majority women. In case this trend continues unabated and does not disrupt it would reflect good on women in Frontier as well. Although the modification of the Hudood Ordinance in the shape of Women Protection Bill was positive step forward, particularly the order of release of 1300 women who had been languishing in the jails under the Hudood ordinance was an unprecedented act in the favor of women<sup>6</sup> and of course women in Frontier who were suffering under these draconian laws have been benefited. There is also silver lining in the expansion of army combat service which includes women this time. The first women cadets in army that passed out in December 2006<sup>7</sup> is though more symbolic than real however it gives some hope that women are penetrating into even all male dominant professions.

Looking at the ground reality what has been done so far without blaming one or the other government policy, the bottom line still does not endorse the fact that any thing on priority and sustainable basis has been thought out for the inclusion of women in the national policy framework.

The case of MMA (Mutahida Majlis-i-Amal) government in Frontier was in point which separated girls' section in the Khyber Medical College from boys, under the plea of segregation of sexes under Islamic system which though was never the case before. The former chairperson of Human Rights Commission of Pakistan Mr Afariyab Khattak commented on this policy of MMA that what next the MMA government would do that it would separate male graveyard from the female ones<sup>8</sup>. MMA government has also been voicing to establish separate women Universities and vocational training institutions. MMA government's perception of female education and of work is totally different if not in complete contradiction to the general policy of the central government about women education/training and employment. This is a classic example of perpetuating conservative attitudes about gender in the name of culture and tradition and religion to the utter detriment of Frontier women's role in the national main stream.

Even in general the extremist religious groups in the Frontier have been targeting women education and employment most particularly. They have conveyed threats to the heads of women education institutions, heads of their families and also head of the localities to stop women going out otherwise they would be responsible for the consequences<sup>9</sup>. Threats have been given to the staff of girls educational institutions in Bannu, Tank, D I Khan, Swat,



Charsadda, Mardan, Kohat, Upper and Lower Dir. Even in Peshawar some private schools have been threatened with suicide attacks. These threats are recurrent and have compelled half of the girls' students in Dera Adam Khel to drop out. A significant number of girls have also left schools in Bajaur, Swat, Tank and Bannu. Hundreds of female teachers have also stated in writing that they are unable to work in the said areas under such threatening circumstances. Many have taken long leaves. In Bajaur edicts were issued declaring a complete ban on women education. The parents of girls' students of Gomal University in Southern district of D.I. Khan have received letters from the commanders of local Taliban to stop their daughters from attending campuses<sup>10</sup>. A woman from a Waizir tribe who was recently appointed Educational District Officer (EDO) in D.I. Khan received threats from extremists not to join service. In Swat and Dir a large number of parents have pulled their daughters back from schools and colleges.

The religious sermons of a radical cleric namely Fazlullah in Imam Dheri village of Kabal have played an instrumental role. Fazlullah literally facilitates those parents who stop their daughters from going to schools. According to a sociologist at the Peshawar University, in the presence of growing number of threats the little improvement attained over the years in the Gross Enrollment Ratio of girl students will significantly decline.<sup>11</sup>

The gravity of the matter is not only restricted to threats only but violent acts have also been carried out across the province against the women education and employment institutions. For example girls' schools in Waziristan and also in Dara Adam Khel were forcibly closed and an under construction degree college for girls was bombed at night. A blast occurred near the gate of a down town girls college in Peshawar a few months ago. Similar incidents of bomb blast near the gates of women schools took place in Mardan as well<sup>12</sup>.

In the modern age of globalization, the discrimination between men and women is required to be eliminated. Decrement to coeducation and education in general for women deems unhealthy and particularly and such condition when the government also hardly can afford enough money for separate institutions of female education. It would not only decrease peoples interest in education but in practice, it will limit the chances for women to acquire education in Frontier.

Over the years what made policy of successive governments on women issues complacent are the social, cultural and, religious



norms which seem to be overplayed and now is the time to down play them. As it is already known that since the inception of the country democratic or liberal norms are put at work in the country which consider women as an equal partner in development, however the cultural and religious orientation of the society is traditional and conservative wherein male is the center of all activities that means political leadership or decision making and also economic development or propriety and possession of resources belong to men. In a situation, which is marked by sharp contradiction between state policy and social norms, women are marginalized. Such a contradiction between the state policy and social norms are sidelined. What role the state has played to bring women at par with the males to contribute in national mainstream is debatable especially in the Frontier women are an extreme case. The state seems to be endorsing in the conservative vision of the society and it has not been able to translate its apparently favorable approach for the uplift of women into concrete reform effort. Unless policies for the women development are reviewed in serious manner this key contradiction would persist and nothing solid would happen in future hence Frontier women would stay out of the mainstream.

### **Policy Implement Aion In The Gender Sector**

Interestingly the ambivalence in policy architecture has affected the implementation part as well. Whatever strategies over the years have been adopted for the empowerment of women are least adequate or to put it rightly are deficient to cater to the needs of women's progress. In case of literacy, the male and female ratio explains the difference. The over all literacy rate in the country is 54 percent out of which 66.25 percent are males and 41.75 percent female. Particularly in Frontier province the over all literacy rate is 47.4 percent out of which 63 percent are males and 30.8 percent are female<sup>13</sup>. Comparing with other three provinces of the country Frontier is somewhat better than Baluchistan only, wherein overall literacy rate is 34 percent and male, female ratio is 45 percent and 23 percent respectively<sup>14</sup>. In the tribal areas over all literacy rate is 17.42. of which 29 percent are male and only 3 percent are female<sup>15</sup>.

Of course the urban and rural break down of educational ratio is stark. The facilities available at present are less than adequate for educating women. Especially, the rural Frontier is devoid of even minimum educational facilities for female. There are no adequate

schools for female children. Another serious issue which is identified in this regard is lack of trained female teachers. What the relevant department is doing for making available both to the girl students can be explained in the story of a female teacher whom I met in January, 2007 while I was on a private visit to my village Dagi Jadid, which is in district Nowshera in NWFP. She told me that she was a trained teacher having the degree of H.Ed. She complained that she still works on a CT post that is much lower to the qualification that she had acquired long time ago and is waiting to be placed to the post according to her qualification<sup>16</sup>. The hard part of the story is that she is not optimistic about the right placement in her job any near future. Unfortunately she is not the only example. There are many such stories wherein qualified female teachers do not get the right posts at the right time which disappoint them and waste the chance of the students to be guided by trained teachers.

Now the provincial government needs to streamline its education policy and not to let room for such lapses because they are discouraging students and teachers that does not augur well for promotion of female education in Frontier. It needs also to have expedited the recruitment, placement and promotion of female teachers. Instead of following the process bureaucratically and allowing red tape to delay it has to be dealt with swiftly without unnecessary delay.

Central to women's uplift is economic and political empowerment. However in case of females the right to possess or enjoy ownership of property or any other resource is still not a rule but an exception in Frontier. Women are not given share in inheritance<sup>17</sup>. On paper the women may be given the right of possession but in practice they are deprived of this right and men have total control over the sale of and profits from these properties. Even women of the rural areas who play more direct role in the economic development of the country hardly enjoy ownership of their income<sup>18</sup>. Similarly, most of them who manufacture handicrafts on the individual or community basis, the male of the house like father, husband, brother or son manage the transaction at the market and at other levels of monetary dealings. Rural Frontier is as backward and conservative in terms of female economic empowerment as it used to be in the past. In order to promote women role in development at rural level a lot of resource allocation and policy focus is required which is the dire need of the hour. Continuing with traditional ways as they used to be in the past would hardly do any good to the women's economic



empowerment in the rural areas.

Urban Frontier has its own problems. However the main impediment is inadequate opportunities for female employment which has hardly been taken seriously. Generally preference is given to expand on male work force rather than women on multiple pretexts such as females can not stay for long hours or they are less appropriate to work under pressure and so on.

In the provincial politics, there are women members of Provincial Assembly, just like in other three Provincial Assemblies. However, mostly women members of assembly follow or tow the line of their male counter parts. Unfortunately what the women MPs in Frontier have done for the betterment of, women in the province is a disappointing story. Solution of the women issues from women perspective is still awaited. For now all male vision of the female world persist.

### **Religio-Cultural Imperitives**

Frontier is an amazing combination of diverse regions and also of multiple ethnic groups. There is a general impression that perhaps only Pakhtuns reside there which is not a correct assessment of its demographic composition. Though Pakhtun makes the largest majority of the province but Hindko and Saraiki speaking people are the largest minorities who reside in the Hazara and the D.I. Khan areas respectively. They also reside in some pockets of Peshawar, and Kohat cities as well. Some Persian-speaking people known as Qazalbash also reside in Peshawar for ages. After the Afghan Jihad refugees who are mostly Pakhtun and some are Persian, make a major part of Frontier inhabitants. Pakhtun being dominant group, their gender perceptions are prevalent even with non Pakhtuns. They mostly deal gender the way their Pakhtun counter parts do.

People in Frontier claim to be religious and traditional in terms of relationship. Most particularly they define the male and female relationship literally in the same spirit. Such as women are for private domain and males for public so women should stay home and perform their motherhood duties rather than aspiring for public roles. They also deploy religious justifications by inferring from the Islamic concept of segregation of sexes, Purdha and maintaining modesty, which primarily in true Islamic sense is meant for men, and women both however here it is mostly emphasized or centered upon women.



Interestingly the ways they define a good woman explain the implicit malintention. A good woman is the one who stays quiet, withdraws from male company and remains respectful to the males of the house<sup>19</sup>.

On the contrary a woman who would speak up for herself and participate in out side economic or political activities in their view falls into the opposite category. In most conservative households such women are interpreted as just another form of an unwanted person. They are criticized for being well dressed up, making their own choices in decision making, socialize with male colleagues and they also earn money which make them more like men so such activities bring them to be called male like women which is a bad name for a good Pakhtun woman. Banning of local/foreign NGOs in Frontier particularly those working on women issues or employed women as professional preferably were forced to be closed in the recent past is a case in point.

The optimistic part of the story is that such perceptions are on their way out. Many urban Pakhtun families are encouraging their women folk to get education though pursuing professions is still lukewarm. The old trends are changing. However how the government policies are capitalizing on them is still a task yet to materialize in true sense. The argument that women in Frontier face problems in participating in national mainstream because the religious and cultural norms are strict and restrict women is a big excuse and counter productive and is not enough to justify the complacency of government policy to expand on educational and employment opportunities including health facilities for women as more than 40% of women are anemic. According to 1998 concuss figures female infant mortality rate is higher than infant mortality in male children. The maternal mortality rate is also high as only 20% women are assisted by trained midwives during delivery. Women are also at higher risk to contracting HIV-AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases because of male dominance in sex relationship and lack of access to information<sup>20</sup>.

### **Politico-Constitutional Safeguards**

The Constitution of 1973 and even the earlier ones guaranteed equal right to women as citizens of Pakistan which means there is no discrimination between male and female no matter whether they reside in NWFP, Baluchistan, Punjab or Sind. However,

the way these statutory safeguards are substantiated by relevant judicial and legal system hardly deliver any meaningful service to women.

A couple of years ago chance for women to approach courts to get justice was next to impossible. Recourse to the courts was considered unbecoming of a woman. Parents of the female child discouraged even joining judicial service tooth and nail. Some fifteen years ago there used to be hardly any female student in the Law College of University of Peshawar that was all male dominant discipline. Now the situation is much different as many girls study law in the same College though very few pursue it professionally.

In case a woman knock the court door for justice against a male that may be a husband or a boss or any male the court would be though sympathetic towards women would reach a decision not to hurt the ego of male defender. Particularly high position and age were additional factors to favor males. So Constitution or law may be safeguarding woman as equal, the relevant mechanisms or processes are flawed which hardly ensure in many cases the person and interest of women.

In the past the Hadud Ordinance and the Law of Evidence had played havoc with women. Their person was reduced to the half of men and many languished in prisons due to false implication under Hadud Ordinance<sup>21</sup>. The existing government has brought about modifications in it through the Women Protection Bill which is in fact first step towards protection of women rights in the country<sup>22</sup>. It has generated though a controversy nation wide as the religious parties labeled it as unIslamic and the moderate section of the society welcomed it as a positive step in the direction of women emancipation or empowerment. Of course women in Frontier in the wake of such favorable developments had taken a sigh of relief and look forward to bright future.

Politically Frontier shares in general the experience with the rest of the country. However it has its own peculiarities as well, such as the right to vote for women in many cases is not allowed to be exercised. Even it happened in the election of Feb. 1997 (I have a personal experience as a presiding officer at one of the polling center in the suburb of Peshawar) and also during Oct. 2002. In the rural areas the practice is that contestants of different parties in collaboration with the local influential decide unanimously that women would not cast vote. Such agreements were not only made in far flung areas but in the nearby localities of Peshawar such as Sheikh



Mohammadi, Tehkal Bala<sup>23</sup> and Dagi Jadid etc. Interestingly in the local body elections of Upper Dir political parties including the progressive Pakistan Peoples Party and Awami National Party had agreed not to field female candidates'. But at the last moment all parties including religious Jumat-i-Islami in violation of their own treaty secretly submitted nomination papers for their respective candidates and over 100 female councilors were elected at district, town and union council level<sup>24</sup>. However, despite being elected female councilors are not allowed to attend meetings. They are rather represented by male members of their families like brothers, husbands or father despite the fact that no proxy attendance is allowed in the system. Women councilors are even not invited for the council meetings and even if they are invited they are kept in separate rooms so that their presence in the meeting could be avoided. It was due to such discrimination with women councilors that only two candidates turned up to contest the last year's Local Government by polls on 27 vacant seats. While the already lowest turnout on part of females in the district further curtailed, as only 348 ballots were polled out of the total 8467 registered votes that's is less than 5% percent. A husband who has been attending Tehsil Council meetings for the last two years on behalf of his wife to receive privileges meant for the councilors said, "How can I allow my wife to go to a male dominated meeting"<sup>25</sup>.

Even National Identity Card (NIC) which is a basic requirement to get registered as voter is not possessed by a large majority of the women. One would be stunned to learn that 50 percent of women in the Pakhtun inhabited areas do not possess NICs. They were terrified at the thought of going out to vote along with men<sup>26</sup>. However, they have the desire to participate in the election process by registering themselves as voters. Out of twelve million women missing from electoral list Frontier tops the list. At present the ratio is as follows. In the total population of the eligible females, only 40% are registered as voters in NWFP as compared to 75 percent in Baluchistan 60 percent in Punjab and 46 percent in Sindh<sup>27</sup>.

So despite all arrangements women are barred from coasting votes and so they are out of political process of electing representatives in national and provincial assemblies. The question is how would such elected people represent women or work for the well-being of women who disallow women in the first place to participate in the election process. Interestingly liberal and conservative parties are no different in case of building consensus to



disallow women to participate in the election process in the Pakhtun dominant part of Frontier.

Another important factor, which is distinctive about Frontier, is that in the Local Government system in the Pakhtun dominated areas there are hardly women councilors or representatives. Of course there are women councilors but they are mostly in the non-Pakhtun areas of the Frontier. The Pakhtun concentrated areas are still to catch up with non-Pakhtun parts of Frontier in terms of facilitating and recognizing women participation in the political process and in the broader national policy spectrum.

## **Conclusion**

Frontier is the land of extremes. Particularly in case of women these extremes are starkly played out in every sphere of life. The rural and urban divide can well be understood in terms of male perception of female world. The tribal areas that are adjacent to settled territory are extremely male dominant that keeps women invisible in public sphere

However, time is changing and so has to change male behavior about females. It is high time now to get out of traditional web and catch up with the fast growing world, which means to allow 52 percent of the population to participate in the process of development. They need to be educated and trained so that they can join the national mainstream.

Traditional attitudes, conservative behavior, and religious approaches are the key impediments that hamper the ability of moderate and progressive policies to render concrete results. However they need not be used as excuses for not doing enough for empowerment of women in Frontier as whole and Pakhtun women in particular.

Women participation in politics has to be made meaningful rather than symbolic. Key to progress of the country as a whole lies in the fact when women of Pakistan in general and Pakhtun women in particular would lead the process of development and political leadership that is tagged message of the 21 st century and the power wielders/policy makers at all levels should better understand this reality at this high time.

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## POTENTIAL, PROSPECTS AND LIMITATIONS OF SAFTA

Jamil Nasir

### Abstract

*This study attempts to evaluate the potential, prospects and limitations of SAFTA as a regional trading bloc. Various criteria like standard theories and models of international trade, findings of previous research studies, comparison with other prominent regional trading blocs, experience of SAPTA and its capability to legalize informal trade in South Asia, are used to assess its potential and desirability. The analysis shows that prospects of SAFTA in its present form are not bright. From theoretical perspective, similar comparative advantage, low complementarity indices, similar factor endowments and low intra-industry trade are major constraints responsible for low intra-regional trade in South Asia. Lengthy sensitive lists, trade between Pakistan and India on the basis of positive list, large number of non-tariff barriers, stringent rules of origin, emerging hub and spokes arrangement, non-inclusion of services and supply-side constraints further weaken the prospects of SAFTA. The review of previous research studies and experience of SAPTA show that SAFTA is not much capable of enhancing intra-regional trade in South Asia. Previous research studies based on gravity model lend some support to SAFTA but the results of these studies are inconsistent and possibly over-estimated due to high transportation and transactional costs in South Asia. The results further show that desirability of SAFTA on the basis that it will bring the informal trade in South Asia into legal channel is prima facie weak. The study recommends that number of products included in the sensitive lists be reduced to the minimum size like AFTA. It further recommends for inclusion of services, doing away of high non-tariff barriers, favourable rules of origin and review of bilateral agreements among South Asian countries. The study suggests that concrete measures should be adopted to overcome supply-side constraints. It further suggests that "SAFTA plus" initiatives be taken to accelerate the process of regional integration in South Asia.*



## Introduction

South Asian region comprises of Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Maldives and Bhutan. It accounts for nearly 21% of the world population. Its share in global GDP is however, very low compared to its population.

All the countries of the region have much variation in terms of population, area and international trade quantum. Cultural, religious and historical differences also exist. Poverty is the only commonality which defines South Asia. These nations have probably the maximum incidence of poverty, which necessitates promotion of growth through international trade and regional economic cooperation. About 400 million poor reside in this region, meaning thereby that 30% of its population lives below the poverty line. All the SAARC countries have low ranking on the human development index (HDI), which means that performance of the region for the vital indicators like life expectancy, education and real income is abysmally low. South Asia accounts for less than 1% of the world income and its share in total global trade is less than 2% of the total world trade. Moreover, Intra-SAARC regional trade is very low (2.5%) for the past decade compared with Intra-EU regional trade (about 65%) and Intra-ASEAN trade (about 35%).

After independence of South Asian countries from the yoke of British colonialism, there was considerable flow of merchandize between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh (then part of Pakistan). It was expected that the intra-regional trade will enhance with the passage of time but situation deteriorated due to conflict between India and Pakistan. The trade between these two countries almost came to halt after 1965 war. This situation persisted till 1980 when idea of regional cooperation in South Asia was formally mooted by Bangladesh's President Zia-ur-Rehman in November, 1980. After consultations, the foreign secretaries of the seven countries met for the first time in Colombo in April, 1981 when Bangladeshi proposal was accepted by India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The heads of states / governments adopted the charter formally establishing the South Asian Association for regional cooperation (SAARC) at their first SAARC summit held in Dhaka on 07-08 December, 1985.

The objectives of SAARC were very noble and ambitious but no reasonable steps was taken to materialize them. There was no visible progress towards economic cooperation in South Asia. It was realized that a preferential trading arrangement should be made to

enhance economic and trade cooperation among South Asian countries. This realization provided the basis for SAPTA.

An Inter-Government Group with a view to formulate an agreement to establish a SAARC Preferential Trading Arrangement (SAPTA) by 1997 was approved by the sixth SAARC summit held in Colombo. The framework Agreement was however finalized in 1993 and finally came into operation in 1995, even before the stipulated time. The SAPTA Agreement provided for the exchange of tariff concessions / preferences among the SAARC nations without a commitment to turn this arrangement into a free trade area by a specified date. SAPTA Agreement made a distinction between the least developed countries i.e. Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan & Maldives and other developing member countries i.e. India, Pakistan & Sri Lanka.

The Agreement provided for a special and differential treatment for the LDC members and also included a regional most favoured nation (MFN) provision. Thus any preference extended within the SAPTA framework by a member that was not a least developed to another non-least developed country, was to be extended automatically to all SAPTA members. During the first and second rounds, trade negotiations between the member countries were conducted on product-to-product basis while in the third round, the negotiations were conducted chapter-wise of Customs tariff. For the fourth round, it was decided that the negotiations as far as possible, be conducted on chapter-wise, sector and across the board basis. The tenth summit held in Colombo in 1998 decided in principle that in order to accelerate progress under SAPTA negotiations, deeper tariff concessions be extended to products which are being traded actively or are likely to be traded among members. The summit also decided that the local content requirement under SAPTA rules of origin be relaxed.

Tariff reductions under SAPTA were offered on the basis of two categories of members i.e. least developed countries (LDCs) and non-least developed countries (Non-LDCs). The tariff concessions / preferences given to the LDCs were higher than that of non-LDC members and many of the products on concession list for the LDCs are different from those under non-LDC members' list of products. Concessions under the first round of SAPTA (SAPTA-1) included 226 tariff lines at the HS 6-digit level. Thus coverage of SAPTA-1 was very modest as only about 6% of traded goods were covered under it. The issue of non-tariff barriers was also not discussed at all



and the tariff cuts were also relatively small considering the higher tariff rates in the region. The second round covered 1868 tariff lines. The product coverage and proposed tariff cuts were comparatively significant under SAPTA-2. Another important feature of this round was that it considered non-tariff measures also. During the third round, 3456 tariff lines were added. Thus a total of 5550 tariff lines were included in the agreement. India offered the largest number of concessions followed by Bangladesh, Pakistan and Nepal. The LDC member states within SAARC were offered a large share of such concessions vis-à-vis the non-LDC states. The impact of SAPTA on intra-regional was very modest because trade negotiations were conducted on product-to-product basis. Most of the items liberalized were not of trade interest to the other partners of the arrangement.

Given the limited framework and influence of SAPTA, it was agreed that a more comprehensive arrangement to ensure long term economic cooperation in South Asia be made. At the Male summit in 1997, member countries agreed to form South Asian free trade area (SAFTA) by 2001. The failure of the WTO ministerial meeting in Cancun gave further impetus to a more serious consideration of the regional cooperation in South Asia. The domino effect also played its role as most of the countries were entering into regional agreements and South Asia did not want to lag behind. The agreement was however signed on 6<sup>th</sup> January, 2004 at Islamabad summit of SAARC countries. The agreement seeks to allow free cross-border movement of goods within the region with the provision for sensitive list of items for member countries to safeguard their national interests. The objectives of the agreement are to promote and enhance mutual trade and economic cooperation among contracting parties by eliminating trade barriers and promoting conditions of fair competition by creating an effective mechanism for the implementation and application of the agreement.

A number of studies, both qualitative and quantitative, have been conducted on desirability and prospects of SAFTA. A few quantitative studies have been conducted using gravity model, CGE model and partial equilibrium model of trade. In these studies variables differ and resultant outcomes / estimates are also different. All these studies with few exceptions show that increase in trade flows between the countries will be very modest. The results of these studies are however liable to question due to lack of empirical evidence.

Qualitative studies can broadly be divided into two



categories. One category of studies shows that prospects of SAFTA are poor because the prerequisites for a successful regional trading arrangement (RTA) are lacking in South Asia. On the basis of results of these studies, we can conclude that unilateral liberalization and bilaterals / regional agreements outside South Asia are preferable to SAFTA. The second category of studies concludes that South Asian cooperation should be enhanced at any cost. These studies portray a bright picture of South Asian cooperation. It has been observed that studies on South Asian cooperation are not objective and comprehensive. Several important aspects and dimensions of evaluation of SAFTA are not adequately incorporated in these studies. Therefore, an objective and comprehensive study was needed.

### Research Questions

In the current study, the prospects of SAFTA have been analyzed and evaluated from various theoretical perspectives. Factors inhibiting promotion of regional cooperation in South Asia have also be analyzed in this study, besides seeking answers to the following research questions.

1. What are the prospects of SAFTA in view of comparative advantage and factor endowments theory?
2. What are the prospects of SAFTA in view of Intra-Industry Trade theory?
3. Is Linder Hypothesis more akin to the pattern of trade taking place in South Asia?
4. What are the prospects of SAFTA in the light of previous quantitative and qualitative studies?
5. Where does SAFTA stand in comparison with other prominent regional trade agreements?
6. Is legal text and implementation instruments of SAFTA are in line with article XXIV of GATT?
7. Is the argument that SAFTA will bring the informal trade under the cover of legal trade valid?
8. What are the prospects of SAFTA with reference to SAPTA experience?
9. Is there a chance of Spaghetti Bowl arrangement in South Asia? Is hub and spokes like arrangement is emerging and if so, where does SAFTA stand?

#### 10. What are the constraints in implementation of SAFTA?

This study also focuses on evaluation of potential and limitations of SAFTA by using various criteria. These criteria include different standard theories and models of international trade, findings of previous research studies, other prominent regional agreements and experience of SAPTA. In this regard, various constraints / bottlenecks have also been analyzed. SAFTA is in its implementation stage and its impact on intra-regional trade is not visible, so it is not possible to conduct an objective study to find out its impact in quantitative terms. The findings of this study are not definitive as in the case of an objective quantitative study. They should be considered only indicative in nature.

#### The findings of study

The analysis of various trade theories and models shows that prospects of intra-regional trade enhancement in South Asia are not bright with the implementation of SAFTA. Most of the theories do not support its case. Viewed from the theoretical perspective of these theories, similar comparative advantage, low complementarity indices, similar factor endowments and low intra-industry trade are major constraints inhibiting intra-regional trade in South Asia.

The analysis of South Asian regional trade in the light of comparative advantage theory shows that most of the member countries enjoy similar comparative advantage. Their comparative advantage is restricted to limited number of products. Moreover, India has comparative advantage in more categories of products as compared with other member countries, so it is expected that India will be the gainer with the implementation of SAFTA. The findings of this study based on factor endowments theory are that there is limited scope of complementarity of trade among these countries as economies of all the partners are labour-intensive in nature. Moreover, there is limited potential of increase in trade on the basis of increasing returns to scale as most of the countries adopted protectionist policies in the past. Absence of international competition caused growth of inefficient industries.

Findings of the study based on intra-industry trade model are that there are limited chances of trade enhancement in South Asian region as per capita income is very low in these countries. Intra-industry trade model is more relevant to high income level countries. Linder Hypothesis of trade, to some extent, explains the pattern of

trade in South Asia. On the basis of its analysis, it is concluded that there are bright chances of trade of primary and semi-manufactured goods. Liberalization of trade of basic food items and pharmaceuticals is more likely to benefit this region. Food and health security issues will be appropriately addressed in this way.

The analysis of various research studies indicates that prospects of SAFTA are limited. There is consistency in the results of qualitative studies about SAFTA. An overview of their findings shows that case of SAFTA is weak. The results of quantitative studies are however inconsistent. Some studies conducted by using gravity model favour the desirability of SAFTA but results vary from study to study. An important variable of gravity model (distance) is losing its importance with the passage of time as modern means of communication and transportation have minimized the effect of distance on trade.

Another finding of this study is that SAFTA is not truly in accordance with provisions of Article XXIV of GATT. The element of liberalization of substantially all trade is practically lacking in the agreement due to lengthy sensitive lists, which are considered an integral part of the agreement. Non-inclusion of services sector in SAFTA further reduces its potential as a regional trading arrangement.

Comparison of SAFTA with other prominent regional trade agreements shows that there are some major differences between SAFTA and other agreements. Firstly, members of South Asian region substantially vary in size, population and economic resources etc. Two major countries of this region are India and Pakistan and the prospects of SAFTA mainly depend upon relationship between these two countries. Secondly, initiatives such as establishment of banks and financial institutions across member countries, free movement of businessmen between the countries, harmonization of Customs Clearance Procedures and reciprocal recognition of tests and accreditation of testing laboratories etc. are practically lacking in case of SAFTA. Thirdly, there are serious political conflicts between two major partners of the agreement.

The analysis of informal trade among South Asian countries shows that SAFTA is not much capable of legalizing informal trade. First of all the quantum of informal trade is not as high as shown by some researchers who advocate desirability of SAFTA on the grounds of informal trade argument. Secondly the major quantum of informal trade between India and Pakistan has been replaced by Pak -



China informal or / formal trade.

The analysis of SAPTA experience shows that factors responsible for its failure have also been inherited by SAFTA. The major factors are non-inclusion of services sector, stringent rules of origin, protection of products having potential of increasing intra-regional trade and non-tariff barriers. SAFTA in its present form has only cosmetic changes compared with its predecessor. Therefore, it seems that SAFTA will not be able to cause much improvement in intra-regional trade.

The study has identified major constraints and problems affecting intra-regional trade in South Asia. These constraints include lengthy sensitive lists, Pakistan's trade with India on the basis of positive list, high non-tariff barriers, unfavourable rules of origin, emerging hub and spokes arrangement, exclusion of services sector and other supply-side constraints.

Lengthy sensitive lists are main hurdle in liberalization of trade in South Asia. Every country wants to protect items of her interest through sensitive list. These lists are subject to review after every four years but there is no timeframe for doing away with these lists. So in the presence of these lengthy sensitive lists, there is little hope of South Asian economic integration.

Another hurdle to effective implementation of SAFTA is Pakistan's stance that she will trade with India on the basis of positive list. However, there is gradual increase in the number of tradable items during the past few years; even then trade on the basis of positive list is inconsistent with the spirit of regional integration.

Non-tariff barriers are other potential constraints for intra-regional trade in South Asia. These barriers are very high in South Asian countries especially in India. Trade liberalization is ineffective if non-tariff barriers are not reduced. As regards rules of origin, the local content and regional cumulation requirements are high, hindering trade flow in South Asia.

Another obstacle is emerging hub and spokes arrangement in South Asian region. There existed bilateral agreements between various South Asian countries prior to SAFTA. These bilaterals are still operational. India is more likely to become hub while other South Asian countries may emerge as spokes. So India may get maximum benefits out of this scenario. This situation may cause "spaghetti bowl phenomenon". Non-inclusion of services in the agreement is another weakness of SAFTA. The scope of merchandise trade is limited in South Asian region. Inclusion of services may significantly

increase the volume of intra-regional trade.

There are also numerous supply-side constraints in South Asian region. These constraints include over-regulation of market mechanism, poor quality of public infrastructure, complexity of taxation structures, excessive paperwork, political instability, poor general education, lack of capacity in technical skills and poor service delivery etc. These constraints severely affect the capacity of these countries to produce "exportable surplus".

## Recommendations

The main finding of this study is that the case of SAFTA in its present form is weak. However, there is possibility of improvement if member countries show readiness to take appropriate measures to overcome its short comings. The most important issue in this regard is lengthy sensitive lists. It is suggested that these lists be reviewed with a view to reduce the number of items included in these lists. Although SAFTA provides for review of these lists but it is silent about the mechanism and timeframe for reduction in their size. The experience of AFTA is a good example to be followed by South Asian countries. The sensitive lists are also part of AFTA but the number of items included in these lists is very small. So it is necessary that when these lists are reviewed, exclusion of certain percentage of products be mandatory for every member country. In this way these lists should be reduced to minimum size by 2016, the year when tariffs will be lowered to the minimum level (0-5%).

Non-inclusion of services is another potential limitation of SAFTA. As the scope of SAFTA is presently narrow, it is suggested that services should be included in this agreement to broaden its scope. Besides enhancing the scope of trade, the inclusion of services will also increase people-to-people contact and facilitate the process of regional integration. Moreover, opening up of services will facilitate merchandize trade. With the increased interaction, people will explore new vistas of trade. This interaction will give them a sense of confidence. As a result, trade relations will be strengthened.

According to the findings of this study, non-tariff barriers are very high in South Asian region. These barriers should be removed to facilitate flow of trade among these countries. In this regard, India should take bold decisions to remove non-tariff barriers because almost all the South Asian countries have complaints against India on this issue. Recently Pakistan has identified a large number of

Pakistan-specific non-tariff barriers and has taken up the issue with government of India. Rules of origin also need to be liberalized by reducing the percentage of local content and regional cumulation requirements for products to qualify preferential treatment under SAFTA.

The issue of trade on the basis of positive list is also critical one. The aims and objective of SAFTA cannot be achieved unless trade within South Asia is not on MFN basis. Pakistan has some genuine apprehensions on this issue, so it is suggested that India should take initiatives to address the issue positively. Both of the countries should strive to resolve their political disputes especially the Kashmir issue. Moreover, India should remove all Pakistan-specific non-tariff barriers as a confidence building measure. Pakistan fears that by trading with India on MFN basis, her local market will be flooded by Indian products. However, the authenticity of this argument is still uncertain. There is need of an objective study to answer whether there is a significant difference of quality and price between the products of these countries. The price advantage for Indian food items is mainly due to the subsidy given by India to her farmers. India needs to seriously consider the issue of subsidies because these subsidies are prima-facie not permissible under Agreement on Agriculture (AOA).

The issue of bilateral agreements between South Asian countries should also be considered seriously. Bilateral agreements add to the complexity in trade relations and increase the cost of doing business through multiple rules of origin. In this regard India should play a major role because she has entered into bilaterals with several countries of South Asia. South Asian countries need to evolve a mechanism to make SAFTA effective by removing potential hurdles in its implementation so that bilaterals are no more required between partners of SAFTA. Resultantly, it will be easy to bring in harmonization in different procedures and standards related to Customs cargo clearance etc. Moreover, cost of doing business will decrease with the doing away of multiple rules of origin.

It is also suggested that effective steps should be taken to overcome supply-side constraints. In this regard, practical steps should be taken for harmonization of customs clearance procedures, quality standards and sanitary and phytosanitary standards (SPS). Establishment of banks and other financial institutions across the SARRC countries should also be a target area. Their business processes and standards should be harmonized. Problems of business



accelerate the process of regional integration. Cooperation in energy and water sector should be accorded priority because it is apprehended that energy and water crisis will be very serious in near future. Moreover, no country can adequately address this crisis without regional cooperation. The South Asian countries should evolve a mechanism to have a joint stance in WTO negotiations. It will help in protecting their genuine interests. In this regard the issue of food and health security is very vital, so these countries should pay special attention to this issue during negotiations at various international fora like WTO.

### **Policy options for Pakistan**

From Pakistan's perspective, there are two options regarding her trade relations in South Asia, either within the framework of SAFTA or out of framework of SAFTA. In case of trade relations within the framework of SAFTA, Pakistan will have to change her stance about trade with India on positive list. Inclusion of services will also be essential in this case. As a result, Pakistan may face problems of unemployment especially in the sectors of entertainment and IT industry. Living within framework of SAFTA may be beneficial for Pakistan in two ways. Firstly, it can increase her trade with all other South Asian countries under the umbrella of SAFTA and scarce resources will not be wasted in negotiations for bilaterals with all South Asian countries. Secondly, Pakistan can act as a balancer between smaller countries of the region and India, which will result in stability in the South Asian region.

In the case of her trade in the region outside framework of SAFTA, Pakistan may negotiate bilaterals with other South Asian countries on the pattern of Pak-Sri Lanka bilateral. In this case she may keep trading with India on the basis of positive list. Inclusion of services may be decided bilaterally keeping in view her economic interests.

### **Limitations of the Study**

This study is comprehensive in the sense that prospects of SAFTA have been analyzed from different angles. Theoretical framework is blended with practical realities of the South Asian region to arrive at a meaningful analysis. Sincere efforts have been made to include all the available research studies conducted on trade in South Asian region. Major standard economic theories, models

and legal basis of GATT for regional trade agreements have been analyzed to evaluate SAFTA as a regional trade agreement. Different papers / reports of World Bank, World trade organization (WTO) and Asian Development Bank, trade statistics and papers available on internet were utilized in this study. It is however acknowledged that there are some potential drawbacks / limitations of this study. One drawback of this study is that the socio-cultural factors have not been included as a variable. These factors are very important and have crucial role in economic integration of a region as economic factors cannot be seen in isolation. It is the interplay of economic, political and socio-cultural factors which determine the success or failure of a regional trading bloc. Another drawback of the study is that while carrying out analysis of SAFTA on the basis of comparative advantage theory and intra-industry trade model, latest trade statistics / indices were not utilized; rather reliance was placed on the data utilized in the study conducted by PIDE in 2000. It was assumed that there is no significant change in the pattern of trade in South Asia due to similar comparative advantage and low intra-industry trade.

## BOOK REVIEW

### IN THE LINE OF FIRE

By Pervez Musharraf

Published by Simon & Schuster Ltd, 2006, pp352

Price Rs. 1,298.00

*Naheed Shabbir Goraya*

*The book under review was launched on September 25th, 2006 on the eve of President Musharraf's visit to US at UN General Assembly session. The book has already been the second best seller on the non-fiction list of Amazon.com, behind the hegemony or survival: America's Quest for Global Dominance by Noam Chomsky. The book contains a collection of memories of Pervez Musharraf and is being marked as the official autobiography. The book under review certainly tells many of those things that would otherwise had never been known. Interestingly the author dedicates his book to the people of Pakistan, "who toil, sacrifice, and pray for their country and who wait patiently for a better future". Although the book generated many controversies in Pakistan and India due to certain accounts like Kargilyet it gives an insight into the mind of the author and is worth reading. It talks in depths about the key events of the 21st century. The book consists of six parts and has a prologue and an epilogue. The book covers all the aspects of author's personal life, career, Kargil Conflict, economic development of Pakistan, political events, Nuclear issue, Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan and terrorism and 9/11 etc.*

The book begins by starting author's rise to the military scene. In 32 chapters, divided into 6 parts, the writer narrates about his childhood and education, life in Turkey and the life of his parents, who despite being mediocre (like many who had swapped countries in the partition of 1947) used to provide for the more destitute in the form of donations. He mentions major moments in his life. He has also criticized the American film "Black Hawk Down". He drove a point to home that it was the Pakistan Army who saved the US soldiers in Mogadishu, contrary to what was claimed by the US Army. But according to the opinion of the writer, Pakistani Army must have been given an equal importance to the Americans if not more than Americans. He mentions his political views and his admiration for some of the military leaders in Pakistan. He is critical



of the democracy in Pakistan. He is also critical of former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's martial law period. The tenures of both Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto are much criticized too. He also talks about his various roles in the military and his natural motivational skills.

Pervez Musharraf presents his views about the Indo-Pakistani wars of 1965 and 1971 as well as that of the 1999 Kargil conflict. He thinks that Pakistan was the winner of the 65 war. In the Kargil war, he believes India crossed the Line of Control, something which the United Nations asked India for not to do. "The Kargil conflict emerged out of tactical maneuver of limited dimensions and had significant strategic effects", he says. The author is of the view that India started all three wars, a deliberate factual error.

Mentioning about the East Pakistan debacle the writer calls the separation of East that "East Pakistan is the saddest episode in Pakistan's history. The loss of our eastern wing and the creation of Bangladesh were all as a result of inept political handling ever since our independence", he asserts. The long chapter devoted to his coup against Nawaz Sharif details, the hijacking drama and army's response of counter-coup that was the real factor that brought General Musharraf into power on October 12, 1999. At that time the economy was the greatest concern. Lengthy pages have been written on corruption, financial debacles, 7-point agenda, formation of NRB, NAB and NSC. Moreover, it is an interesting fact to know that the author is greatly impressed and moved by the views of Abraham Lincoln and has also admired the rational approach of Indian Prime Minister Mr. Manmohan Singh.

The author explains his decision of supporting US-led war against terrorism after 9/11, as there was no choice except to switch from supporting the Taliban to backing the U.S-led war on terror groups or face an American "Onslaught". Fearing a return to the Stone Age, Pervez Musharraf agreed to back the U.S-led war against terror. In his first extract from his memoir, the author writes of the anger that he felt at threats made by American after the 9/11 attacks, "September 11, 2001, was an uneventful day in Pakistan, at least while the sun was high. That evening I was in Karachi, inspecting work at the beautiful gardens of the mausoleum of our founder Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. I was happy to be in the city I love. Little did I know that we were about to be thrust into the line of yet another war, a war against shadows."

Criticizing on the U.S-led invasion of Iraq, he feels that it has

made the world "more dangerous". The book devotes chapter on the war on terror that is the head-line subjects of the book. He tells about having negotiation with Mullah Omar, Bin Ladin's current position within the Al-Qaeda. The most astonishing facts are about those operations that were launched to hunt down Al-Qaeda network. He tells the stories of near-miss assassination attempts. Then the author explains how we have reached to the extremism, violence and terrorism of today. According to him: "Dealing with extremism requires prudence". Moreover, he gives an analysis of religion and terrorism. In order to counter terrorism, he opines that we must first resolve the political disputes at international level and then focus on the social and economic development.

He invites the Muslim World to recognize the state of Israel after the creation of Palestinian State. He talks about the women emancipation and that they should have a political equality with men. The book reveals all about A.Q.Khan and his proliferation network. He reveals the detail about A.Q.Khan's investigations and operations into them.

Moreover the chapters explain the enlightened moderation. Currently the book is published in four editions: Pak (English & Urdu), US and UK. An Urdu edition named "Sab Se Pehle Pakistan" (Pakistan comes first) of the book was also released. A New Dehli publisher is publishing the Hindi version of his book titled as "Agnipath" (The Fire Path). Tamil translation of his book has been published by New Horizon Media, a Chennai-based Indian language publishing house, titled, "Udal Mannukku" (ISBN 81-8368-252-9), under its (Kizhakku Pathippagam) imprint. The Tamil edition's title was taken from the popular Tamil quote "Udal Mannukku, Uyir Thamizhukku" (My body to the soil, my life to Tamil!). Nagore Rumi translated the book into Tamil. B.S.Raghavan, a former Minister of Home Affairs bureaucrat of the Government of India, released the book in Chennai during the 30th Chennai Book fair January 10th, 2007.

The time will decide about the worth of this memoir. Presently, to author's credit, the book is characterized by all those features that a best seller must contain A good plot, suspense, climaxes, romance, character-building and of course series of lessons. But like every book has certain flow.

Despite all the critiques, the book under review is an actual presentation of the realities, problems and relationship with the neighboring countries of Pakistan as the author is well known for the

candid expression of his views. He is right in saying that the thoughts of the people cannot be changed. Nevertheless they can be convinced through better arguments and actions. While reviewing this book I have been greatly moved by his thoughts about destiny and intelligence that can be made better by the struggle of a man himself. It goes beyond saying that a dutiful reader will certainly catch its attention. After going through, the detail of the book, positively speaking, it really will work to be an eye opener for the people of Pakistan and will be conducive to bring about a prosperous and peaceful region. It is must read reading.



## Guidelines for Contributors

*South Asian Studies* is published bi-annually in January and July by Centre for South Asian Studies (CSAS), University of the Punjab, Lahore.. Contributions may be submitted by 15 October for the Winter issue and 15 April for the Summer issue. The papers should be accompanied by a brief bio data of the author and an abstract of approximately 200-250 words. In addition to research articles, manuscripts, monographs and book reviews on themes relating to contemporary issues of South Asian politics, economy, society, culture and security are also welcome.

### Submission of the Papers

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

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

### Foot Notes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

*The Nation*, (Lahore) 5 December 2002

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

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

[http://www.issi.org.pk/journal/2003\\_files/no\\_1/article/a.htm](http://www.issi.org.pk/journal/2003_files/no_1/article/a.htm)

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

Shahid Javed Burki, *Pakistan: A Nation in the Making*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1986) *Ibid*, p. 305.

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

### Writing Style

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

Short and crisp sentences are advised.

Use British spellings.

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

Dates should be written as 7 October 2002.

**NOTE:** Due to proof reading mistakes on inside back title page, this page should be taken as its replacement.