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## SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES

RAFIQ AHMAD

*Editor*

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# Local Government Zilla Parishad System in Bangladesh from Lord Ripon to General Ershad: An Overview from Historical Perspective

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MUSLEHUDDIN AHMED TARIK  
AND  
FIROUZ AHMED

## INTRODUCTION

The Zilla Parishad is the recently introduced local government unit at the district level in Bangladesh. It came into existence by virtue of a law framed by the Bangladesh Jatiya Sangsad (Parliament) in June 1988. The district level local self-government body was first proposed by Lord Ripon, the Viceroy of India in 1882 during the British colonial rule in this Sub-continent. Consequently the District and Local Boards were constituted in most of the districts in British India though these were neither fully in line with his proposal nor could display the characteristics of local self-government. However, since then a century has passed and a number of changes have taken place. New forces and realities appear replacing the old ones in the ecology. District level local government also experienced changes in different regimes. This parishad is closely associated with district administration which is known as the pivot of public administration not only in this country but also in India and Pakistan.

Necessity of local government is beyond any question throughout the world as it ensures people's participation in the local administration and provides them the opportunity of controlling their own affairs. Moreover, local bodies also work as institutions for political education. The most vivid example is the present British local government where from most of the



parliamentarians start their political career as members in the local government unit. Along with all these issues a question of decentralisation or delegation of authority and responsibility inherently lies with the installation of any local government unit. Local government is, thus, theoretically a government within government. It is an "infra-sovereign governmental unit within the sovereign state dealing mainly with local affair administered by local authorities."

Besides these theoretical reasons there also remain some contradictions in the ecological set up which lead the ruling government to establish local government institutions with a view to accommodating the contradictory forces. Lord Ripon's Resolution not only laid down the foundation of modern local government in India, but also it provided some fundamental provisions for Indian local government which were revolutionary and of self denying in nature from the view point of a colonial government.

#### **RIPON'S RESOLUTION--A PERSPECTIVE**

Gladstone, then Prime Minister of Britain appointed Ripon as the Viceroy of India at a critical juncture in 1880 for sincerely carrying out his liberal policy. Reasons behind this appointment were, Ripon's closeness to the Prime Minister, conviction to liberalism and liberal movement, commitment to the party as well as his interest in and acquaintance with Indian affairs. Ripon had also practical experience of directing Indian administration while he was serving as Under-Secretary and Secretary of State for India after the first Indian Liberation War of 1857. His Viceroyalty was thus moulded by number of subjective factors prevalent both in India and Britain among the dominating persons and groups in the scenario. All of his programmes were also conditioned by the forces and contradictions emanating from these factors. His famous local government, popularly known as Ripon's Resolution of 1882, was in line with the spirit of the time.

Ripon's arrival in India was marked by some sharp changes in global and sub-continental politics : "With the down fall of Napoleon the French menace to the security of British in India disappeared completely. In its place the Russian advance in Central Asia caused anxiety to the British politicians." This advance became more evident from its continuing absorption of the Uzbek states of Central Asia after 1864. Till Ripon's regime, the Viceroys were chiefly occupied with the task of making a settlement with Russia. Because,

Russia was steadily advancing towards Merv in 1881. In such a situation the British Government took a policy to keep Afghanistan safe through negotiation with Russia and to ensure firmness of the Indian frontier. But for the successful materialization of this policy, firstly it needed firm base in India. Realizing this fact Gladstone stated : "Our title to be in India depends on a first condition, that our being there is profitable to Indian nations and on a second condition that we can make them see and understand it to be profitable." This observation of Gladstone worked as the philosophical base for all the activities of Lord Ripon in India.

With India on the other hand, the emergence of middle class and the War of 1857 which caused the take over of the state power of India by the Queen from the East India Company created new realities. The educated elites had been fighting for their due position in the civil service and the government was trying to face the demand for Indianizing the civil service by appointing reform commissions one after another. While these commissions failed to satisfy the demand of the educated Indians, who had lofty desire for becoming the member of Indian civil service with sufficient authority and comfort, then the fighting was turning towards a political direction. Despite this, being induced by liberal British education and by the flow of British liberalism they also inclined to people's participation and representation in administration. This inclination formed a strong political demand among the middle class which increased tremendously after the Permanent Settlement Act of 1793. This Act broke down the stability of the Indian societies. The farmers lost their right on land. Under the authority of Zamindar a network of exploitation existed all over the country. The period after 1793 was characterized by extraction, rural poverty, famine, migration of landless labour to the cities, emergence of rural touts and destruction of traditional village administration. In 1870 a new local body was formed by the government through the enactment of Chukidari Panchayet Act of that year, assigning the function of assessing and collecting "a local tax to pay the village watchman, the *chaukidari*" and "helping administration maintain law and order" that deteriorated during the "period of agrarian unrest." Behind the establishment of local government, there was also a great deal of agitation in the Indian press during that time for the extension of local self-government and Indian were demanding more service from the colonial regime. *Chaukidari Panchayat*, though readily provided a formal platform for accommodating the rural touts



but it had neither popular base nor the characteristics of local self-government. Because the "panchayat was not a body elected by the villagers but appointed by the District Magistrate or by officers subordinate to him. The District Magistrate could remove them too. The panchayat was not a voluntary office and no body could refuse to be a member of it." Moreover the authoritative imposed panchayat produced adverse reaction among socio-political and administrative elites.

Another phenomenon, in this respect, should be taken into consideration. When Ripon arrived India was suffering from Famine. The Famine Commission of 1880 in its recommendations also justified strongly the establishment of local bodies for facilitating relief works in the rural areas. Amidst the above mentioned complex situation, "mixture of personalities, ideologies, historical circumstances and administrative imperatives," Lord Ripon made known his famous resolution on Local Self-Government on May 18, 1882. This has an important policy declaration in which "clear principles that influenced the discussion of local government from that time forward" were laid down.

### MAIN FEATURE OF THE POLICY

It was laid down that with a view to improving the administration an instrument to promote political and popular education, this policy was adopted. Lord Ripon provided clear guidelines about the proper jurisdiction, the advisability of elections, the extent and method of government control and functions of the local bodies in his Resolution. All are, undoubtedly, the most fundamental issues for any local self-government unit.

Applying the principle that the area of jurisdiction was to be limited so as to enable the members to have local knowledge and interest, the Resolution suggested that the basic unit of administration should be at the largest the subdivision (present district) having definite duties and fund. But preference was given to small area. The local board would be constituted with both official and non-official members headed by a non-official chairmen, but the official members should not be more than the half of the total strength. This arrangement was suggested for ensuring preponderance of the non-official members of the board and for keeping the district officer as much as possible off the local board. Though both the provisions of appointment and selection

were kept for selecting the members, the system of election was appreciated whenever it could be practicable.

Regarding the type of control, the Resolution stated "that the control should be exercised from without not from within. The government should revise and check the acts of the local bodies but not dictate them." The board as proposed in the Resolution were to have the freedom to initiate and direct the construction of local works. The executive authorities should have the power of certain activities such as raising loan and the right of control after obtaining consent from the supreme government.

### CONSEQUENCE OF THE RESOLUTION

The Ripon's Resolution evoked different type of reactions from different corners though it was able to accommodate prevailing contradictions to a great extent under the theoretical framework of the English liberalism. Lord Ripon would believe that without the partnership of the creative minority on whom the future of India depended a reconciliation between the ruler and ruled was not possible. The Resolution opened the door of cooperation between the Indian political and social elites and the government. The general people also welcomed the measures and considered him as the true champion of liberalism. But the governors and senior officers including the District Magistrates could not become happy with the provision of non-official chairman and high-handedness of non-official members in the board as practically it curtailed their functional authority to some extent, and opposed Ripon's Resolution in the name of efficiency and economy in administration. This opposition developed a conflicting relationship between the Indian administrative elites and socio-political elites. The Secretary of the State took the side of the bureaucrats.

Despite contradictions and conflicts, on the basis of the Ripon's Resolution, a bill was introduced in the Bengal Legislative Council in February 1883. It aroused much controversies within and out side the council that compelled the council to send it to the Select Committee before passing it as law. After remaining there for one year the bill was reintroduced in the council in March 1885 an it was passed as the Act III of 1885 in April of the same year. The Governor-General approved it on July 11, 1885. Then Lord Ripon was not the Viceroy of India.

The Act introduced a three tier local government system having the following tiers : Union Committee, Local Board and District Board at union, sub-division and district levels respectively. It kept direct and or indirect elective principle for the non-official members and the chairmen of the union committees and local boards. But it let the chairmen of the district boards be appointed by the provincial government or elected by the members of the board from among them. Chairmanship of the local boards was also subject to the approval of the Lieutenant Governor. These provisions obviously curtailed the original spirit and structure of Ripon's Resolution and ensured bureaucratic dominance over local bodies. The Act of 1885 remained a landmark. When change in local government came, these were based on the provisions of this document, and until 1962 it was considered as basic document of major policy line on the concept of local government.

#### **FROM LOCAL BOARD TO ZILLA PARISHAD**

Introduction of the Basic Democracies system in 1962 gave a new dimension to the local government in Bangladesh, the then East Pakistan. This system continued till the creation of Bangladesh in 1971. Without any tier at the sub-divisional level it had four tiers viz. the union council, the thana Council, the district council and the divisional council. Except the members of the union councils none of the members and chairmen of the different councils were directly elected by the people and the whole system was under the bureaucratic tutelage. The first Government of Bangladesh could not establish or even design any stable local government system before 1975. This government, at that time, was almost unconcerned about the district level local bodies. Through the enactment of the District Administration Act of 1975 the government attempted to introduce a new system by changing the sub-divisions into districts and abolishing this intermediate tier of administration between the district and the thanas. The attempt was within a political framework of one party system introduced just before the enactment of the Act.

According to the Act, the District Governor was to be appointed by the President from among the members of the public service, the elected members of the Parliament and the members of the one party. The Governor was to hold office during the pleasure of the President. The Governor was declared to be chief executive in the district in charge of the general and revenue administration whereas the Deputy Commissioner was to act as the Member-



Secretary of the District administration council. In performing his duties, the Governor was made responsible to the government and subjects to its direction and control. It was decided by the then government that the newly appointed Governor would assume their offices with effect from September 1, 1975. But the regime of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was changed by a Military coup, Martial Law was declared and the Act was not implemented.

In 1976 a new local government system Ordinance was passed by the military government which made the provision for a three tiers local government system. The tiers were : Union Parishad, Thana Parishad and, Zilla Parishad. But in practice only the lower two tiers were operative. The rest remained as the paper provision. Government also gave little attention to it. Rather it created some bodies parallel to the local government units, such as District Development Coordinator (DDC) at the district level and Thana Development Committee (TDC) and Gram Sarkar at the Thana and the grassroot level respectively. On the part of a political regime marked by the bureaucratic preponderance and the broken political institution at the national level the question of sound local government unit was natural to be neglected. The government distributed benefits to the BNP (the government formed political party) politicians through Duct Pool (pool of ambassadors) and DDC. All these institutions were very much unplanned and created institutional haphazardness in the realm of local government as well as confusion and coordination problem in the field administration. This regime experienced the same consequences as its predecessor and the present government seized the state power in March 1982 under the leadership of General Ershad. The government expressed its willingness to uphold democratic tradition and people's participation in the administration theoretically on the one hand and practically brought about some major changes in the administrative and local system on the other. As a step towards decentralization it established Upa Zilla System, a fully representative local government body headed by elected chairman at the former thana level, presently renamed Upa Zilla. New districts were created in each sub-division and the sub-division as an administrative tier was abolished. The Zilla Parishad came into being in each district. All these changes were made following the recommendations of the Committee for Administrative Reorganisation/Reform (CARR) in 1982 in the name of participation and decentralization.

Interplay among the subjective and objective factors actively worked behind the fore-mentioned changes in the local government system in general and district council in particular since 1971. The nature of the government is also closely linked with it. The Ershad Government of Bangladesh, struck a different note. Unlike the BNP regime that failed to create popular political base, Ershad Government resorted to elections for political support. Out of presidential and parliamentary elections conducted by this government none was spontaneously participated by the major political parties and general masses. BNP led 7-party alliances have been refraining from participating in any election. Rather they carried on movement demanding the resignation of the government because they considered that it has taken over power illegally from the earlier popularly elected government. In the first Parliamentary Election held in May 1986, 8-party alliances led by Awami League and Jamat-i-Islami Bangladesh contested separately against the government party named Bangladesh Jatyia Party. But just after the election was over they in press conferences questioned the fairness of election and accused the government of robbing the votes.

In fact, a few of voters went to the voting centers and could exercise their voting rights. The Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), the country's largest opposition party also called general strike throughout the country on that day. However, in the face of continuous political agitation, government dismissed the parliament in November 1987 and conducted another election in May 1988. But all the major political parties including Awami League and Jamat-i-Islami boycotted the election. Only 5 per cent of the total voters cast their votes to elect their representatives in the parliament and the Jatyia Party of General Ershad won absolute majority in the election.

Jatyia Party is not also a politically consolidated party but it is composed of deserters comprising politicians coming from different political parties. Naturally group conflicts exist in the party. For the very integrity of the party, General Ershad has accommodated different groups at one platform by distributing benefits to the important individuals and groups.

As all the above circumstances hinder the government to build a popular base and acquire political legitimacy, it functionally relied on the armed forces for retaining power. It thus attached much importance to the armed forces and began to involve armed personnels in civil administrating in a very



unprecedented way. There were about seven ministers from military in the then cabinet and a large number of army personnels pursued holding various civil posts in the public administration of Bangladesh. Moreover, the General Ershad Government had prior commitment and a philosophy of ensuring army's share in civil administration in a legal way.

Next to the army, the Government relied on the civil bureaucracy for the successful execution of its policies and programmes. In this way, the Government took a peculiar stand of accommodating all the interests and pressure groups and individuals within the country for remaining in power and also served their interest even at the cost of people's welfare.

### **Summary of the Local Government (Zilla Parishad) Act, 1988.**

According to the Local Government (Zilla Parishad) Act, 1988 (Act No. 29 of 1988), the Zilla Parishad was set up in all the districts of Bangladesh as an upper tier local self-government unit. The recommendation of the Committee for Administrative Reorganization/Reform (CARR) of 1982 suggested the Government to form Zilla Parishad at the district with the directly elected chairman. But according to the Act, the chairman of the Zilla Parishad was nominated by the government. It had also representative, nominated, women and official members. The representative members of the Zilla Parishad consisted of all the members of the parliament, the chairmen of the paurashavas and the chairmen of the Up a Zilla Parishads within the district with voting rights. The nominated and the women members also exercised voting right whereas their numbers should not exceed the numbers of representative members. But the distinctive characteristics of this system was that the bureaucrats here had no voting rights in the decision making process. The result was that the officials had lost their dominance over the local body. The non-voting official members, the heads of the nation-building agencies working at the district acted as their technical staff.

### **Consequence of the Act**

The Local Government (Zilla Parishad) Act of 1988 was introduced mainly with a view to "... coordinate development activities at the district." The Government of General Ershad introduced this bill to accommodate government officials of the districts (as official members), Upazilla chairman (as elected representative members), ruling political party's elites (as

nominated and women members), local members of parliament (as representative members) under the shadow of a local government institution. The concept of local government to ensure people's participation in local activities was totally ignored by the Act. On the basis of the Act, accommodation of various interests and pressure groups within the district was formalised by their participation through nomination of the concerned ministry which ultimately extended and ensured government party's control and strengthened its supervision over this institution.

Applying the principle that the area of jurisdiction was to be limited within the district, the Act suggested that this upper tier local body should have definite duties and funds. The Zilla Parishad was constituted with the government nominated chairman where district level civil servant, i.e., Deputy Commissioner acted as official member of the Parishad. But the Deputy Commissioner exercised all executive power in the district as chief executive. This arrangement ensured preponderance of ruling party's wish to constitute Zilla Parishad. On the otherhand, chairman was directly elected by the people in other two local government units, i.e., Union Parishad at the grass-root level and Upazilla Parishad at the middle level.

### CONCLUSION

From Ripon to Ershad, i.e., from 1882 to 1988, a period more than a century, is not obviously a short time for the development of any institution with sufficient soundness. But unfortunately the development of district level local body in Bangladesh was disappointing. It has been pointed in the introduction, the general expectation for the acquisition of all the traits of local self-government practically could not be materialized without satisfying the interest of masses, socio-political elites, administrative elites, and ruling power elites. Subjective or theoretical features of district level local body remain the same both in Ripon's and Ershad's regimes. But objective forces are different.

The major difference between the two governments—Ripon's and Ershad's—is that the former ruled a colony while the later reigned an independent state. The objective of these two were obviously not only different but also conflicting. As the head of the colony, at first Ripon had an inherent obligation of upholding the interest of the British and to serve the interest of the colony was merely secondary issue. In the installation of local government

he might have some honest purposes or liberal zeal but it was not without the interest of his country or achievement of those objectives at the cost of British interest.

Unlike Ripon's resolution, the Zilla Parishad Act was passed by the government of an independent state which declared democracy as its political ideology though it captured the state power by a military coup, and decentralization and people's participation as its administrative ethics. All these, practically followed, are very much helpful for installation of responsive and representative local body at any tier. The government, of course, always tried to prove its truthfulness to its declaration by citing the examples of the commencement of parliamentary and presidential elections and introduction of representative Upazilla system as middle tier of local government under political headship endowed with the function of formulating and implementing development plans of local nature. But the extent of its success in configuring local self-government at the district level in the name of Zilla Parishad was neither in line with the Upazilla system nor with the characteristics of local self-government. Moreover, in principle it was less representative than that of Ripon's Resolution.

Ripon was successful in displaying his commitment to liberalism and configuring local self-government with its major traits and satisfying the demand of Indian socio-political elites as well as the long term benefit of the British when he gave his Resolution. But since he failed to uphold the authority of official elites, his proposal could not be implemented as per the original text. But the Zilla Parishad was quite unsuccessful in every aspects. It satisfied only the government officials and Member of Parliament of the Treasury Bench. In this respect, Ripon seemed to be more progressive.

The Zilla Parishad was headed by a political appointee who acted as the Chairman of the Parishad. It was against the very principle of local self-government. Local self-government could not work properly with the Government-appointed head. The Zilla Parishad Government system now existing in the country works side by side with district administration, the main field level administrative unit. But it only performed the coordinating and supervising function of development activities at the district level. Moreover, self-government cannot exist only for coordination and supervision. Without active function, coordination and supervision are simply meaningless. The



Upazilla Parishad was the new creation of the previous Government which got heavy developmental role and assumed the supreme authority in the Upazilla administration. But this Upazilla Parishad with the elected people's representative could not work peacefully and systematically without the help, guidance and support of upper level local self-governing institutions. In this respect, government should evaluate existing performance of this local body complying with its formal objective and the actual need of the people. The local government is generally a system to focus local problems and help people to resolve their difficulties locally. At the same time, it has a role of providing education and political experience so that the leadership could emerge for a national level. But the objectives are more theoretical and their positive contribution depends on the people who make use of them.

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## Educational Backwardness of Bengali Muslims and the Role of Muslim Press

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M. NURUL QUAIYUM\*

At the beginning of the twentieth century the Muslims of Bengal lagged behind the Hindus in education for a variety of reasons. The crucial period of decadance began from the year 1757 A.D. when the political administration of the country was virtually seized by the British East India Company after the battle of Plassey. The tragic battle was followed by a series of fateful events leading to the decay of Muslim educational institutions of Bengal. As the British began to consolidate their power in Bengal after taking over the administration of Revenue and Finance Department from Shah Alam, the Mughal ruler of Delhi in 1765, the Muslims were gradually driven out of services of Revenue, Finance and Accounts Departments which had far reaching effects not only on the economic life of the Muslims of Bengal but on their educational progress as well.

When the British took over the political power of Bengal, one fourth of the whole province of Bengal and rent free *Lakhiraj* and *Awqaf* land was dedicated for education and various other religious works.<sup>1</sup> Under the operation of the Regulations of 1793, and 1819 and finally the Resumption Laws of 1828, most of the *Lakhiraj* land and considerable amount of other landed property were confiscated and resumed by the British ruler. Muslim educational institutions and foundations which were large in number and were supported by endowments, suffered most. Sir W. W. Hunter wrote : "Hundreds of ancient families were ruined and the educational system of the Mussalmans, which was almost entirely maintained by rent-free grants,

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received its death blow .<sup>2</sup> The scholastic classes of the Muhammadans emerged from the eighteen years (1828--1846) were absolutely ruined. There could be no doubt whatever, that from those Resumptions, the decay of the Muhammadan system of education started.

In Bengal, Persian was "the great language of business in every department and continued as the language of the courts even down to 1835."<sup>3</sup> In 1835, Lord William Bentinck passed the celebrated Educational Resolution of the Government of India (dated 7th March, 1835) in favour of English education. This was followed in 1837 by the abolition of Persian as the language of Judicial and Revenue Proceedings. Persian as the court language was replaced by the local languages in the lower and English in the higher courts. This policy proved disastrous to the Muslims and struck a death blow to their political, social and economic supremacy in Bengal.<sup>4</sup> The Muslims bitterly resented the educational policy and could not easily reconcile themselves to the changed circumstances, as the newly introduced system was divorced from religious instruction a thing unknown to Islam and they felt that it "forced them to learn not only the language of their foreign rulers but also the language of their subject races."<sup>5</sup>

On the otherhand, the Hindus who for many years past had to learn a foreign language, namely Persian, to get into the offices of the State, calmly accepted the transition and zealously began the study of the English language and western sciences. It was stated in a Government report in 1907 that "the difficulties which beset the problem of Muhammadan education in India are due in great measure to the traditions and character of the Muhammadans themselves. The British Government instituted English education in India. The Hindus embraced it eagerly, but the Muhammadans stood aloof, and the English education offered by the ordinary university, college and high school is still regarded by a great number of them with considerable suspicion."<sup>6</sup>

Another reason which was responsible for keeping the Muslim students away from the school was "the use in them of books whose tone is hostile or scornful to the Muhammadan community or to Islam and of books full of Hindu ideas and sentiments."<sup>7</sup> The vernacular schools of Bengal and Bihar were also rendered obnoxious to a devout Muslim by the instructors being of the Hindu community whose instruction followed a typical Hindu pattern.

Adam mentions in his Third Report that "both in Bengal and Bihar the business of teaching common schools is chiefly in the hands of kayastha or writer caste."<sup>8</sup> The Bengali books used in these schools as well as the lectures delivered there, were full of Sanskrit words.<sup>9</sup> It was stated in a Government report published in 1872 that "there has been a strong tendency to sanskritise the written Bengali, so much so that the Bengali of our school books had begun to differ widely from the language spoken and understood by an intelligent but unlettered man from streets."<sup>10</sup> Because of this tendency, the Bengal Government "directed that the Government Educational Department and its schools should teach the real vernacular of the country."<sup>11</sup> However, the Muslims, irrespective of rich and poor, did not like naturally, to send their children to these Bengali schools.

Of course the religious prejudice was not the only cause which deterred the Muslims from the cultivation of modern education. The Muslims of Bengal had very limited opportunities of acquiring modern education and there is little doubt that poverty was a major factor in the way of Muslims and retarded the educational progress of the community.<sup>12</sup> The causes of lower number of Muslim students in high English, middle English, middle vernacular and upper primary schools were attributed to the fact that "the Moslems, the bulk of whom are agriculturists, were more seriously affected by the hard times and had to withdraw their boys from schools on account of their inability to pay for the education of their children."<sup>13</sup>

The Muslim community in general was a rural community, whereas the major number of educational institutions were located in urban areas. The Muslim students therefore needed badly a place to reside to carry on education. A prominent English language weekly of the Muslim community of Bengal, wrote in 1895 : "The insufficiency of accommodation for Muhammadan students coming to Calcutta for purpose of education, has long since been recognised and has been acting as a great barrier in the way of Muhammadan educational progress."<sup>14</sup> When Persian was the court language most of the government officials and members of the Bar were Muslims and large number of Muslim students used to board and lodge with them. With the abolition of Persian as the court language the number of Muslim officials and lawyers fell off considerably. The students supported by them were thus put to a great hardship. This is probably one of the causes that have operated to deter the Muslims from sending their children to higher English schools.<sup>15</sup> Again, the



unsympathetic attitude of the governing bodies of schools and colleges and of some of the non-Muslim teachers had in no small degree contributed in discouraging Moslem students from joining these institutions.<sup>16</sup>

Of course it can not be denied altogether that the Bengali Muslims during the nineteenth and even early twentieth centuries showed general apathy towards studies and aversion towards modern and commercial education. Even the large Muslim population of the Dhaka city seem to have taken little advantage of the excellent facilities for education provided in the Dhaka College which was affiliated to Calcutta University as soon as it started in 1858.<sup>17</sup> The leading Muslim families of Dhaka also failed to play their part in the sphere of higher education.<sup>18</sup> *The Moslem Chronicle* noted the "intellectual indolence among the Mussalmans of Bengal" and stated in its editorial in 1836 : "The comparative intellectual indolence that characterises the Mussalmans of Bengal is coming to be very serious national concern. . . . The Mussalmans of Bengal at the present day appear to be embedded in a perfect intellectual torpor."<sup>19</sup>

At the Census of 1901, it was estimated that out of every thousand Muhammadan males in Bengal, 81 were literate and that out of every thousand Muhammadan females, only 3 could read and write.<sup>20</sup> Bengali Muslims backwardness in education in comparison with other religious sects in 1911 is shown in the following table :

Showing the number of literate per 1000 of the same sex and religion aged 5 and over in Bengal in 1911

Religion	Male	Female
Parsi	892	851
Jew	833	712
Jain	794	122
Sikh	554	95
Christian	590	467
Hindu	238	23
Muslim	93	03

Source : *Census of India, 1911*, Vol. V, Part I, Calcutta : Central Publication Branch, 1933, p.324.

Bengali Muslim journalism was born in the hands of those duty conscious persons, who were alarmed by the degrading condition of the Muslims and were ecclesiastically stimulated with the desire to save and uplift the society and for bringing awakening among the Muslims of Bengal.<sup>21</sup> Naturally the backwardness of the Bengali Muslims in the field of education was mentioned with grief in the press which made every effort to induce them to get education. It discussed the causes of illiteracy and invited the educated people to help spread education among the Muslims of Bengal. Various points of view were discussed about educating the farmers and other illiterate Muslims of villages. The literacy of the Hindus and the illiteracy of the Muslims were compared in an effort to awaken the Muslims.

Mentioning the backwardness of Bengali Muslims in the field of education *Naba Nur* wrote in 1906 : "Bengali Hindus are more educated and advanced than that the Hindus of other provinces of India. On the other hand the Bengali Muslims are much inferior than the Muslims of the other provinces of India. Where shall we find salvation? . . . We would find it in education. The journal pointed out that just as no other task could be accomplished without effort, so acquiring of education would also require vigorous effort of the learners."<sup>22</sup>

*Basana* commented in 1909 : "To light the lamp of learning among the masses is an urgent need. Among the Muslims, it is even more difficult task. Unceasing and selfless effort is required for this purpose."<sup>23</sup> *Basana* called on the Bengali Muslims "not to remain proud and complacent about the deeds of our forefathers but to prove by our actions that we are their worthy successors." Writing about the advancement of the Hindus in literature and other fields of education it regretted that the Muslims were lagging behind the Hindus.<sup>24</sup>

*Basana* considered poverty as one of the main causes of the educational backwardness of the Muslims of Bengal and said : "As the majority of the Muslims are very poor, the Muslim boys have to go to work to help their parents. So they cannot go to school and therefore the many elementary and high schools are of little use to them." The paper suggested to collect subscription from meeting and various sources with the aim to introduce prizes and stipends in the schools to encourage and to help meet the expenses of the



poor students. It asked the Muslims to discard luxury, litigation and to spend money on the education of children.<sup>25</sup>

*Saogat* commented : "If education is the measuring rod of civilization, then our country is far away from the civilized world. There seems to be no reason to conceal the fact that we ourselves are responsible for this state of affairs."<sup>26</sup> It called on the Muslim youth to be determined to put an end to this condition and warned that unless they did so their future would be dark.<sup>27</sup>

*Moslem Darpan* stated : "We are absolutely in the dark about education. We do not seek it as we did in the past. Our Prophet made education compulsory for all Muslim men and women and asked them to go to China in the pursuit of knowledge. But, alas! today less than five per cent of the Muslims are educated."<sup>28</sup>

Describing the lot of Muslims deprived of the light of education *Moajjin* stated : "The Muslim society is still in a trance under the spell of Satan in the form of ignorance; ignorance is sin, sin leads to Satan. Ignorance clouds the vision of men. It fills their hearts with so much weeds that no seed of good advice can sprout there or bear flower of fruits."<sup>29</sup> *Moajjin* noted that in elementary classes, the number of Muslim students was near to satisfactory but in higher education, they were scantily represented. The paper thought that the cause was economic. The higher costs of books, tuition fees caused even the brilliant Muslim students to become dropout and end up their studies.<sup>30</sup>

A large number of Muslims in Bengal were farmers. They were unwilling to send their children to schools for various reasons. *Sadhana* noted : "The children of farmers, with their scanty education, are unable to get jobs and the little education he has, makes him look down the profession of farming. Hence this jigsaw puzzle." *Sadhana* further stated that without the spread of education at every strata of society, there would be little national progress. The educated people were asked to think about the problem.<sup>31</sup>

*Al Islah* described how the Muslims of Bengal, particularly the sons of peasant families were deprived of the light of education and also mentioned the causes of their deprivation : "Almost 99 per cent of the Muslims of Bengal and Assam are illiterate. There are many reasons for this state of affairs, the chief being apathy of guardians and display of excessive affection to children. When a boy reaches the age of five, it is high time to begin his academic career. But

the thought does not cross the minds of the guardians who are unobservant due to ignorance. They take pity on the boy and do not burden him with the business of learning and wait for him to be toughened with age. When the boy reaches the age of 7 or 8 he becomes familiar with the boundaries of the hamlet, its cultivable fields and grazing fields . . . after all the country is mainly dependent on agriculture.<sup>32</sup> The journal has shown how such a boy spent the entire day helping his father in agricultural work or in some other way abstaining from going to school or learning lessons. In this way "a gifted boy is forced to remain ignorant and illiterate."<sup>33</sup>

*Al-Islah* called for compulsory education and spreading it in villages which would remove the darkness of illiteracy and ignorance and arouse the nation from sleep. It appealed to the educated men and women to lead these people away from darkness to light and not to hate them but to awaken them through education.<sup>34</sup> *Al-Islah* wrote that according to the sages, there were two ways of removing ignorance : (i) to mix with the learned and take their advice and (ii) to enrol in a school and to take lessons from the teachers. It called upon the religious leaders to form an organization and make an effort to remove ignorance and illiteracy from the Muslim society.<sup>35</sup>

*Chholtan* wrote : "Eighty to eighty-five per cent of the people of Bengal are farmers, three fourth of whom are Muslims. There are no arrangements for elementary or primary education for them. The Government is not showing any interest and the few institutions which enjoyed Government assistance, are of little use to the Muslims."<sup>36</sup>

*Chholtan* was of opinion that lack of proper education was the main cause for the downfall and sufferings of the Muslims : "As the Hindus have learnt English they have a monopoly of all Government offices and it is not easy matter for the Muslims to get jobs there."<sup>37</sup> The paper advised the Muslims to undertake the pursuit of knowledge with more eagerness in order to achieve equal position with the Hindus : "If the Hindus purchase twenty-five books in order to acquire knowledge, Muslims must purchase fifty. If a Hindu writer writes six articles a year in social interest, a Muslim writer must write twelve similar articles."<sup>38</sup> *Chholtan* appealed to the educated people to take upon themselves the responsibility of spreading the light of education among the illiterate Muslim masses. "The educated persons", it said, "must always



seriously remember that the fallen nation would have to be brought back to consciousness through their sacrifices, strength and efforts."<sup>39</sup>

*Hedayat* expressed displeasure that the masses were illiterate and recalled that the leaders of the society had done next to nothing about this problem. Addressing the farmers, it wrote that "if the farmers had been educated the influential people would have no longer been able to sit on their ivory towers. So, they wish the masses would continue to remain illiterate" it complained.<sup>40</sup>

*Sariate Eslam* accused the Muslims of Bengal for negligence of education. It stated : "While men of other communities are getting intellectual jobs and thus helping their own community, the Muslims because of their lack of education are only getting blue collar jobs and thus lowering themselves and their community in the eyes of other." It called upon the Muslims not to spend extravagantly on social festivals and litigation but to spend on education.<sup>41</sup>

*Sikha* commented that as the Muslims were not fond of education there were no educated people among them. "They love alms giving so there are donators as well as beggars among them. If they would have loved education it would have been the other way around."<sup>42</sup> *Sikha* further stated : "Mass education is the prime need of the society. The Muslims of this sub-continent cannot expect respect from the other people of the world. As only a few people of our community are educated we are lagging behind other communities. *Sikha* called for explaining the importance of education through plays. "The problems caused by lack of education and the benefits that come from education can be explained to the people through dramas" it suggested.<sup>43</sup>

*Satyagrahi* called upon the leaders of the society to take appropriate measures for the spread of education among the Muslims of Bengal. It expressed profound regret that the influential members of the Muslim community seldom considered the matter seriously.<sup>44</sup>

Thus we see that the Bengali Muslim press endeavoured much to make the Muslims conscious about the necessity of the spreading of education among the Muslims of Bengal. Gradually the Muslims began to feel the importance of education and learning. Muslim pupils besides receiving their primary education in *maqtabs* and *madrasas* also began to attend largely the ordinary primary schools and the primary classes of secondary schools. For instance it can be mentioned that during the 1913-14 session, the number of Muslim

students at the primary stages (in the presidency of Bengal as constituted in 1912) was 5,31,781. In the 1931-32 session the number increased upto 9,55,938.<sup>45</sup> The number of Muslim girls in primary classes was 66,469 in the year 1913-14 and increased to 3,02,808 in 1931-32 session.<sup>46</sup> At higher educational institutions also Muslims began to attend increasingly since the second decade of the present century.<sup>47</sup>

The Bengali Muslim press played a vital and constructive role in spreading education and learning among the backward Bengali Muslims by depicting the condition of Bengali Muslims' backwardness in the field of education and by trying to change Muslim public opinion in favour of modern education. At the same time it pointed out the factors which were causing handicaps for the Bengali Muslims in their path towards advancement in the field of education. This caused awareness among the leaders of the Muslim community and they tried to remove these handicaps either through government cooperation or through their own efforts thereby making the Bengali Muslims march towards progress through education possible.

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# Kashmir : The Source of Confrontation in South Asia

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AHMAD EJAZ

## INTRODUCTION

After the cold war, with the dawn of new era of amity and conciliation, the world is moving fast towards the solutions of the pending conflicts. But the South Asian region unfortunately is facing a stalemate in this respect. It is still a security deficit area. South Asian regimes do not seem willing to mend ways to shape the destiny of their people for peace and development. They are still not content to the peaceful solutions of their internal and external problems. The prevailing uncertainty and political instability in the region is mainly because of the 44 years long antagonism between the major states--India and Pakistan. This hostile relationship, it is believed, mainly due to the outstanding dispute of Kashmir.

Kashmir's most unique strategic location and particularly its contiguity to the both India and Pakistan has endowed it with strategic importance in the eyes of the both nations. They adequately perceive it a sole assurance to their respective securities.<sup>1</sup> Motivated by their respective security perspectives, they have designed clashing policies over their claim for Kashmir and involved in military building since their emergence as independent states. These contrary approaches, consequently, have driven them towards three dreadful fightings in the past and still leading towards the fourth one.

### I

Under the Indian Independence Act of July 1947, when the British government declared the independence of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, the

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paramountcy of the British Crown over the princely states, numbering five hundred sixty-two, also came to an end. With the lapse of paramountcy, the states were constitutionally and legally free to decide their own destiny. Every one of the 562 states decided freely to accede to either of the two dominions except the Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kashmir which were not let to enjoy their right of self-determination by force by India. The states of Junagadh and Hyderabad, having Hindu majority of population under the Muslim rulers, desired either to remain independent or to join Pakistan but it was not esteemed by India because consequences seemed going against Indian aggressive designs. Ultimately, India deployed its forces and forcibly annexed the states on 9 November 1947 and 13 September 1948 respectively. India justified its action with the doctrine underlying the division of sub-continent on the basis of Muslim and non-Muslim populated zones.<sup>2</sup> But at the same time, in case of Muslim majority state of Kashmir, India flatly denied this principle and annexed the state on 26 October 1947. India's claim over Kashmir was the truest reflection of its vile idea – 'Akhund Bharat' (United India).<sup>3</sup>

At the time of independence, the state of Jammu and Kashmir, with 93 per cent pre-dominant Muslim population, was under the Hindu ruler, Maharaja Hari Singh, a descendant of Gulab Singh, a Dogra Rajput who had purchased the Kashmir Valley in 1846 on payment of Rs. 75 lakh. To the Muslims of the state who had been suffering from the iron hand of the Hindu rulers for last long time, the partition of sub-continent was as a wind-fall. They wished to accede to the Pakistan but Maharaja Hari Singh's intrigues with Indian leaders disappointed them and when they stressed, Maharaja took repressive measures and consequently, an armed revolt erupted against the Maharaja. Dogra forces made a massacre of a large number of Muslims.<sup>4</sup>

On this extreme cruelty, the tribesmen from the adjoining territory of Pakistan crossed the borders to support Kashmiri Muslims. Turning towards new Delhi in order to secure military help Maharaja signed the Instrument of Accession to India on 26 October 1947 and within the same day the deployment of Indian forces in Valley was begun.<sup>5</sup> As the result of operation by Indian troops, about 80,000 Kashmiris were slaughtered and 700,000 rendered homeless or compelled to take refuge in West Pakistan and Azad Kashmir.<sup>6</sup>



With the deployment of Indian forces, the stage for a large-scale war between India and Pakistan had been set. Pakistan reacted swiftly to Indians' aggressive moves but comprehensively, in order to prevent the war spreading out and to seek a judicious and peaceful settlement of the issue, it, on her side, initiated the diplomatic efforts for a summit. The Governor-Generals of both countries, on November 1, 1947, held three-and-half hours long negotiations in which Quaid-i-Azam presented a proposal comprising of three notable points—holding of a 'cease fire', 'withdrawal of all alien troops and carrying out a 'plebiscite' under the supervision of both governments.<sup>7</sup> Lord Mountbatten, the then Governor-General of India, outrightly rejected the proposal and ultimately, bilateral diplomatic efforts came to an end inconclusively.

## II

India took the Kashmir question to the Security Council charging Pakistan for assisting and abetting the Kashmiris rebels with personnels and arms. In its counter complaint, Pakistan accused India of the violent and forcible annexation of Kashmir against the conviction of Kashmiris.<sup>8</sup> After examining the claims of contending parties, the Security Council adopted two resolutions, one on January 17, 1948 asking the parties not to aggravate the situation but to do every thing to improve it and second on January 20, 1948 establishing a mediatory commission consisting of five members, which came to be known as the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan.

Within one month, the Security Council adopted another resolution, on February 6, 1948, calling for :

- (a) The end of all violent and hostile activities in state.
- (b) Withdrawal of all forces.
- (c) Return of all refugees.
- (d) The establishment of administration.
- (e) Holding of a plebiscite under UN supervision.

The resolution was accepted by Pakistan while India outrightly rejected and requested for the adjournment of the debate. Security Council, having no option on Indian request, resumed debate in next month--March 1948--and finally a fresh resolution was adopted on April 21, 1948 granting India to withhold her troops in state in 'minimum strength' requisite for the assistance of civil authority, and sanctioning the UN Secretary-General for the nomination of a plebiscite Administrator.<sup>9</sup>

Meanwhile, when the debates in Security Council were in progress to seek out a constitutional and peaceful settlement to the dispute, India, to suppress the freedom fighters, launched a fresh military operation which came to be known as 'Summer Offensive'. It expedited the anxiety. Pakistan's borders were threatened. Therefore, taking some 'preventive measures', Pakistan decided to dispatch a slight volume of its troops to Azad Kashmir, which, holding the defensive positions, succeeded to halt the Indian offensive.<sup>10</sup>

While the fighting in Kashmir was going on unabated, the UNCIP rushed to area to study the situation. After examining the circumstances and having lengthy and difficult consultations with both countries, Commission passed a resolution on August 13, 1948 which emphasized on:<sup>11</sup>

- (a) The immediate cessation of hostilities.
- (b) The withdrawal of the all troops.
- (c) Appointment of UN military observer.
- (d) The maintenance of the future status of the state in accordance with the will of the people of Kashmir through a free and fair plebiscite.

Proceeding furthermore, to supplement the resolution of August 13, UNCIP adopted another resolution, which was known as the resolution of January 5, 1949, outlining the principles and procedure for a free and impartial plebiscite under UN auspices. The both resolutions had been seconded by India, Pakistan as well as Security Council.

In the immediate effect of these resolutions, the cease-fire took effect on January 1, 1949, the demarcation of cease-fire line was worked out on July 27, 1949 and Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz was designated as the plebiscite Administrator on March 22, 1949. But the larger portions of the resolutions

remained unimplemented because of the long controversy arisen as to the interpretations of the various clauses of the resolutions particularly to the programme of demilitarization of the state. As, it was preparatory to the plebiscite, hence until the one stage was completed, the next stage--plebiscite - could not be possible. On her part, Security Council time and again, to make the both parties agreeable to a reconcilable approach to the issue of the demilitarization of state, despatched a number of mediators who set out different constructive and feasible plans to deal with the subject, which ultimately were turned-down. The growing uncertainty endangered the regional security once again when the pro-Indian held Kashmir Constituent Assembly was formed in 1951, to incorporate the occupied valley into the Indian Union. In response of Pakistan's harsh criticism, India massed its troops on the borders of the Pakistan. But this hostility did not develop into an open clash.<sup>12</sup>

### III

With the coming of Muhammad Ali Bogra in power as Prime Minister of Pakistan, the efforts were assembled on bilateral level to abridge the gulf between the two countries by settling the differences over Kashmir. Bogra took initiative and called upon Nehru to agree to coming to the conference table. The negotiations between the two leaders, from June to August 1953, were concluded with an optimistic affirmation in which Nehru agreed with the Bogra that the destiny of Kashmir should be decided in accordance with the wishes of Kashmiris through a plebiscite. But soon later, the whole optimism vanished when Nehru backed out of this statement. To justify this volte face, he blamed the US-Pakistan Security connections and US arms supply to Pakistan. The argument was absolutely unreasonable. Commenting on this Indian's attitude, G.W. Chaudhary wrote: "So far, India's 'inability' to hold the plebiscite had been a disagreement over demilitarisation; now began the second excuse : Pakistan's new military strength."<sup>13</sup> Pakistan time and again assured India that it had no aggressive designs against her and US military aid was meant for defensive purpose only. Pakistani leaders attempted to impress upon the Indian leaders that if controversies between both states were terminated quietly, the fears of war then naturally would dwindle. But Indians paid no attention at all this, but instead they promoted the anxiety by placing their troops on the Pakistani borders in 1955, and captured the territory of 'Chad Bet' in the Rann of Kutch.<sup>14</sup>



The subsequent years proved to be more crucial. India attempted to finalise the integration of the state with the Indian Union. The pro-Indian Constituent Assembly, formed in 1951, adopted a Constitution on November 17, 1956, declaring the state as an integral part of India. Pakistan objected these India's moves and approached the Security Council to prevent it. The Security Council, on January 24, 1957, adopted a 'holding resolution' reaffirming that the "final dispensation of Kashmir would be made by a plebiscite under UN auspices and any action by the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir would not constitute a dispensation in accordance with the above principle."<sup>15</sup> By approving another resolution on February 21, 1957, the Security Council, in turn, sent two arbitrators to the area who like their predecessors also failed to find out a 'feasible and amicable solution of the dispute.

While assuming the power in Pakistan, Ayub Khan took keen interest in the normalisation of relations between two states for the sake of regional peace and security. He put forward a proposal in 1959 offering a plan for joint defence to take the protective measures to the stability of the region. India not only rejected this unique offer but to some extent, abruptly repudiated the existence of Kashmir dispute. Meanwhile with the outbreaking of an armed clash between India and China in October 1962, an opportunity became possible for Pakistan to settle down its differences with India through military operation but Pakistan, proving to be a peace-loving nation, decided not to exploit the situation. As the result of Indo-China war, the unquestionable defeat of India was alarming to the Non-Communist world. It made the United States and her allies more conscious about the security of the South Asian region. Therefore, to consolidate the non-communist forces in region, they turned their attentions to cool Indo-Pakistan rivalries. Western mediation to area, consisting of Averall Harriman of US and Duncan Sandys of Britain, argued with both parties to induce them to a compatible neighbourliness. Subsequently, the six rounds of direct dialogues were held at ministerial level from October 27, 1962 to May 16, 1963 and lasted inconclusively with an announcement of formal failure. Both parties blamed each other for the collapse of the talks. However, in the opinion of the international media, India was the responsible for all disappointing consequences. *The Daily Telegraph* commented that it was India which sabotaged the talks "because India, the party in possession of everything that matters, has felt strong enough to resist

the concession that any solution would require.<sup>16</sup> However, by the end of the fruitless negotiations, the both parties reverted to their original stands and the gulf between them widened more in subsequent years resulting in the erupting of a big armed combat.

The forcible annexation of the state by India had shocked the sense of honour of Kashmiris. A wave of unrest began and soon engulfed the entire valley when, in December 1963, the theft of the Holy Relic from the Hazratbal (Srinagar) added fuel to the fire. The discontent among the Kashmiri masses took the form of rioting and open rebellion. The India's harsh measures could not flourish to repress the mass revolt. With the passage of time, revolt turned into a political movement, demanding the right of self-determination.<sup>17</sup> In this hard time, Pakistan put all of its sympathies with Kashmiris. President Ayub Khan pledged Kashmiris to provide every rightful assistance to secure for them, the right of self-determination.<sup>18</sup> Pakistan also asked Security Council to save the Kashmir and Kashmiris from the brutal and savage hand of India. By the time, when Indians saw the situation out of their control, they decided to extend the conflict to the borders of Pakistan. India launched a massive assault on West Pakistan on September 6, 1965. During this 17 days long war, both countries seized sizeable formations, having suffered heavier losses in men and material. As the result of UN efforts, the war was over on September 23, 1965 but the hostilities remained. However, to ease this ultimate anxiety, Soviet Union offered its good offices. The talks between India and Pakistan through Soviet mediation eventually took place in Tashkent from January 4, to January 10, 1966. Tashkent produced nothing because no progress towards a settlement of the Kashmir issue was made. The question was given a briefest mention by affirming that "each of the sides set forth its respective position" over Kashmir.<sup>19</sup> The main achievement was the pledge of both parties to withdraw their troops to the positions they held before August 5, 1965, and to resume normal relations by following the formula of non-interference in the domestic affairs of each other. Both sides also acceded to work for the betterment of relations by holding the meetings at various levels "on the matters of direct concern to both countries."<sup>20</sup>

Tashkent Declaration could not fulfill the hopes of awakening peace-loving people of the world. However, it was regarded as an 'effective step' towards the peace in the South Asia. But the 'Tashkent spirit' suddenly sagged, when under the terms of Tashkent Declaration, the Foreign Ministers'



level talks were opened on March 1-2, 1966, to find a peaceful settlement to their disputes including Kashmir, but closed inconclusively in a deadlock after only first meeting. The Indian Foreign Minister, Sardar Swarn Singh, stated on the collapse of talks : 'We reiterated our well known position on Jammu and Kashmir.'<sup>21</sup>

#### IV

The disregard of the Tashkent Declaration in term of hostile propaganda, interference into the internal affairs of each other, and border violations, reached its climax in the post-Tashkent years. Simultaneously, the regional political atmosphere had undergone the significant changes. The apprehension of swelling strength of China had a emphatic impact on the postures of both international cold war super-powers the United States and Soviet Union. They both had perceived the Chinese growing strength and influence as catastrophic for their respective designs in area. Consequently, the detente between US and Soviet Union led them to direct their policies to build up India as a counterpoise to China, which ultimately upset the balance of power in this part of the world.

The India's enlarging military strength eventually once again, endangered the regional security. In December 1971 war, the bulk of the clash mainly had been confined to the Pakistan's eastern wing but the Kashmir front as usual remained violent. The cease-fire line was violated. The strategically vital and important sectors of 'Poonch' and 'Chhamb' were mainly war areas. With the result of war in a dead loss of Pakistan in form of breaking away of its eastern wing, a heavy deadlock took place in area but the wrangling continued over the cease-fire line in Kashmir. The Indian elite came out with claim that the cease-fire line had been disturbed during the war, therefore with the due adjustments, the line should be respected as international border. Indians also criticised the function of International Observers, challenging their legal status. Although, Pakistan refuted all Indian claims and blames.

The installation of democratic regime in Pakistan changed the notion of past and envisaged a new foreign policy labelled 'bilateralism'. Following this new course, Pakistani Government was determined to resolve differences with India through a bilateral approach. Consequently, a summit at Simla was held between President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Prime Minister Indira Ghandi from June 28, to July 3, 1972. The Summit was concluded with the signing of a



pact known as the Simla Accord. Under the agreement, both parties agreed to cease 'conflict and confrontation' by settling their variances through peaceful, amicable and amiable means. So far as the Kashmir dispute was concerned, it was resolved that "the representations of the two sides will meet to discuss further the modalities and arrangements for the establishment of durable peace and normalization of relations including a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir."<sup>22</sup> However Simla like Tashkent failed to give a solution to the Kashmir question. Because over the question of implementing the pact for an amicable settlement of the issue, an endless debate was initiated by advancing the varying interpretations. The paragraph II of the accord had become controversial in which the two countries "resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them."<sup>23</sup> India views this paragraph as a clear indication that by agreeing to this bilateral approach, both sides pledged to settle the Kashmir dispute through bilateral negotiations without outside interference. While Pakistan, on the other hand, contends that it is a narrow interpretation of the text and insists that the phraseology of accord can never halt it from raising the Kashmir issue in the United Nations or any other international forum because clause II does not contain the phrase 'exclusively bilateral'. Pakistan further argues that the principle of bilateralism also can never bar from raising the Kashmir issue in any international forum, because the accord states that the relations between Pakistan and India would be governed by the principle of the charter of the United Nations and, it is also held that, the consignment to the bilateralism is well within the meaning of Article 33 of the UN Charter which imposes an obligation on the member states that they should solve their disputes and issues through peaceful means.<sup>24</sup> Even Prime Minister Bhutto himself made it clear time and again that the bilateralism was not a bar on Pakistan to go to the United Nations. Once, he said in this regard : "Many states in the world believe in bilateralism, but that certainly does not close to them the doors of the United Nations."<sup>25</sup> He added : "The Charter of the United Nations itself suggests that bilateralism is a method of resolving international disputes."<sup>26</sup>

Today, after the twenty years, the state of affairs deteriorated more and became complicated further. It is very right to say that it has become 'very worst'. The hopes for betterment of relation, establishment of peace, assurance to the security and welfare of the humanity have not met any success.

## V

Having suffered for 44-years of long Indian brutality and savagery, the Kashmiris have awakened to throw away the Indian colonial yoke for ever. The present uprising in held Kashmir started in 1988 as a mass movement against Indian colonial rule, ruthless political, economic, cultural and religious exploitation and corruption. India has made strong attempts to crush the uprising through all sort of available means but determined freedom-loving Kashmiris have not been crushed. Since 1988, the 'paradise on earth' has been converted into a 'slaughter-house' for the sons and daughters of the soil. Thousands of Kashmiris have been imprisoned, tortured and killed by the Indian security forces. Massive human right violations have taken place. The house searches, body searches, the gang rapes, the massacres, torture, and maiming of thousands by Indian soldiers have become routine matters. Kashmir today provides the most glaring example of the persistent violations of human rights which have been well-documented by International Human Rights Organisations and civil liberties groups including Amnesty International and Asiawatch. The current freedom straggle in the valley once again has driven the old rivals to the brink war.

With the disintegration of Soviet Union and the end of the cold war, the global political scenario has undergone a rapid transformation to new order of peace and security, but the South Asian region still remains in a state of influx, fear and uncertainty. The war still remains an option with the South Asian states to settle their disputes, while undeniably, the war today means only decimation. In this new age of amity and conciliation, it is most ideal time for Pakistan and India to soften their anger and seek new ways to get along with each other. It is undoubtedly evident that the major security problems of South Asian region originate to the antagonistic relations between India and Pakistan and obviously the thing that has embittered the relations is the question of Kashmir. Therefore, until the two states pledge to settle this 44 years long outstanding issue, the region can not be turned into a realm of peace and security.

Kashmir is not a regional problem. It is the concern of the entire world; it is on the agenda of the Security Council. Accordingly, the peace-loving nations, discharge their responsibilities of stopping the Indian atrocities on the Kashmiris and enabling them to exercise their right of self-determination in

accordance with the relevant UN resolutions. Undoubtedly, as long as this vital issue remains unresolved, South Asia will remain volatile place whose ill effects also can bar the maintenance and preservation of international peace and security.

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## Liaquat Ali Khan-- As a Statesman

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SYED KARIM HAIDER

Khan Liaquat Ali Khan's appointment as a first Prime Minister of Pakistan has a lengthy background of services to the Muslim League.<sup>1</sup> As soon as he joined the Bar--he took Bar-at-Law from Anem-Bar in 1922, the very next year, he joined the All India Muslim League. Because of his extraordinary abilities and a reputation for honesty, he was appointed as Secretary General of the Muslim League in 1936 and held this office till the independence of India and Pakistan in 1947. In 1940 he was elected as a member of Central Assembly. In March 1942, he was elected Vice-President of Central Parliamentary Board and in that capacity took active part in the elections of 1945. He also participated in the important Simla Conference of 1945 and 1946. He became the Minister of Finance in the British India and in that capacity presented the budget of 1947-1948.<sup>2</sup>

According to G. Allana : "The Indian Budget for 1947-48 was to be prepared under the guidance of the Nawabzada and the whole of Hindu India was curious to know what proposals it would contain, the first ever Budget to be represented by a Muslim Finance Minister. He imposed heavy taxes over Business class, which at that time consisted of Hindus."<sup>3</sup>

Leonard Mosley wrote in his book, *The Last Days of the British Raj*, that "Liaquat's budget had heavily soaked the millionaire backers of the Congress and showed up the hypocrisy of the Party's claim to be socialists."<sup>4</sup>

Liaquat Ali got the honour when Quaid-i-Azam declared him "his right hand."<sup>5</sup> When Quaid-i-Azam died in 1948 Liaquat Ali Khan had to accept the heavy burden of responsibilities.<sup>6</sup>

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According to Mumtaz Hasan : "He was very popular with the British and the Indians alike. His general reputation was that of an-easy-going, comfortable person within plenty of bonhomie."<sup>7</sup>

Although the tenure of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan was short, but it included those principles from which we still seek guidance. Like Quaid-i-Azam, Liaquat Ali Khan considered Pakistan as his own asset, family and his official assignment. Even his opponents could not attack his personal character. He got no benefit for his family as he always considered the Government as a nation's trust.<sup>8</sup> He himself once said that I did not possess any financial resources to become the Prime Minister, except the blessing of God.<sup>9</sup>

Intelligence, oratory generosity, calmness with boldness were the main features of the Liaquat Ali Khan's personality, with which he got popularity and high esteem as a national leader as well as the Prime Minister.<sup>10</sup> After the death of Quaid-i-Azam, Liaquat Ali Khan, efficiently participated in the conference of Foreign Ministers of Commonwealth, which led to the enhancement of the political status of Pakistan in the world.<sup>11</sup> Pakistan was one of the few countries in the world which faced a lot of hurdles after its establishment. It was Liaquat Ali Khan's statesmanship that Pakistan came out from the crisis and elevated the prestige of Pakistan.<sup>12</sup> India from the very beginning, did not accept Pakistan with sincerity and she wanted to destabilise Pakistan by creating new problems so that Pakistan would not be able to consolidate its liberty and sovereignty. After grabbing Hyderabad Daccan, Junagadh and occupied Kashmir, India threatened the security of Pakistan. India gathered its 90 per cent army on Pakistan's border to activate its plans. Pakistani nation felt confident despite aggressive attitude of India and stood like a rock under the bold leadership of Liaquat Ali Khan. The Pakistani Prime Minister held up his clenched fist and warned India that if she attacked Pakistan, a lesson would be taught to the aggressor. After his courageous statement, India did not dare to attack Pakistan.<sup>13</sup> He also took firm step to rout out corruption.<sup>14</sup>

Pakistan's economic condition became stable during the era of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan. The economic stability can be verified by the fact that when the British Government decided to devalue the pound, the countries, which were linked with sterling were badly affected and these countries had to



devalue their respective currencies. But Pakistan refused to devalue its currency as it felt that its currency was fairly stable. Consequently, Pakistani hundred rupees became equal to one hundred and fifty rupees of India.<sup>15</sup> India raised hue and cry and then boycotted the Pakistan's trade completely. Liaquat Ali Khan presided over a meeting in Dhaka and decided to stop the export of cotton to India. This act of Liaquat Ali led India towards heavy loss and its factories dependent on cotton and jute were shut down. After one and a half years of tussle, India had to accept the rate of Pakistani currency. In this manner Pakistan was able to deal firmly with India in economic matters just after three years of its establishment.<sup>16</sup>

Liaquat Ali Khan as Defence Minister of Pakistan organised the Pakistan Army in a short period of only four years.<sup>17</sup> He paid special attention to upgrade the status of the Armed Forces. As a first Commander-in-Chief, General Ayub Khan took oath under Liaquat Ali Khan.<sup>18</sup> New Army training centres were opened. He took keen interest to give the representation to the people of Eastern Pakistan in the Army and gave instructions to the head of armed forces to recruit the Bengalis in large numbers. Liaquat Ali Khan opposed the idea of isolated army, consisting of the Bengalis for the defence of East Pakistan. He emphasised that it was a duty of every Pakistani to defend every inch of Pakistan land. Liaquat Ali said, "whenever I am here I would not make such policy and I hope my successors also would not do this."<sup>19</sup> All the credit goes to Liaquat Ali Khan to organise Pakistan Army on modern patterns.<sup>20</sup>

Liaquat Ali Khan wanted to make Pakistan as a democratic state.<sup>21</sup> He had a strong desire that the Muslims should progress under the banner of his party--Muslim League.<sup>22</sup> Some people advised him that Pakistani people are uneducated, illiterate, inexperienced and therefore democracy would not suit the country. But Liaquat Ali Khan held that if the people are given educational and political opportunities they would automatically get general consciousness.<sup>23</sup>

As a parliamentarian, he stood unsurpassed amongst his contemporaries. It was a pleasure to listening to his dignified pronouncements and scholarly utterances on the floor of the house. He had a charming personality which impressed even his political opponents of all shades. Loyalty to the Quaid was

one of the chief traits of his character. He was loyal to his country, loyal to his leader, loyal to his colleagues and loyal to his friends.<sup>24</sup>

There were occasions when pressure was brought to bear on him in favour of Muslim officers who wanted promotion. After a meticulous study of personal record he would often come to the conclusion that a particular Hindu or British officer was better than a particular Muslim and he said : "Good was good and bad was bad."<sup>25</sup>

The budget controversy of 1947-48 was the severest test of his patience that any human being could ever have been subjected to. There was only one man who kept his head cool and was utterly unaffected by the heat and bitterness of the controversy, and that was Liaquat Ali Khan.<sup>26</sup>

In November 1948, political unrest rose to its peak, because one province of Punjab was trying to topple the ministry of other province. Liaquat Ali Khan took the serious notice of the prevailing situation. For this purpose he made tour of Lahore and got advices from different political leaders. After analysing the whole situation he dissolved the Provincial Assembly of Punjab evoking Clause 93 (A) of the Constitution. Ministry, Assembly as well as the Governor was responsible for provincial law and order situation and other affairs, and therefore he ordered for fresh elections.<sup>27</sup>

After the establishment of Pakistan, a movement started in 1949 which went ahead for the demand of Islamisation in the country. The Objectives Resolution was passed to reflect this spirit.<sup>28</sup> According to Prime Minister Liaquat Ali, it was a milestone in the history of Pakistan after the emergence of Pakistan. It has more or less same position in the constitution history of Pakistan, such as the British 'Magna Carta'. This master piece had occupied the pivotal position in every subsequent constitutions of Pakistan, and included as 'Preamble' of all the constitutions.<sup>29</sup>

In December 1949, when Nehru offered to Pakistan a proposal of a No War Pact, Liaquat Ali Khan refused to accept and instead stressed for the settlement of outstanding issue like Kashmir, Junagadh and advocated that these disputes should be resolved by negotiations or mediation. It was Nehru who rejected a good suggestion from Pakistan.<sup>30</sup>

Liaquat Ali chartered the course of Pakistan's foreign policy. During the short era of Liaquat Ali Khan, his visit to the U.S.A. was the most important

event. Although Russia invited Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan first, before his tour to U.S.A., Mr. K. Sarwar Hussain, in his essay, pointed out that the reasons of Liaquat Ali Khan's visit to U.S.A.

1. Liaquat Ali Khan knew the weaknesses of communist society.
2. Russian society lacked religious spirit.
3. Russia had abolished the *Zamindari* system.
4. Russia was not as powerful country as America was.
5. Stories of political suffocation were common in the Russian society.
6. U. S. A. was providing economic aid to most of the countries.
7. U. N. O. was situated in America, Liaquat Ali wanted to resolve the Kashmir issue at the U. N. O. platform.
8. In Pakistan, religious scholars preferred America over Russia as friend.
9. Russia gave cool response in the Security Council over the Kashmir dispute.
10. The Soviet carried propaganda against Pakistan's Federation. She often claimed that Pakistan was amalgum of weak provinces.<sup>31</sup>

He followed a firm and correct policy over the Korean issue :

On the issue of Korea, in initial stages, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan supported the United Nations' action on the ground that North Korea was the aggressor. Later, he pleaded for the localisation of fighting and observed that "I think it would be wrong to start on the presumption that Communist China does not want peace. Subsequently he condemned the United States resolution branding Red China as an aggressor, characterised it as a serious threat to peace and regretted that the 12 Arab-Asian nations resolution for exploring the means of bringing about a ceasefire in Korea."<sup>32</sup>

Liaquat Ali Khan was not a staunch supporter of the Commonwealth. According to him Pakistan had three options as far its relations with Commonwealth are concerned : Firstly, to continue its existing relations with



the Commonwealth. Secondly, to response its constitutional relations with the Commonwealth in the same way as India had performed and thirdly, that it may sever a connections with the Commonwealth. The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan which was drafting the future constitution of our country, was fully competent to adopt any of three courses stated above.

Liaquat Ali Khan made history in Commonwealth when he refused to attend Commonwealth Conference unless the Commonwealth would include the Kashmir issue. The Commonwealth stand was that the settlement of inter-state disputes were beyond the control of Commonwealth. He blamed the United Nations and the British Government. "I shall be prepared to go if I find that the Prime Ministers are willingly to deal, collectively with the Kashmir problems to see what they can do." In the era of Liaquat Ali Khan, Pakistan held the key position in the specialised agencies of the United Nations. For example Pakistan served on the Balkans Commission, the Eritrean Commission, the Libyan Commission, Korean Commission and Peace Observation Commission. Through the years between 1947-1951, Pakistan welcomed the decision of the United Nations and worked for the great cause of the world peace and the prosperity of the human kind.

Liaquat Ali Khan witnessed the independence of many Muslim countries. When Indonesia gained independence, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan announced a public holiday throughout Pakistan to celebrate the freedom of this Islamic country. This chain of freedom consists of Libya, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland.

Liaquat Ali attended the International Islamic Economic Conference and the World Muslim Conference. He also visited Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Iran. Because of these activities he was received by the people of the Muslim countries with an open heart. With Afghanistan he followed a policy of avoiding conflict.

It was Liaquat Ali Khan, who had good reputation amongst the South East Asian countries, because these countries liked the Pakistani attitude as a

non-expansionist country. Pakistan had cordial relations with Sri Lanka and Burma.

He tried to resolve the problems of minorities. Liaquat-Nehru Pact or Delhi Agreement of April 8, 1950, the two Governments undertook to safeguard the fundamental, political, cultural and economic right of the member of the minority communities in their respective countries.<sup>33</sup>

Pakistani nation received a great shock, when on 16 October 1951 Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated by a senseless person when he was speaking in Rawalpindi.<sup>34</sup> This was the second great loss for Pakistan after the death of the Quaid-i-Azam. Liaquat Ali was buried near the tomb of Quaid-i-Azam.

According to S. M. Ikram :

"By his supreme sacrifice, the Quaid-i-Millat earned for himself the immortal title of Shaheed-i-Millat."<sup>35</sup> He died in the service of his people and his country.

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## Mountbatten's Appointment as the Last Governor-General of United India

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RABIA ZAMAN

The emergence of two independent states on the map of the world in 1947, proved to be an event of outstanding significance giving new dimensions to the course of history in Asia in particular and the rest of the world in general. This momentous political and geographical development was influenced and even overshadowed by the performance and decisions of a few striking personalities whose participation and role in the entire proceedings of the transfer of power can hardly be over-looked or minimized. Gandhi, Quaid-i-Azam, Nehru and Patel were a few such stalwarts enjoying popular support and commanding mammoth following in their own respective circles of influence and authority. For decades, these men had been trying to shape and mould the opinion of the people, preparing them for the final act of the ultimate destiny of India to complete the whole drama. For millions it was the dawn of a new age and the fulfilment of a long cherished dream, which had cost them a lot but had, perhaps, given them more.

The year 1947 was one of new hopes and fears, new aspirations and apprehensions in so far as people of this part of the world. Crowded with significant dates and memorable events, the year carries the marks follies as well as the achievements. The Indian leaders played their part; the Indian people fought and struggled, trying to live upto the expectations of those who led them, but still what happened in India in that fateful year was not an exclusively Indian affair alone. The Government in Delhi, the Administration in London and the British Crown, all had participated in the vital decision which determined the fate of a huge mass of people.

# Mountbatten's Appointment as the Last Governor-General of United India

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RABIA ZAMAN

The emergence of two independent states on the map of the world in 1947, proved to be an event of outstanding significance giving new dimensions to the course of history in Asia in particular and the rest of the world in general. This momentous political and geographical development was influenced and even overshadowed by the performance and decisions of a few striking personalities whose participation and role in the entire proceedings of the transfer of power can hardly be over-looked or minimized. Gandhi, Quaid-i-Azam, Nehru and Patel were a few such stalwarts enjoying popular support and commanding mammoth following in their own respective circles of influence and authority. For decades, these men had been trying to shape and mould the opinion of the people, preparing them for the final act of the ultimate destiny of India to complete the whole drama. For millions it was the dawn of a new age and the fulfilment of a long cherished dream, which had cost them a lot but had, perhaps, given them more.

The year 1947 was one of new hopes and fears, new aspirations and apprehensions in so far as people of this part of the world. Crowded with significant dates and memorable events, the year carries the marks follies as well as the achievements. The Indian leaders played their part; the Indian people fought and struggled, trying to live upto the expectations of those who led them, but still what happened in India in that fateful year was not an exclusively Indian affair alone. The Government in Delhi, the Administration in London and the British Crown, all had participated in the vital decision which determined the fate of a huge mass of people.

In the final phase, a bold, but much needed administrative change in India, was required and Lord Wavell was replaced by Lord Mountbatten, as the last Viceroy of united India. However, it appears that at the time when this change was made, all those who mattered in the act of transfer of power in India were not aware that the entire course would be completed within a short time.

Mountbatten's appointment was deemed to be the British Government's last attempt to keep the unity of India intact at all costs, preferably under the British Crown. This was the crux of the mandate with which he arrived in India on the 22 March 1947 to perform his duties as the 34th and last of the British governors general of united India.<sup>1</sup> A month back in February, Mr. Clement Attlee, the British Prime Minister had entrusted Mountbatten "with the task of transferring to Indian hands the responsibility for the Government of British India in a manner that will ensure the future happiness and prosperity of India."<sup>2</sup>

Despite these high sounding intentions of goodwill on the part of the British Government the fact remains that when the Viceroyalty was offered to Mountbatten, it was only after hectic search in every direction for a suitable man to find a 'new approach', and that the senior members of the cabinet had unanimously agreed on his selection for, at that time and in the given situation, only he seemed to have the necessary qualifications, and the right kind of personality required for the job.<sup>3</sup> This finding of a 'new approach' was definitely not synonymous with drawing up a schedule for the transfer of power. It was, in fact, the need for closer and personal contacts with the Indian leaders,<sup>4</sup> a task of which Wavell had proved himself quite incapable. Despite all his efforts the system was virtually moving towards a collapse and the situation demanded a change more of personality than of policy;<sup>5</sup> one who could by his personal charm and persuasion, convince the Indian leaders of what their rulers thought fit for them--and that was preserving the unity of India--though the open mention of this motive was avoided in every possible manner.

When the decision of recalling Wavell was arrived at, it was because the British Government in London had lost its confidence and trust in his ability to perpetuate the British Raj in India and was treating him in a manner that was quite 'abominable.'<sup>6</sup> This attitude, however, was not totally uncalled for.



Attlee, Churchill and the British parliamentarians were not satisfied with his implementation of their policies, with his inability to communicate with the people which for Wavell proved to be a serious handicap in India,<sup>7</sup> and above all with his 'Operation Madhouse' which was a plan of withdrawal from India, province by province, women and children first, then the administration and finally the services.<sup>8</sup> This last brainchild of Wavell was to him the only solution of the ensuing crisis in India. Such an approach on the part of a British Viceroy was in no way acceptable to 'Attlee', and a change was imminent which came in the shape of Lord Mountbatten.

In addition to Wavell's inability to deal with the situation in a way that would suit the interests of the British in India there were other motives behind Mountbatten's appointment, far more significant in their nature and consequences than most people realized at that time.

One such dominant factor was Jawahar Lal Nehru, to whom the new Viceroy substantially owed his coveted position in India.<sup>9</sup> Their acquaintance which later blossomed into a life-long friendship can be traced back to March 1946 at Singapore where Mountbatten was the Supreme Allied Commander of South-East Asia Command and where he had not only welcomed this anti-British rebel but had also insisted on an open car ride with him, against the wishes of most of his staff officers.<sup>10</sup> Overwhelmed by this gesture Nehru had also refused to lay a wreath there on the monument to the Indian National Army, probably on the advice of Mountbatten. This was beginning of a friendship that continued to flourish and was followed by constant and close contact in England as well as in India. Undoubtedly it was to yield "fruits of mutual advantage" in the times to come.<sup>11</sup> Keeping in view this close association between these two leaders, it can hardly be disputed that Nehru had the most important role to play in the arrival of Mountbatten as Viceroy in India, for it was his approval and consent regarding this appointment that was conveyed by Sir Stafford Cripps to the Prime Minister Mr. Attlee.<sup>12</sup>

Sir Stafford Cripps, the Chancellor of Exchequer, had come up with this idea after a talk with the outspoken Congress left-winger and close associate of Nehru, Krishna Menon, in London, who using Wavell's failure in handling the Indian situation as pretext, had conveyed to Cripps the great regard and esteem in which Nehru held Louis Mountbatten.<sup>13</sup> In other words he tacitly advocated Nehru's candidate for Indian Viceroyalty. The fact that Mountbatten was a

nominee of Nehru was kept as a scrupulously guarded secret<sup>14</sup> because he was aware that the usefulness of this appointment would be lost, if the Indian Muslim leaders got wind of it, the two men agreed secretly among themselves not to reveal the details of their conversation to anyone.<sup>15</sup>

This small incident is in itself a verdict enough on the British intentions and Hindu mentality with regard to the destiny of Indian Muslims. It also throws light on the conspiracy which was hatched against the Muslims and their demand for Pakistan.<sup>16</sup> This may also be an indication or rather justification of the so-called 'Negative' stance taken up by Quaid-i-Azam in refusing any compromise with any of the rival groups, for he and his close associates knew pretty well as to what would be the fate of the Indian Muslims, if the Hindus and the British were given a free hand to regulate the affairs of the sub-continent. Thus, the credit undisputedly goes to Quaid-i-Azam that he maintained his firm stand, despite the fact that in whatever was going on behind the scenes between the rulers and their majority subjects in London or elsewhere, he, or for that matter any other Indian Muslim leader working strictly for the Muslim cause, was seldom included.

These facts only point out the obvious; that the decision of Mountbatten's appointment was in no way impartial and also that if the British were thinking of giving freedom to the Indians and independence to the sub-continent, though the doubt firmly existed if Mountbatten was really sent to give a practical shape to that idea,<sup>17</sup> the entire plan of independence was to be drawn and implemented in a way that the Congress was to be the greatest beneficiary, as against any other party or community, deserving or not deserving treatment on an equal footing. Later events were to justify and amply bear out the truth of it.

Perhaps, the most significant aspect of the entire episode was Mountbatten's reluctance to become the last Viceroy of India, though some have serious reservations about his apparent dislike and blatant refusal to undertake the mission, for he himself reported to have expressed a deep, curious and unconscious desire to be Viceroy, thinking the 'India was the most marvellous country and the Viceroy had the most marvellous job.'<sup>18</sup> He himself admitted, later in life, having spoken about it to his wife, who also shared with him an intention and deep interest in Indian affairs. However, when he was actually asked to accept the offer of Viceroyalty, he refused, for



he had kept himself well-informed of the turn of events in India and strongly felt that the situation had become grim but still manageable. He accepted the appointment, for he could not disobey the orders of Attlee, the Prime Minister, and George VI, the King of England, who were ready to pamper him to all limits, accepting all his unprecedented and somewhat unreasonable demands, so long as he agreed to take-up the mission assigned to him. He wanted the appointment to the first cruiser squadron to be kept in tact when he returned from India, insisted upon choosing his own staff and that of Wavell's as well, was interested in major authority being in his hands without any queries from above and also wanted his staff to have their own cars and to be allowed to bring along their wives.<sup>19</sup>

His two most crucial demands were, however, yet to come. Firstly, he wanted a time limit to be fixed for handing over power without which he thought that the Indians would never believe that he had in reality come to end and not to perpetuate the viceregal system.<sup>20</sup> In his opinion he could have won the confidence of the Indian leaders only if he carried with him the guarantee of his rapid winding up the task of transfer of power. He persisted in this argument and ultimately carried with him clear instructions as to the transfer of power being made effective by June 1948.<sup>21</sup> Secondly, he wanted to go to India on the clear invitation of the Indian leaders. This demand, however, could have led to serious trouble with regard to compromising British status in India. It was therefore, turned down by Attlee and Mountbatten also seeing the logic of it did not press forward this demand.

This was perhaps the only point on which the new Viceroy relented and kept quiet. This might be Mountbatten's way of voicing his reluctance to go to India at all, or that he desired to get the appointment but also with special powers; those, that had not yet been delegated to any Viceroy of India. He knew how to get his way and eventually he did get it on his own terms and conditions. Whatever be the truth, the fact of which he was also at the time acutely aware was that he would be presiding over a great retreat in case the ideal of Indian unity could not live upto the expectations of its masters. The task would, as everyone knew, be even more difficult for the man who had fought so hard to liberate and recover for the crown vast areas of the Empire. He was required or rather forced to hand over the sub-continent back to its real masters and legitimate rulers.<sup>22</sup>



Mountbatten's role in the politics of colonial as well as independent India, has been a burning issue for whole generation of writers, debatable, from numerous angles. Its importance can hardly be denied even by the most prejudiced of analysts, but this denial does not and should not prevent criticism of his attitudes and policies, not always commendable and seldom beneficial to the entire populace of India. His accomplishments as the Last Governor-General of the sub-continent, his manifesto, bold but not acceptable to all, his personality, likeable, but controversial as well, and above all his plan for transfer of power to India and Pakistan, with its merits and demerits, not to mention his post independence role in India are vital areas for deep study. Full story, despite the documents and books that have been made known, is yet to be narrated by an objective scholar. What has been said here shows that Mountbatten was not an impartial representative of the British Crown. In the present analysis only a brief and modest attempt has been made to highlight some important considerations in the appointment of Lord Louis Mountbatten.

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13. Ibid.
14. Mohammad Isa, "Mountbatten and Partition of India," *Daily Muslim*, May 18, 1990, Islamabad, pp. 1-2.
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17. Perpetuating the unity of India was one goal, Mountbatten was bent u on achieving, when he came to India as the last Viceroy in March 1947. The truth of it is borne out by Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre who published their interviews with him in the book titled *Mountbatten and the Partition of India*, Colombo, 1982. He is reported to have said:  
"His (Gandhi's) only contribution was to tell me quite early on, that whatever happened I must'nt dream of partitioning India. I said it was the last thing I wanted to do—I mean the one great legacy we can leave to the sub-continent is this unification", p.33. "Nobody and particularly me, wished to have any partition in India. It was a ghostly thought and it wasn't going to work." p. 41.
18. Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, *Mounbatten and the Partition of India*, Colombo, 1982, p. 7.
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# Pharmaceutical Multinationals and Drug Policy of Bangladesh : Reflections on Concepts and Policy Issues

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MUHAMMAD HASAN IMAM

## CONCEPTUALIZING MNC

Since World War II, the Multinational Corporation (MNC) has emerged as powerful agent of world social and economic change.<sup>1</sup> Its a new dimension of organized economic behaviour of man which largely affected the international flow of capital, labour and rational management system. The existence of multinational enterprises can be traced long before in the form of international trade and business. According to Todaro, these international carriers of capital, technology, and skilled labour with their diverse productive operations throughout the Third World greatly complicated the simple nature of traditional international trade. But recently the most powerful force in international economic relations has been the spectacular rise in power and influence of the giant MNCs.<sup>2</sup> So, the rise of MNCs as the very rudimentary single-plant, single-product firms to multidivisional enterprises is interestingly evolutionary in nature. Hymer opined that the growth of capital revolutionized and extended both the market and factory which consequently diversified the needed division of labour.<sup>3</sup>

Conceptualizing MNC is difficult in a single way, because, a number of definitions can be found in economics, sociology, or management literatures. United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs came up with the term 'MNC' to cover all enterprises which control assets in two or more countries.<sup>4</sup> But MNCs are not limited to financial flows or direct foreign investment. They also concern transfer of technology, goods, managerial

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services, entrepreneurship and business practices. Jacoby<sup>5</sup> stated, it is simultaneously a 'citizen' of several nation-states, owing obedience to their laws and paying them taxes, yet having its own objectives and responsive to a management located in a foreign nation. According to Campus, it is not a single corporation as it is endowed with several nationalities. Rather, it is a cluster of several corporations, each a separate entity controlled by one headquarter. To describe it accurately, a parent corporation based in one country called home country, with a multinational group of subsidiary corporations in different countries called the host countries.<sup>6</sup> Robinson described the basis of management decisions of MNCs as a truly international firm with sell out of, and into, any national market, taking full advantage of rapid delivery, exchange transactions, bilateral trade agreements, and triangular trade deals. Thus, it may manufacture part 'A' in one country, part 'B' in another, part 'C' in another; exchange all three and assemble in financial product in all the three countries.<sup>7</sup>

To summarize, we can say that MNCs are international business enterprises which have home country of origin and operates in several host countries. These organizations are controlled by a central body which determines policy and decision-making in respect to financial, technological and managerial matters. Although, the affiliate organizations comply with laws and regulations imposed by host countries, because of their large business network and many policy matters publicly unknown they hold some sort of economic power which has significant socio-political and cultural-environmental implications.

### **BASIC FEATURES OF MNCs**

MNCs have large size and worldwide operations. Their economic power is greatly strengthened by the predominantly oligopolistic market positions. They are able to exercise effective control over their foreign affiliates through complete or majority ownership. Greater centralization leads to the establishment of a strong central finance and control group. Decisions about hedging on foreign exchange, borrowing, declaring dividends are taken centrally. Thus, they can subordinate the interests of the subsidiaries to the organization as a whole. Dividends and royalty payments are not the only means whereby MNCs withdraw profits from a subsidiary. Through control of the transfer prices for goods and services supplied by the parent company or

exports to other affiliates MNCs can deprive the host countries. They are in a better position to avoid taxation in a given country than are the national firms. Considerable variation exists in amount of overpricing or underpricing in the cases of exports and imports of goods. Product choices for the subsidiaries are very much limited to those products manufactured in the home country. Newly established subsidiary generally has a large proportion of locally raised debt if it is a joint venture, but much less if it is wholly-owned. They are selective in appointing local manpower and training them for managerial purposes.<sup>8</sup> The 'dominant nationality' is important because most of the shareholders of the parent company are likely to share its nationality and because the foreign investment of MNCs is treated as the investment of the country in which the parent is incorporated.<sup>9</sup> MNCs are believed to have influence over foreign policy of the 'developing' countries. Pena<sup>10</sup> asserts that the foreign policy formulation is not the business only of the foreign ministry while wide range of activities are carried out by different national and non-governmental agencies. The influence of MNCs in this context may well be understood as far as the bargaining capacity of the host country is concerned. By employing a small elite, semi-skilled, and highly-skilled labour force with better salary MNCs create income inequality. According to Grant efforts of MNCs are not sufficient to meet the increasing unemployment problem of developing countries.<sup>11</sup> The subsidiaries have a strong on some extractive or industrial sectors as well as some services in which no effective counterweight mechanism exists. Transfer of productive resources tend to become important channels for the transfer of consumption pattern and values affecting indigenous life style. The technology transferred might have not been socially assessed thus appeared detrimental to the local economy. By operating in the high-profit sectors, MNCs, impede local prospects of entrepreneurship or contribute to their displacement.<sup>12</sup> Singer<sup>13</sup> delineates the following forms of technology transfer: 'direct investment' to protect existing market; 'joint venture' as a need for local collaborators to cope with problems to obtain licences are to get sympathetic interpretation of regulations; 'licencing' as an independent company to use the patents and trade marks of the MNCs. Parent firms prefer to issue licences for goods with short product cycles (e.g., pharmaceuticals); 'management controls and sales' to fill up the shortage of skilled + personnel in developing countries by providing top-level managerial staff. 'Technical assistance contracts' usually accompany patent or trademark agreements. Technical assistance programmes include product specifications



and layouts, formulas, trade-secrets, selling, techniques and training of technical personnel.

### **MNCs IN BANGLADESH : THE CASE OF PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY**

Foreign investment and existence of MNCs in Bangladesh are not very significant in number and volume, but, have a long history since the establishment of East India Company in the early half of eighteenth century. The political ascendancy of the said company in Indian sub-continent for a duration of one century is again not insignificant in any sense. In this time the commercialization of Bangladesh agricultural articulated the economy with the international mercantile capitalism.

It is well-known that the policy of Bangladesh Government on foreign investment underwent changes over time as the governments changed in 1971, 1975, and 1982. Mujib regime put ceiling on private investment and an embargo on foreign collaboration in the private sector. However, foreign private investment was allowed only as a joint venture in the public sector with minority shareholding for the foreign company. Before the policy could be tested, not only the ceiling of Taka 2.5 million (without land) was raised to Taka 30 million, collaboration with private sector was permitted.<sup>14</sup> The modifications initiated by Mujib gained further momentum during Zia's rule as the ceiling was eventually abolished. Ershad's New Industrial Policy in June 1982 subsequently led to formulating strategy to attract foreign investment and privatization on an accelerated scale. MNCs operating in Bangladesh include significant number of pharmaceutical units. For instance, out of the 49 Asian MNCs incorporated in Bangladesh in 15 sectors, 11 are pharmaceutical units of which 10 were established in 1960s and 1 in 1950.<sup>15</sup> Before going to focus on the pharmaceutical sector in the above conceptual perspective, we may have a look on the way this sector got prominence in the international corporate capitalism.

Modern pharmaceutical industry originated in 1890s. The invention of Penicilline and other antibiotics expanded the worldwide demand and market of medicine. Before World War II, there were 1100 pharmaceutical companies with \$150 million sale which later increased to thousand million dollar in 1950. Brand name help the big companies to be bigger by swallowing the



smaller companies who were using the generic name.<sup>16</sup> In 1950s and '60s MNCs spent 36.14 per cent of their expenditure in marketing and advertisement rather than in research. This led their profit from 10 per cent in 1940s to 73.2 per cent in 1960s. Table I indicates the monopolization of the pharmaceutical industries by MNCs.<sup>17</sup>

TABLE I  
Distribution of Market Share and  
Pharmaceutical Companies by Assets

Market share by asset (%)			No. of companies by asset	
Year	Less than 100 million	More than 100 million	Less than 100 million	More than 100 million
1984	77	7	104	1
1958	62	28	130	5
1968	15	83	173	21
1973	7	92	140	30

During the period between 1950 and 1975, pharmaceutical industry became so profitable a business sector that a number of new companies incorporated in the USA. Small manufacturing units were bought by the giant one.<sup>2</sup> Pharmaceutical market expanded from \$714 million to \$2199 million between the period of 1949 and 1962. WHO's declaration of the objective to ensure 'health for all' before 2000 A.D. is being considered impossible now as it jeopardised by the multinationals. The ways multinational of industrial establishments destroy human health can be classified as (a) Alcoholic drinks, (b) Tobacco, (c) Illegal drugs; (d) Insecticide, (e) Powder milk and baby food, (f) Non-essential, hazardous, and costly medicine, (g) Arms and ammunition, and lastly (h) International loan.<sup>18</sup>

Reports and discussion on the imperialist characteristics of the pharmaceutical industry, its production, and experiments came into limelight in the 1970s in Bangladesh. Medical and journalistic reports and views on the exploitative nature of the MNCs operating in pharmaceutical sector in

Bangladesh augmented the level of general awareness of the negative effect of excessive/unnecessary medicine intake. The Reports of World Health Organization (WHO) in 1970s help a lot to unmask the secrets of profit-making and inhuman activities of the MNCs in the Third World countries. On November 5, 1976 the *Weekly Bichitra* drew attention of the general people to the intrigue behind medicine production, distribution, and the guineapig status of the Third World people.<sup>19</sup> The article specifically focused on the profit-making tendency, drug production, and the role of the drug administration in Bangladesh. It is said that the developing nations pay more for the medicine produced in developed countries than the developed countries do. Table 2 shows an instance in this respect.<sup>20</sup> The drug administration in Bangladesh was just established in 1974 and during the time of reporting the administrative capacity of the department was very much limited due to inadequate manpower and technical facilities.

TABLE 2  
Variation of Price by Countries

Item	Price	Country	Price	Country
Vitamine C 1 kg.	\$2.40	UK	\$10.00	India
Tetracycline Antibiotic	\$24.00-30.00	Europe	\$100.00 Pakistan, Columbia	India,
Penicilline 100 Tablets	\$21.84	USA	\$41.85	Brazil

However Bangladesh achieved the National Drug Policy on the 29th May 1982 on the basis of an expert committee report in compliance with the recommendations of WHO reports. WHO prepared a list of essential drugs in its report of 1977<sup>21</sup> and then it updated the list on the basis of latest available results of research and experiments on the produced medicines.<sup>22</sup> WHO suggests not more than 350 or 400 items of medicine as essential while

countries of Latin America and Asia import items ranging from 15,000 to 20,000 which means 15 billion dollar income for the developed nations.<sup>23</sup>

Before going to discuss the features of our drug policy, we now reflect upon the multinational character of the pharmaceutical sector in Bangladesh. The Government's Commerce Ministry is to fix the price of the items of drugs which leaves on an average a 15 per cent to 20 per cent profit to the producer. But 'transfer pricing' helped them increase it from 70 per cent to 100 per cent. They purchase the raw materials from the parent organizations or preferred foreign agencies. According to Dr. Humayun Hye, the former Drug Administrator, the main reason for high price of drugs is the opportunity enjoyed by the MNCs in purchasing raw materials from their chosen places.<sup>24</sup> It is reported in 1983 that Bangladesh brings in raw materials for drugs and finished drugs which worth Taka 10 crore and 6 crore per annum respectively.<sup>25</sup> Elsewhere it is said that in spite of having 177 licenced pharmaceutical industries the country had to import finished drugs worth Taka 250 to 300 million per annum.<sup>26</sup> It is also interesting that in 1980 the cost of imported raw materials was 38 times more than the cost of imported finished drugs.<sup>27</sup> In 1982 the drug market in Bangladesh was of Taka 140 crore; and only 8 MNCs controlled 80 per cent of the market.<sup>28</sup> Four major companies are reported to have earned 3 hundred dollar in one year.<sup>29</sup> To illustrate the transfer pricing we can mention that while 1970s the international competitive market price of raw materials for Tetracycline was in between 7 and 15 US dollar, then the MNCs of the Third World countries brought it from their parent organizations at the rate of \$100 to \$275.<sup>30</sup> Variations of the prices (in 1979) with reference to some pharmaceutical companies in Bangladesh may be mentioned as follows: \$161.80, \$80.36, \$53.76, \$42.00, \$33.00, \$22.50, and \$25.00. The last two figures are the prices in 1983 and 1984. In addition to the transfer pricing, strip-use is also another way of making undue profit which, for instance, in case of one Paracetamol Tablet increases 2.71 per cent of the same item without strip.<sup>31</sup> The 'brand name' is a very tacit weapon to exploit the ignorance of common man. In Bangladesh 80 per cent to 85 per cent drugs are sold in brand name. Other than profit making, the brand naming may bring about dangerous consequences for the users and practitioners. According to Chowdhury, Diazepam is available in 30 brand names in Bangladesh.<sup>32</sup>

It is found that in Bangladesh reinvested earnings is the major foreign private investment while capital equipment brought in is still not a significant



element in the investment structure.<sup>33</sup> There is no example of further capital investment by the MNCs, instead, they remit a larger part of the profit outside the country.<sup>34</sup> It indicates that not their own capital rather profit is responsible for the expansion of business. Even the reinvested amount is an insignificant part of the total profit made from their business in the developing world. Bangladesh is not an exception. Table 3 shows<sup>35</sup> the rate of profit on the first capital investment of multinational pharmaceutical companies in Bangladesh. The name of the companies are available in the original source.

TABLE 3  
Nature of Profit made by the Companies

(In Lac)

Own Capital	Position of Business in 1980	Declared Profit in 1975	Annual rate of profit on their own investment
5. 0004	140.0	139.0	2574%
6. 0005	1150.0	109.0	1677%
14. 3	1050.0	121.0	846%
45. 0	12.00.0	114.0	253%
114. 0	2000.0	288.0	253%
41. 5	1100.0	Estimated to Bigger than the former	
21. 0	500.0		
8. 8	500.0		

MNCs produce 80 per cent of the drugs produced in Bangladesh. A number of companies have no manufacturing unit of their own. They just labelled some drugs produced by other companies under some sorts of agreement. People bear the cost of advertisement, seminar, and conferences organized by the pharmaceutical companies since these consequent upon price hike.<sup>36</sup>

### TOWARDS A DRUG POLICY

The Chief Martial Law Administrator's Advisory Council resolved to formulate a national drug policy on April 24, 1982. An Expert Committee was

thereby created under the leadership of Professor Nurul Islam to report on the matter of the important national issue. The Committee submitted it on May 12, 1982. Health Advisor to the CMLA made it public on June 7, 1982. Consequently, Drug (Control) Ordinance 1982 came into force from June 12, 1982. In the period between June 12, and September 7, 1982, government came under pressure from vested interest groups and lobby of national and international character. The patrons of multinational corporations and their local allies applied full force for securing their business interest attacked by the Ordinance. They even stopped marketing and selling medicines which are essential for the dangerous diseases like Malaria, Cholera, and Tuberculosis. U.S. Government was learned to threaten to deprive the Government of Bangladesh of foreign aid.<sup>37</sup> Richard Holbrook, the Far Eastern Director for U.S. Pharmaceutical Manufacturers' Association (USPMA), may be quoted as saying that : "I and a number of company officials will be going to Dacca to discuss with the government the U.S. industry position on the policy. We are trying to set up a review committee to examine the policy."<sup>38</sup> Ralf Lieberman of U.S. State Department also commented in the same language.<sup>39</sup> Bush, the then U.S. Vice-President told 300 industrialists from over 33 countries who attended the eleventh meeting of the International Foundation of Pharmaceutical Manufacturers' Association that : "The regulatory impulse, the slow slide towards more and more centralization, towards statism must be stopped."<sup>40</sup> However, people and organizations of high ethical sense of value could not fail to hail the policy launched by the poorest country from its weakest position in the international 'capitalist empire'. Health Action International says, for instance, that : "We hope the Bangladesh Government will not be swayed by pressure from U.S. Government and multinational drug companies to weaken this important step toward improved health for Bangladesh's population."<sup>41</sup> Recently David Bergman said that the drug policy was a progressive move against the power of US Pharmaceutical Multinationals. He also added that it had gained the total support of foreign development organizations, including Oxfam and War on Want, as well as the WHO.<sup>42</sup> About the general public reaction, we may only say that like the Education Policy of 1983 or Health Policy 1990 people of any section did not want to resist it. So, it is no matter whether the drug policy help international legitimization of the 'Martial Law.' Any way, on July 6, 1982, CMLA constituted a review committee and on the basis of its report submitted on August 12, 1982, government promulgated Drug (Control) (Amendment)

Ordinance 1982 extending time limit to allow production and marketing of some already banned drugs, even upto June 1984. The major features of the drug policy included assessment of the all available drugs in the market on the basis of 12 scientific-medical criteria and 4 socio-economic criteria. The drugs were classified into three categories :

1. Drugs which were medically detrimental. Their production was banned (e.g., Novalzine, Mexaform, Enabolic Steroid).
2. Drugs of useless composition which were suggested to be produced with only the useful elements.
3. (a) Drugs of least or no medicinal value.  
(b) Drugs having minimum medicinal value which were produced by MNCs who had no locally established factory. They produced these on contract basis from local factory while these were also produced by some other local companies or were imported.

Production of all drugs of this category was banned. The Expert Committee examined 150 items of 4170 different brand names registered or licensed for production in Bangladesh. Out of 4170, 1707 were declared non-essential and were banned, though, later the number was reduced to 1666 as the review committee recommended. Moreover, government allowed the non-essential drugs to be transferred to other Third World countries<sup>43</sup>—its a serious crime from ethical point of view that the country had to commit to compromise with the donors. However, the pressure of the MNCs and problem of fixing price are still under evolution.<sup>44</sup> Withdrawal of the proposed health policy of 1990 and the change of the government in the same year may have new impact on the policy matter in the future. The protest against the education policy in 1983 was the beginning of protest of the students' against Martial Law which ended up with the protest of the doctors against the health policy in 1990 when the government's suffering from chronic 'illegitimacy disease' took incurable turn. However, the future may better appreciate the pros and cons of the protests apart from their political content.<sup>45</sup>



## CONCLUSION

Beside the pharmaceutical sector, there are other areas where the MNCs are operating in the country (e.g., fertilizer, electronics, tea, tobacco, beverage, food-processing, cosmetics, toiletries). But what is important is to analyse the phenomenon of MNCs in context of our labour-surplus and resource-poor economy. Other than economic cost/benefit analysis, the sociological spotlight on the issue deserve intensive consideration. We would try to highlight this aspect at last. Whatever may be the present or future volume of operation of the MNCs in the country, we must envisage the all-round socio-cultural impact of such activities from practical as well as ideological view point. We must observe the sectors where the MNCs are interested and the socio-economic cost to be paid for the expected return from that. This is the interpretation on MNCs in terms of transferring consumption pattern of advanced capitalist countries to under-developed poor counties. The relationship of that phenomenon with the larger question of dependence has reflected on the broader perspective of socio-cultural dependence of the developing nations. MNCs are frequently seen as agents of transferring consumption pattern, taste, habits, and demand from the 'centre' to the peripheral countries as an important mechanism for the maintenance of dependent relationships among nominally independent countries.<sup>46</sup> Here, we may draw some instances from our context. The fast growing habits of having soda water (Coca-Cola, 7 Up, etc.) at the cost of Taka 7.00 per bottle has no logic but the extra pressure on the middle class family budget. Consider the case of using synthetic rope in spite of natural fiber like jute or other non-wood forest products. Remembering those days just after creation of Bangladesh 1971, when foreign consumer goods were very much scarce, we may conclude that people were made accustomed to use foreign luxury goods anew over the years. The wants created and the way they are being fulfilled at high cost is worthy of re-evaluating for the development of the down-troddens. Many local products are now washed away by their foreign species. In the name of open market competition for quality raising, local cosmetics, traditional medicine, textiles, etc., are replaced by the branded items of worldwide repute, though not always essential. These imported goods attract solvent people not only because the products are of good name and fame but they are costly enough to symbolize the costly life-style -- a fashion now creates another dimension of socio-cultural inequality and thereby a sense of

deprivation among a section of people. Needless to say, the exhibitionist philosophy of the newly rich exerts dysfunctional effect on the social fabrics

We may conclude that not only the regulations and cautions are enough to implement the nationalist policy like that of drug, measures should be taken from our consciousness to prevent any alien activities subjugating indigenous economic growth, socio-cultural heritage, and the potential patriotism. In general, we must be aware of the following facts :

1. That MNCs in Bangladesh are not undesirable; it is always welcomed, provided, the bargaining favours national economy and local entrepreneurship through appropriate technology, skill development, and quality transfer.
2. That they do not increase income inequality to an undesirable margin without fulfilling the objective of employment generation.
3. That the MNCs do not displace local and traditional manufacturing potential (e.g., Aurvedic, Unani, Homeopathy).
4. That the local resources and national interests are not hampered in the name of development cooperation.
5. That the land is not used for unethical experiments and that the production, distribution, and consumption do not detrimentally affect the policy of national sustenance.
6. Whether our social context of technology assessment capacity is wider enough to include 'Gripe Water', 'Soda Water', and 'Ground Water'.

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# A Note on Marketing Budget Preparation Guidelines

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Pakistan is an agricultural country but has been struggling to industrialise. In agricultural structure, the country faces several problems. Yields are low. Land tenure system needs improvement. Absentee landlords continue to enjoy the luxury of urban living. Income from agriculture continues to enjoy income tax exemption. Sound management has been a foreign thought. In the light of these crucial problems, the country faces several challenges. In this background, the Punjab Seeds Corporation (PSC) in collaboration with FAO and DANIDA (Danish International Development Agency) conducted a National course on Seed Marketing. This was an excellent effort and the course was conducted by FAO experts and Pakistani scholars and field researchers.

PSC was established in the middle of 1970s and by now has achieved an impressive success. It has established its own seed multiplication farms. This has served as base for production of basic seeds. Its contribution includes increase in yields in wheat, cotton, maize, paddy and other minor crops. Its education programme for growers is expanding and its demonstration farms are spreading the message for use of quality seeds to boost agriculture yields. Its seed processing plants at Khanewal, Sahiwal and Rahim Yar Khan are undertaking useful jobs of cleaning, drying, grading, delinting, treating, packing and storage of different crop seeds. So far these plants have concentrated on wheat seeds (64%) and cotton (31%), but its diversified role is expanding in paddy, maize, and minor crops, e.g., pulses, grams, fodder, vegetables and oil seeds. It has developed a popular name of Shahzor for the

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seed produced by it. Its institutional arrangement for marketing includes its own dealers, own sales points, provincial and federal cooperative banks and other sources.

Its employees need to be ornamented with modern marketing techniques. In this respect preparation of Marketing Budget is very important. Some important aspects which merit consideration are as under :

### 1. Budgeting Approach

Ordinarily budget is prepared with an incremental or decremental approach. This traditional approach was given a good bye long time earlier. This represented only an arithmetic exercise without any managerial perspective. Programme Budgeting was a gift of Robert S. McNamara in the early 1960s and USA legislated it in August 1965 for their Budgeting system. This is technically known as Planning, Programming, Budgeting System (PPBS). This requires preparation of managerial plan to reflect the policies. Therefore it is imperative that, we in Pakistan, should introduce Programme Budgeting.

### 2. Sales Forecasts

Accurate and sound forecasts are essential as a pre-requisite for developing figures for Marketing Budgets. While computerised models are available in real life for our use, an optimal combination of grass root estimates, their review and executive judgement must be used to develop realistic sales forecasts.

### 3. Environmental Considerations

Both internal and external factors affect the market budget. Internal factors to be considered must focus on the following aspects :

- (a) Effective use of manpower.
- (b) Steady flow of capital resources.
- (c) Rising curve of revenue.
- (d) Expenditure controls.

External factors to be carefully reviewed in terms of their impact would include the following :

- (a) Political aspects.
- (b) Economic condition.
- (c) Sociological trends.
- (d) Technological impact.

These aspects are popularly known as PEST formula.

#### **4. Marketing Budget : A Functional Approach**

Three stages are necessary to prepare an excellent budget. These can be, in our view, characterised by three Cs namely :

- (a) Conceptual
- (b) Computational
- (c) Controls

These are briefly reviewed below :

##### **Conceptual**

This will enable the approach of budgeting as referred to earlier. However internal influences need to be carefully examined. These would include sales trends, factory capacities, need for development of new or different products, possibility of plant expansion, seasonality of products, desired profit of the company. However external influences should also merit consideration. These would include general trends of agricultural and related activity, government policy, cyclical phase of nation's economy, i.e., depression or prosperity, purchasing power of population, shifts of population and development of new modes of living.

##### **Computational**

The top management should provide solid leadership. Market research department should extend logistics with the help of individual salesmen and selling outlets to develop sales forecasts. Some institutions use Sales Forecasting Teams to do this job.

An important factor is to determine break even point and determine the sales volume which the present plant can produce. While computing sales

forecasts, types of customers, territories and geographical boundaries should be carefully considered in terms of their impact.

### Control Process

Essential budgetary controls looks at three following aspects :

1. Setting standards.
2. Comparing standards with actuals.
3. Computing variances and initiating corrective actions.

However, for clarity of action and persuasive motivation, the modern and expanded control process includes eight steps which are listed below :

- (a) Defining objectives.
- (b) Identifying deviations.
- (c) Analysis of (b) above.
- (d) Identifying corrective action.
- (e) Implementing corrective action.
- (f) Setting revised standards.
- (g) Assessment of actual performance *vis a vis* performance standards.
- (h) Identifying deviations in actual performance.

### CONCLUSION

A Marketing Budget should be developed as a policy instrument for implementation. It should not only include monetary value but non-monetary figures should also be developed as part of comprehensive budgeting. A successful marketing budget will facilitate the smooth and progressive operations of an organization.



# Constitution Making in Pakistan – the Passing of the Objectives Resolution

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DR. FARHAT IMRANA ASLAM

Before the advent of the British, the Moghals ruled over India. The scramble for power in India started in the seventeenth century. The British excelled other European Nations and eventually took over the reins of power by defeating the Moghals. The British success was achieved through skilful diplomacy, deceitful tactics and very well thought out wars. But the British Raj owed its legitimacy to the historic Victorian Proclamation of 1858, announced after the end of the titular rule of the Moghals in India. Before the Proclamation, the British derived legitimacy from the agreements and treaties which they entered into with the Moghal Emperors. Over the Princely States, the Raj acquired what is called paramountcy, a system of subordinated alliances which put the British as real rulers, leaving only the ostentatious authority with the princes.<sup>1</sup>

Having achieved the objectives of setting up the empire, the British quickly realized that the support of the native people was essential to strengthen their hold over India. With this aim in view, a policy was drawn to enlist the support of native people. A number of Indian Council Acts formulated and implemented reflected the British intention and attitude towards India. The people of India, with the passage of time, realized that the colonial rulers were fleecing the Indians and they had hardly any real voice in running the affairs

of the state. The Council Acts were only strategies to solidify the British Imperialism. Opinions were expressed, but these were not articulated as yet to become a political demand in favour of a representative government by putting an end to the colonial rule. The Congress and the Muslim League were mere forums which slowly began to reflect the new trends in the politically awakened India. The British, having an eye on the future, announced in August 1917 the Objectives of British rule in India. It was declared that the progressive realization of the self-government was the ultimate aim of the British in India.<sup>2</sup>

India was a continent where people of different races, colours, religious and tribal set-up lived. Although British rule after the World War I had become weak considerably, discord within India kept the facade of the British imperialism intact. Had India been united, freedom and independence would have been achieved long before it was actually attained. Afraid of each other, the Muslims, the Hindus and the Sikhs, they failed to come to a political agreement on future course of things before the withdrawal of the British. Mistrusts born of the past kept each other at a distance. Ultimately, the Muslims of India demanded a separate homeland based on the concept that the Hindus and the Muslims constituted two separate nations. This new idea was embodied in the Lahore Resolution of 1940 which ultimately led to the creation of Pakistan. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, spelled out the basic precepts of the demand for Pakistan :

The problem in India is not one of an intercommunal character but manifestly of an international one, and it must be treated as such... The (Islam and Hinduism) are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders and it is a dream that Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality... The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literature. They neither intermarry nor interdine together and, indeed, they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions... Hindus and Muslims derive their inspirations from different sources of history. They have different epics, different heroes, and different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other and, likewise, their victories and defeats overlap... Musalmans are a nation according to any definition... and they must have their homelands, their territory and their state.<sup>3</sup>

The Muslims had crossed the Rubicon. They had come to adopt this policy when no other course was left open. Their training in the light of the ideas of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Allama Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, had provided them political wisdom to steer clear of the Hindu tactics intended to keep them under their perpetual servitude. They were not prepared to accept less than total freedom in an independent state for the Muslims.

It took nearly seven years before the Lahore Resolution became a living fact in the form of a new State of Pakistan. Muslim India achieved Pakistan on August 14, 1947. It has been reckoned a new political phenomena having been conferred statehood on the basis of a religious ideology. At the same time, it posed a big challenge to the people of Pakistan as they were called upon to frame new policies which would embody past history and the future aspirations of its citizens. One of the major tasks in this direction lay in the field of making of a constitution.

In India the situation was a little different. The Congress, the party that led the freedom struggle, and its leadership proclaimed secularism and vowed to draw constitutional framework on secular principles. In 1930 the Congress adopted a Resolution which postulated religious liberty and fundamental rights in the future Indian Constitution.<sup>4</sup>

Professor K.T. Shah moved a Resolution in the House in which he wanted to introduce a clause in the constitution regarding the secularism. It laid down : "The state in India being secular, shall have no concern with any religion, creed or profession of faith." This proposal was turned down. But there are quite a number of provisions in the constitution which make the Indian state to look like a secular state. Article 25 (1) of the constitution lays down, "subject to public order, morality and health and to the other provisions of this Part all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practice and propagate religion."<sup>5</sup> Such provisions are also found in the constitutions of other states. The Irish constitution in 1937, gave a clear guide in this respect to the subsequent constitution makers of different countries.<sup>6</sup>

The first part of the Article 25 (1) is extremely important, as the state could interfere in any religious activity under the pretext of public order, morality and health. Cow killing could easily be prevented on the grounds of public health. This became a case in the court in 1958, *M.H. Qureshi vs. the*



State of Bihar. The Article 25 (II) also empowers the state to regulate or restrict any economic, financial, political, or other secular activity which may be associated with religious practices. Under the same Article, the state could interfere and allow all Hindus to enter the religious places. In a case *Devara vs. the State of Mysor* where the Brahmans had refused entry to the lower classes in this Hindu Temple, the Supreme Court of India admitted that the right of low caste Hindus conflicted with Article 26 (B) which allowed the religious communities to maintain their institutions for religious and charitable purposes. This shows that, even here, the poor low caste Hindu was let down by the Supreme Court as it based its judgement on Article 26 (B) rather than 25 (II).<sup>7</sup> Advantage, therefore, went to the caste Hindu. Article 16 (II) lays down that, "No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of, any employment or office under the State."<sup>8</sup> These are the facts which indicate that India, in practice, is not a secular state as yet.

Owing its existence to the Quaid's philosophy of two nations, it was natural for Pakistan to follow his explicit ideas. As a tribute to the freedom struggle, the new nation had to charter its constitution on the ideology its leaders proclaimed before its creation. Pakistan had to become an Islamic state. Such issues as provincial autonomy, form of democracy and many other controversies had not become that important. Top priority was assigned to the problem of determining the nature of the Islamic State. Briefly the Quranic ideas and ideals are given to understand the dilemma of the framers of the constitution.

The Quranic injunctions that are often highlighted by Jurists in their debates and discussions regarding the headship of a Muslim community read :

O you who believe, obey God and obey the Messenger, and those in authority among you.

He is Who has made you successors in the earth, and raised some of you above others in rank, that He may try you in what He has given you. Surely your Lord is very swift in retribution, and surely He is One forgiving, compassionate.

O David, we have made you a successor in the earth, so judge between the people with truth, and do not follow your own desires, lest it cause you to stray from the way of God.

When your Lord said to the angels, "Verily I am placing you on earth a successor", they said, "Will you place there one to mischief therein and shed blood, while we give glory with your praise, and call you Holy." He said, "Assuredly I know what you know not."<sup>9</sup>

Scholars both Muslims and non-Muslims have endeavoured to capture the real spirit and trait of an Islamic State. Controversy has raged among different schools of thoughts. They are pulled apart on many essential principles.

The structure of an Islamic State, outlined in the Quranic verses and as actually founded by the first four caliphs, has all along been the desire of the Muslims to resurrect. Justice Hamud-ur-Rahman recapitulated the structure of an Islamic State :

That it was an institution established through a democratic process, namely the free will and accord of the people desiring to form the same and to accept the Holy Prophet (p.h.u.h.) as the Paramount Authority. (Pledge of *Aqaba-i Thani* and Agreement with the Jews).

That it was a constitutional organization set up under a written Charter (Charter of Madina).

That it was a federal structure comprising two communities, the Muslims and non-Muslims, and not two territories.

That it was an ideological state based on the concepts and fundamental principles embodied in the Holy Quran.<sup>10</sup>

He explains the concept of "*Niyabat-i-Ilahi*":

... that next to Allah the sovereign power resides in the people. As Sir Abdur Rahman puts it in his book *on Islamic Jurisprudence* (p.62), Islamic law does not admit of "the sovereign power being dissociated from the people howsoever they might choose to exercise it...."<sup>11</sup>

That all are equal before the law,

That the exercise of power is a trust,

That power has to be exercised in accordance with the Commandments of Allah and in His name.

That everyone vested with power is accountable for his actions.

That no one is above the law. No one, not even the 'Khalifa', enjoys any immunity.<sup>12</sup>

Justice Hamud-ur-Rahman delineates the early Islamic State :

The final picture, therefore, that emerges of this first Islamic State, is that it is an ideological State set up by the free will of the people in a constitutional manner and following the democratic principle of decision-making in which every citizen has an equal right to participate. Governance is a trust which has to be discharged with due regard to the principles of justice, equality, liberty and fraternity, as enunciated in the Holy Quran with absolute impartiality, without giving any preference to anyone, for the welfare of the entire community in such a manner that the basic needs of all are satisfied and everyone enjoys equality of opportunity without distinction of race, caste, creed, colour, faith, birth or rank.<sup>13</sup>

After tracing the history of the concept of the State, he argues in favour of a Muslim State by placing his reliance on the ideas of Allama Iqbal :

Thus most of the modern theories of constitutional government like the social contract, the separation of powers, the checks and balances, the rule of law, natural justice, equality before law, government as a trust, sovereignty of the people next to God, and welfare of the people were known to Muslims from the earliest of times. There can be no great difficulty with regard to them. Difficulties which arise are with regard to the institutions. Can they be reintroduced in the present changed conditions? Take for instance the institution of the *Khilafat*. The unity of the state and the *Ummah* has now, of course, disappeared along with the concept of the *Khilafat* and the Universal State. The Muslim world is now divided into several independent states each claiming separate identity. This happened several hundred years ago when at one and the same time there were three Muslim *Khilafats* in three different regions and each was equally great. During the time of the Abbassids, there were actually three *Khilafats*, one in Asia (Abbassids), another in Africa



(Fatimids) and a third in Europe (Ummayyads in Spain). Thereafter the Ottomans, after the conquest of Egypt, obtained the surrender of the *Khilafat* in their favour and retained it till it was abolished by the Turks after the First World War. Even during this period other independent Muslim States existed in India, Malaysia and Indonesia. The idea of a Universal *Khilafat* having ceased to be operative and found unworkable as a living factor in the organization of modern Islam, Allama Iqbal thought that for the present every Muslim nation must sink into her own deeper self, temporarily focus her vision on herself alone, until all are strong and powerful to form a living family of republics.<sup>14</sup>

For understanding the concept of the Constitution for Pakistan, it is but natural to turn to Quaid-i-Azam's ideas, before and after 1940. Quaid-i-Azam, in these crucial years was engaged in the great intellectual battle of this century in which he built a solid case in favour of two nation theory. From all platforms, he explained that the Muslims were a separate nation and their claim for a separate state was truly justified. He was doing it all alone. The top leaders of the Congress Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Nehru, and Mr. Patel and a number of leading intellectuals in Britain exhausted their energies in opposing Quaid's contention. While making out a case for Pakistan, he was, on certain occasions, called upon to dwell on the theme of the nature and the characteristics of a state he was fighting for. There are generally three distinct opinions. In the first place, it has been claimed that the Quaid was committed to make Pakistan an Islamic State. The second contention is that Quaid-i-Azam fought for a state which should safeguard the interests of the Muslims and he was not particularly keen to set up an Islamic State as such. There has been another school of thought which indicates that the Quaid was neither secular nor a worshipper of western system of governance. He was a modern statesman who stood for a happy blend of Islamic and Western systems of government. This must have been a difficult but the right course. In their view the Quaid's philosophy, if properly understood, best supports the democratic system of government, the principles of Quran and Sunnah having the final say. The conflicts which are now raging have arisen from the interpretation of the speeches of the Quaid of 11th August, 1947 in the Constituent Assembly and the other in February 1948 at Dacca. He said on 11th August, 1947 :

You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan.

You may belong to any religion or caste or creed -- that has nothing to do with the business of the State... We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State. The people of England in course of time had to face the realities of the situation and had to discharge the responsibilities and burdens placed upon them by the government of their country and they went through that fire step by step. Today, you might say with justice that Roman Catholics and Protestants do not exist; what exists now is that every man is a citizen, and equal citizen of Great Britain and they are all members of the Nation.

Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.<sup>15</sup>

It must be unfair to Quaid to attribute to him meanings of the statement he had not intended. This was not a new thought altogether. Similar statements were made before to assure the minorities that their life, honour and their property would be fully protected as the citizens of Pakistan. At this stage the killing on massive scale was going on in India. The minorities had not all that good in Pakistan. This was the right occasion to reiterate what Quaid had been saying all along. It was also intended to refute the Indian contention that Pakistan would be an unsafe place for the non-Muslims. If rightly interpreted, his speech confirmed the Islamic concept of State wherein citizens enjoy equal rights and duties.

Quaid had never lent support to secularism. He is said to have rejected the concept of theocracy wherein only a group of select people with eminence in religious knowledge have the right to give final judgement on state issues. Quaid's life is not wrapped in mysteries. He always maintained deep respect for Islamic way of life. He was convinced that Islam has the capacity to meet the challenges of the world. He cherished an Islamic State based on democratic principles which would guarantee liberty, equality and social justice in Pakistan.

It has been stated by the Quaid that he had no intention of fixing the parameters of the constitution which the Constituent Assembly was to draft :



The Constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. I do not know what the ultimate shape of this constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today, they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of man, justice and fairplay to everybody. We are the inheritors of these glorious traditions and are fully alive to our responsibilities and obligations as framers of the future Constitution of Pakistan. In any case Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic State -- to be ruled by priests with a divine mission. We have many non-Muslims -- Hindus, Christians, and Parsis -- but they are all Pakistanis. They will enjoy the same rights and privileges as any other citizen and will play their rightful part in the affairs of Pakistan.<sup>16</sup>

Mussarat Hussain Zubairi after a careful scrutiny of the records concluded that the Quaid had not left any draft Constitution for Pakistan.<sup>17</sup>

The first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan held its inaugural Session in Karachi from 10 to 14 August. Mr. J.A. Mandal a member of the minority community from East Pakistan was unanimously elected as its temporary Chairman. Quaid-i-Azam, the only candidate was elected its President on 11 August, 1947.

This Assembly had a dual function. It had to act, as laid down in the Indian Independence Act, as Federal Legislature and as a Constituent Assembly. Originally its members were sixty-nine but later they were raised to seventy-four as the States of Bahawalpur, Khairpur and the Province of Baluchistan and the Tribal Areas were given additional seats on their accession and joining Pakistan. When the Assembly was dissolved in 1954, its total number had risen to seventy-nine. The total number of days for which this Constituent Assembly actually functioned were 116 from 1947 to 1954 which indicates that this Assembly was less occupied seriously with the task of constitution making.<sup>18</sup>

Surprisingly from 1947 to 1951 it worked only for 43 days. It shows that in the first five years, the constitution making was not assigned any priority whatever. Only in 1952, 1953 and 1954 the greater attention was diverted to this function. But at that time the difficulties had mounted up and events had slipped out of control.



Another factor which reduced the importance of the Constituent Assembly was that most of its members were appointed as Governor or assigned other bureaucratic posts and they failed to find time for less attractive work of drawing up a constitution.

The spirit which led to the creation of Pakistan was running like a torrent in the early phase of its existence. The Constituent Assembly which was also the law-making body started its work in right earnest. The first major stride in this direction was its momentous decision, the Objectives Resolution which was passed in March 1949.

The Objectives Resolution was moved by late Liaquat Ali Khan and approved by the Assembly. It states that the sovereignty belongs to Allah and the authority was delegated to the people of Pakistan. No distinction was drawn between the citizens on the basis of creed, race and colour. All laws were to be brought in conformity with the Holy Quran and Sunnah. The Muslims should be enabled to live according to the tenets of Islam. Pakistan should be a democratic state based on principles enunciated by Islam. Adequate provisions should be made for the protection of minorities. Pakistan should form a Federation wherein units should be autonomous. The Fundamental rights would be guaranteed. The independence of Judiciary should be fully safeguarded. This Resolution of three hundred and thirty-three words concludes : "so that the people of Pakistan may prosper and attain their rightful and honourable place amongst the nations of the world and make their full contribution towards international peace and progress and happiness of humanity."<sup>19</sup> This Resolution was a mile-stone in the efforts for Constitution-making in Pakistan.

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The Policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the Administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to

the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.

Sir Francis gives his own comment on this declaration :

"To meet new aspirations of the people Lord Chambersford's government in India proposed in 1917 a gradual progress towards a larger measure of control of India by her own people. This progress would ultimately result in some form of self-government." p.118.

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# Marketing of Intangible Products with Special Reference to Pakistan

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In the last decade or so, entrepreneurs in Pakistan, are getting conscious of the "Marketing" concept as opposed to "Selling" concept which dominated the domestic business for quite sometime primarily due to the lack of abundance of goods and services in the economy. Marketing has been defined as a process by which demand for goods and services is anticipated, enlarged and satisfied through the conception, formation, exchange and physical distribution of such goods and services. Marketing is a total approach - a way of thinking - and customer satisfaction is its cornerstone. Marketing starts before the goods come into existence and continues long after they are consumed.

Marketing always starts with the analysis of consumer needs and focuses on consumer satisfaction. On the other hand, in "Selling" approach, emphasis is on the product and the needs of the seller rather than buyer. A company following a sales orientation frequently assumes that they are in the business to sell or dispose of whatever product or service they offer. But this is a very short-sighted approach. Theodore Levitt, a professor of Marketing at Harvard School of Business says that any organization which focuses on making sale of the current product rather than on satisfying the consumer needs that the product is intended to fill is suffering from a "Marketing Myopia".<sup>1</sup>

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It should not be misunderstood that marketers are ignorant of the company's needs of earning reasonable profit for its growth and survival. Marketing has both goals to satisfy the objectives or needs of those who buy and to satisfy the objectives of those who manufacture and sell. In fact, customer satisfaction is the means to earn profit. At the same time, those who believe in or practice selling approach also earn profit, but it should be remembered that organizations that are developing and selling particular products without adopting the marketing concept -- could do better if they adopted a more customer oriented philosophy. The truth of the matter is that the marketing is one of the most visible and pervasive of all functions performed in the business and we are enjoying high standard of living due to marketing activities. If scientists and researchers have invented or discovered some scientific principles, marketers have translated them into want-satisfying products and services and have delivered these to the doorstep of the consumer. By creating and delivering a better standard of living to the society, marketers themselves also survive and grow. Peter Drucker rightly said that a business organization has only two functions: Marketing and Innovation.<sup>2</sup> What he meant was that these are two vital functions for the organization in order to survive and thrive in this competitive environment.

### **INTANGIBLE PRODUCTS -- SERVICES**

Marketing thinking initially developed in connection with the development and selling of tangible or physical products such as soaps, detergents, ready made garments, toothpastes, automobiles, machinery and equipment etc. Marketing concept is still pervasive in this sector of the economy and service sector is generally ignored with regard to the application of marketing concept, most probably due to the intangibility of the services. Even today, many service firms simply do not try to improve companies, tend to equate marketing with personal selling or advertising and have largely ignored the other marketing aspects like product development, pricing and distribution.

Services or intangible goods in any economy have taken an increasing share of the consumer's disposable income. In Pakistan, services including electricity and gas distribution services, have accounted for approximately 50% of the GNP with a growth rate of around 6% which is higher than the growth rate of GNP itself.<sup>3</sup>

In United States services job, now account for 77% of the total employment and 70% of the GNP.<sup>4</sup> Projections to 1990s, indicate that services will attract an even large share of consumer spending and employment. A variety of services have emerged in our time and our life is benefiting from these services on account of necessities, comforts or luxuries. Look around yourself and you will find different kinds of service organizations or service providers e.g. dry cleaners, laundries, hotels, motels, real estate brokers, repair shops, car wash services, musical concerts, theaters, movies, beauty parlours, hospitals, nursing homes, dentists, opticians, surgeons, physiotherapists, private educational institutions, legal advisors, chartered accountants, management consultants, computer services, insurance companies, banks, investment counsellors, finance companies, airlines, trucking companies, steamships, road runners, TCS, DHL, freight forwarders, rent-a-car, telephones, Paktel, telegraph offices, credit card companies, gymnasias, billiard clubs and other recreational clubs etc. Of course this list is not exhaustive.

Reasons for boom in the consumer services are not difficult to understand. Consumer demanded goods during 1930 Depression and immediately after World War II but as subsequently their income increased, consumers increasingly turned to services which either they could not afford previously or did not desire more education, travel, beautification, better medical facilities and the like. Similarly in business sector, due to complexity, specialization and competition, management has been compelled to seek expert services in areas like research, advertising, taxation and industrial relations. Rising incomes have caused people not only to increase their overall consumption of goods and services but also to shift some of the tasks they themselves performed previously to those who sell such services in the market place. Moreover increased demand of services and their high prices have also been responsible for the growth in the volume of the services to some extent.<sup>5</sup> However rate of growth in all categories of consumer service has not been uniform, some service industries have grown relatively faster than others because of the changes in life style like health care, banks, auto repair, consultancy and recreational services.

## NATURE OF SERVICE

What is a service? A service is an activity, satisfaction, benefit which is offered for sale or is provided in connection with sales of goods. It is an act or performance that one party offers to another that is essentially intangible and which does not result into ownership of anything. However some services may be associated with some tangible thing e.g. insurance policy, physician's prescription, repairing contract document. A service is a deed performed by one party for another. When somebody performs a service, his customer can't keep it. As the services do not possess material substance and do not involve transfer of title, they are used, experienced or consumed. Services differ from the products in at least four aspects.

1. **Intangibility:** Services cannot be seen, felt, smelled or heard before they are bought. A patient cannot know the result of a physiotherapy before he has purchased this service and received the therapy in psychiatrist's office. Consumers make their estimates about the quality of service from the place, people, equipment, communication material, symbols and prices that they see or hear. Because of intangibility of the services, service people have to sell wisdom and labour or use of goods. To accomplish successful sale of the services, the service provider has to "tangibilize the intangible" by putting the physical evidence and imagery in their abstract offer.<sup>6</sup> The real challenge for the service marketer is to develop faith in the service and the service provider.

2. **Inseparability:** Service cannot be separated from its source be it a person or a machine. Can we separate a concert from the performer? Can we separate surgery from the surgeon, legal advice from the advocate or tax advice from the tax advisor? Services are typically generated and consumed at the same time. Goods producers may be far away from the customers but service people work in the customer's presence most often. Product salesman by definition can never be part of his product. The product has its own physical dimensions and specifications which are self-contained and unique to it alone. At best the salesman will be seen as a representative of his company, conveying something of the image of that particular supplier. But while selling a service which cannot be specified in the same way as a product, it is the salesman's special expertise that is being sought by the prospective buyer. Imagine the case of a management consultant, a dentist, or a hair-dresser, they all become main part of the package. As such with the purchase of any service,



there is a large element of trust on the part of the buyer<sup>7</sup> and if the client has strong service provider preference, as is the case of doctors, lawyers, and actors, price is used to ration the limited supply of the preferred provider's time.

**3. Variability:** Services are highly variable. They depend on who provides them and not only who but when and where they are provided. Buyers of services are aware of variability characteristic of the services and frequently consult others before finally selecting a source of service. As a general rule, public image reputation of the service provider is the basis for his selection as a source of service by the service seeker. Public image or reputation is founded upon the quality of service that is already being provided to the public.

**4. Perishability:** Services cannot be stored. Empty seats in a stadium during a cricket match remain empty and idle mechanics in the repair workshop remain idle throughout the day until they get some work. Goods are usually produced in a factory and then sold but most frequently services are sold first and then produced; and they are produced and consumed at the same time. Services cannot be produced in large, economical quantities and then transported to customers. In addition, services often necessitate duplication of personnel and equipment where the service is actually provided.<sup>8</sup> Thus services cannot be produced in advance but can be staffed in advance.<sup>9</sup>

### MARKETING IMPLICATIONS FOR SERVICES

Many people argue that selling of goods and services is the same because all selling situations are essentially interactions between the buyer with his practical and psychological needs and the salesman tries to respond to these.<sup>10</sup> This argument is difficult to refute, because, by and large, marketer's task is essentially the same whether he is selling a product or service. After all service is an intangible product. Marketer of service should completely understand the demographic factor -- components of population and income; buying motives for each market segment -- why, when and how do people buy the given services, who does buying and who makes the buying decision; psychological determinants of buying behaviour -- perceptions, attitude personality, etc; and sociological determinants of buying behaviour -- social class structure and small group influence as they are pertinent in the marketing of services. Similarly, adoption -- diffusion process of product innovation has a relevance

in the marketing of services and some market segmentation strategies should be adopted by the service firms as well.

Then what is special about marketing of services? Although the basic marketing theory is the same for both the tangible products and services but the different characteristics of services e.g. intangibility, variability, perishability and inseparability as elaborated in the previous paragraphs, greatly affect the design of the marketing programmes for the services. These special features of services have created special marketing challenges and opportunities in terms of all 4 Ps of marketing i.e. product, price, place (distribution channel), and promotion. A brief discussion of each is given below.

**1. Product:** In some respects, product planning is easier for services than the physical products as colour, labeling, design and packaging is not needed in service marketing. However in other respects, like standardization of quality and branding, it is problematic. Difficulty of branding arises because it is hard to maintain a consistent quality and because a brand cannot be physically attached to service.<sup>11</sup> These problems emanate from the variability characteristic of service. Some people suggest that 3 more Ps should be added to the traditional 4 Ps of the marketing to differentiate the service.<sup>12</sup> These three Ps are people, physical environment and process of delivery. A service concern can distinguish itself by having on its board more able, competent and reliable people for customer contact; developing superior physical surroundings, and designing efficient delivery process.

Product differentiation in services can be accomplished by delivering consistently high quality service than competitors. Although it is difficult to define and judge the quality of service as compared to a product (for example room furnishing and room service in a hotel) still it is necessary to find out the customer choice criteria for any specific service. In a service quality model formulated by Parasuraman, Zeithaml and Berry,<sup>13</sup> there appears a list of major determinants of service quality. According to them, consumers use basically following criteria regardless of the type of service:

1. Access - The service can be obtained at convenient locations without much waiting.

2. Communication - The service is described accurately in consumer language.
3. Competence - The employees possess required skill and knowledge to perform the service.
4. Courtesy - The employees are friendly, respectful and considerate.
5. Credibility - The company and employees are trustworthy and have the customer's best interest in heart.
6. Reliability - The service is performed with consistency and accuracy.
7. Responsiveness - The employees respond quickly and creatively to customer's problems.
8. Security - The service is free from danger, risk and doubt.
9. Tangibles - The service documents, if any, correctly project the service quality.
10. Knowing the customers - The employees provide individual attention to customer.

Various studies of excellently managed service companies shows that they share a number of common practices. Among them are a strategic concept; top management commitment to quality; high standards; a system for monitoring the performance and satisfying the customer complaints.<sup>14</sup> Management of a service concern, right from the very beginning, must do all that it can to ensure consistency of quality and maintenance of high level quality control. At least three steps can be taken toward quality control of the service within a given firm.<sup>15</sup> First is to invest in good personnel selection and training. Some service organizations notably hotels, airlines and insurance companies spend heavy amount of money to train their employees with a standard training content. For example standard training content for new sales force in State Life Insurance Corporation of Pakistan include instruction in (a) life insurance fundamentals, (b) prospecting techniques, (c) sales methods, (d) company contracts and practices, and (e) self-management.<sup>16</sup> This is due to the standardized training to the employees that one finds the same friendly and helpful personnel in every Pearl Continental Hotel throughout Pakistan. The second step is to standardize process of service performance throughout the organization. Finally organization should monitor customer satisfaction by



customer survey, complaint or suggestion system or whatever way so that weaknesses in the service can be detected and corrected.

2. **Price:** In the marketing of services, nowhere is there a greater need for managerial creativity than in the area of pricing. As has already been pointed out, services are extremely perishable, they usually cannot be stored and their demand often fluctuates considerably. All these factors carry significant pricing implications. These considerations suggest that the elasticity of demand should influence the price setting. When demand fluctuates, service organizations face difficult problems. Marketer has to influence demand movements and supply capacities in the face of service perishability. To produce better match between demand and supply in a service business several strategies including differential pricing, incentives for non-peak demand, reservation systems, complimentary services, sharing equipment and hiring part-time employees can be adopted.<sup>17</sup>

Decidedly, perfect competition does not apply to any extent in the pricing of services. However, monopolistic competition can be seen in the sale of services. An obvious solution to such a situation is to differentiate your service. The offer can include some innovate feature/s to distinguish it from competitor's offer. To the primary service package (what the customer is expecting) can be added secondary service features. In the airline industry, for example, various carriers have introduced such innovations as movies on board, air-to-ground telephone, merchandise for sale on board and frequent flyer award programmes. Airlines also are planning to add shoe shining and suit pressing services, a library of best selling books and availability of computer on board and so on. Very recently, Emirates airline has announced provision of seat to seat video screen in First Class.

However, basic method of pricing of service is generally the same as that for the products i.e. cost plus. For services like rentals, entertainment, and legal advice, demand and supply are the basic price determinants. Service providers often charge higher prices if services can be made to appear more tangible (fees of accredited educational institutions are higher than non-accredited), or if the service is guaranteed in writing.<sup>18</sup> Quantity discounts (rates are lower if you rent a car for a week), cash discount (annual insurance premium payments are cheaper than quarterly instalments), and geographic pricing (mechanics charge more if they have to go out of city) are applicable to

services. It should be noted within the context of pricing that service industries are very labour intensive as compared to manufacturing. Consequently wage increases in the service sector of the economy have a significant impact on their price level.

**3. Channel of Distribution:** Distribution as generally conceived, refers to the design, implementation and control of institutional network calculated to make social objects of all kinds available to the population to be served. Thus application of the channel concept cannot be denied to services. As a matter of fact creation of time and place utilities is even more important<sup>19</sup> in the marketing of services than it is in the marketing of goods. For example medical care must be provided as soon as possible and at home or nearby hospital. Thus location of such service organizations like hospitals, private schools, dry cleaners, hairdressers, recreation clubs, property dealers and family planning centres is important from the user point of view. It has already been stated that location is used by most buyers as a basis for selecting the service, either out of convenience or necessity.

Length of marketing channel is short as compared to the product. This is so because from the marketing standpoint, inseparability of the services from their provider means that direct sales is the only possible channel of distribution and as such no middleman can be used. This is the case in most service transactions and brings immediate, detailed consumer feedback. The only other frequently used channel include agents or brokers.

**4. Promotion:** Services are more difficult to promote because one must stimulate people's sense of sight, touch and smell. A promotional programme for any service should be built around three major goals (a) to portray the service benefits in as appealing manner as possible, (b) to differentiate the service offerings from the competitors and (c) to build a good reputation. Last objective is most important because the firm is marketing intangibles where reputation is critical. To achieve these goals a firm should use advertising and personal selling.

Advertising is a prerequisite for personal selling. Advertising may stress dependability and consistent quality of service. It may also develop community awareness about the existence of the service in the area. Telemarketing can also be effectively used in promotion of services. According to a report, Bell System of USA, using telemarketing, reduced its average time for a sale from



39 hours to only three hours and sales call average had dropped from five to only one.<sup>20</sup> Although in Pakistan, use of telephone in promoting services may not be as impressive as in the above case, because telephone is not as ubiquitous in Pakistan as in USA, yet use of telephone will be instrumental in getting appointments for sales interview, giving broader details of the services and in the follow-up of sales call particularly in service like insurance.

### PERSONAL SELLING IN SERVICES

Personal selling has a special place in the promotion of services. In most of the cases, customer must come to the service establishment or service provider should go to the customer, and at least some part of the distribution is always face-to-face. Attempts to market some services at distance from the buyer will not succeed if the buyers want to develop a feeling of trust through personal contact. It has been generally observed that people want to have a personal contact with the supplier if the service being bought is experience.<sup>21</sup>

Personal selling is also needed in the service marketing because of the intangibility of the services. Customers do not buy a service rather they seek to acquire a range of benefits that the service carries. Role of the salesman is to translate these descriptive features of service into consumer's benefits. These are the benefits that he sells rather than the service itself. A simple formula to convert features in benefits is that the expression 'which means that' can be frequently used to link benefits with the features. Examples: "we are part of a multinational group which means that we can provide similar service in any country of the world" or "we have the most up-to-date equipment which means that our printing is of the highest quality." Another role that a salesman will play during personal selling is to satisfy the prospects on their objections and thus build confidence in the service the company is offering. Objections from the prospect or customer take various dimensions e.g. price objections "it is too expensive," delay objections "we will have to think this over", loyalty objections "our present supplier is very good" or lack of knowledge objections "it is too complicated for me." The salesman needs to understand why these objections are raised and recognise their significance. Once he can do that, he will be able to react accordingly. But one thing a salesman should remember that he should never get into an argument with the buyer as it causes conflict



rather than confidence or trust. Instead handle the objections courteously and creatively.

### SERVICE SECTOR IN PAKISTAN

Pakistan is a mixed economy. Services are provided both by the government and private entrepreneurs. Government provides services like health, education, electricity, telecommunication, railways and airtravel etc. Most of these being social services are not provided on commercial basis. As a matter of fact user charges in some services like health and education are so minimal that they can hardly meet a fraction of the cost of service whereas in areas like electricity, telecommunication, railways and air travel, the user charges are good enough to recover the cost and earn some profit as well. An overview of the service sector in Pakistan is briefly presented in the next paragraphs.

### CONTRIBUTION OF SERVICES TO NATIONAL INCOME

There has been steady increase in share of services in GNP over the years. This shows that there is greater demand and consumption of services in Pakistan. The following table shows the share of selected services in the overall GDP of Pakistan.<sup>22</sup>

TABLE I  
Share of Selected Services in GDP of Pakistan  
(at Constant Factor Cost)

Service	<i>(Million rupees)</i>				
	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90	1990-91
1. Wholesale and retail trade	58661	63932	67305	69909	73609
2. Transport, Storage & Communication	36785	39293	37716	40285	43678
3. Public Administration & Defence	26556	27666	29852	30667	31271
4. Services	26483	28212	30054	32017	34108
5. Ownership of dwellings	19784	20828	21928	23086	24305
6. Electricity and gas distribution	9207	10711	12125	13802	15162
7. Banking and Insurance	9111	9452	9743	10026	10398
Total of Services	186587	200094	208723	219792	232513
Total GDP	362110	385416	403948	422650	446223
Share of services in GDP	51%	52%	52%	52%	52%

Above table indicates that the share of services toward Gross Domestic Product is more than 50% and it is one the increase day by day. Wholesale, and retail trade is contributing maximum and transport, communication and storage services are number two.

### Health Services

Health service in Pakistan is inadequate as is revealed in table two below. Government is trying to improve the health and nutrition status of the country through promotional, prevention and rural service. In previous years, efforts have been made for fulfilling the basic health needs of the people, however, available health services have remained below the desired level. The infant mortality rate (106/1000) which is a sensitive indicator to judge the national health service is still the highest in the world.<sup>23</sup>

TABLE 2  
Selected Indicators of Health Service in Pakistan  
(per 1000 Persons of Population)

Item	1987	1988	1989	1990
Institutions (including Health Centres, Dispensaries T.B. Clinics etc.)	.085	.090	.089	.094
Doctors	.38	.41	.44	.47
Dentists	.016	.017	.018	.019
Lady Health Visitors	.24	.26	.27	.28
Nurses	.13	.13	.15	.15

Source : Worked out from Pakistan Statistical Year Book 1991.

Share of private sector in providing institutionalized health care in Pakistan is negligible. However some private practitioners and hospitals are operating in metropolitan and urban areas. Government of Punjab is considering to set up Punjab Health Foundation to mobilize private sector to participate in Health Care.

### Education Services

Education service in Pakistan is an important service provided by the Government. Since our independence in 1947, every Government has tried its best to expand educational facilities but the increase in population has made the expansion ineffective. It is estimated that about 7.5 million<sup>24</sup> children remain out of school at the primary level. Participation rate at the high school (class VI-X) level is only 25.7% which is targeted to increase to 35.3% at the end of the Seventh Five Year Plan.<sup>25</sup>

Following table provides some important data in the educational sector of Pakistan. These facilities are for an estimated population of about 111 million at the end of 1990.

TABLE 3  
Educational Institutions and Enrollment in Pakistan  
at the end of 1989-90

Institution Level	No.	Enrollment
Primary Schools	118607	8615000
Middle Schools	7161	2397000
Secondary Schools	6805	928000
Arts and Science Colleges	575	489000
Professional Colleges	99	75310
Universities	22	73382

Source: Govt. of Pakistan, *Statistical Year Book 1991*

Private sector had been participating in the educational endeavour all along but with the nationalization of educational institutions in seventies, it was frustratingly discouraged. Participation of Private sector, now, is minimal and private educational institutions, having commercial motive, are existing



only in urban areas. New government is encouraging private sector. In this respect Punjab Education Foundation<sup>26</sup> has already been established in Punjab to mobilize the resources of private sector and involve the local committees.

### Banking Services

After independence banking services in Pakistan were largely initiated by private sector. Later on all banks except foreign banks were nationalized and remained in the hands of government till now when the present government had taken over and is encouraging private sector to undertake banking business. Number of scheduled banks and their branches are shown in table below.

TABLE 4  
Scheduled Banks - Pakistani and Foreign

Banks	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
<b>Pakistani</b>					
No. of Banks	9	9	9	10	10
Branches	7100	7141	7188	7341	7493
<b>Foreign</b>					
No. of Banks	26	28	28	29	26
Branches	63	65	66	67	68
<b>Total</b>					
No. of Banks	35	37	37	39	36
Branches	7163	7206	7254	7408	7561

Source: State Bank of Pakistan

From the above table we can work out that there is one branch of a scheduled bank for approximately 16000 persons in Pakistan.

### Other Services

Power generation and distribution is in the hands of the public sector but with a view to make the country self - sufficient in power and energy, the government is encouraging the private sector by providing them an opportunity

to earn real rates of returns which are competitive with returns available from similar activities internationally. The corporate tax has been waived from the sponsors and foreign lenders are exempted from the tax on the profit arising out of loans.

Insurance services are being provided by both public and private sector. Life insurance is with State Life Insurance Corporation of Pakistan which is a public enterprise which came into being after nationalization of life insurance business in seventies. General insurance - fire, marine, motor and miscellaneous insurance - operate mostly in private sector. It is expected that private sector will re-enter the life insurance business very soon.<sup>27</sup>

### CONCLUSION

There is every reason to believe that services will continue to take an increasing share of every disposable rupee in future as they have been doing in the past. Although, unlike products, services are intangible, perishable, heterogeneous and cannot be stocked for selling 'off-the-shelf' at some later date, yet they are products from a marketer's point of view and as such lend themselves to be planned, priced, delivered and promoted in line with the modern marketing approach as opposed to traditional selling approach. On one hand, marketing of services is uniquely challenging but on the other a service seller is not required to perform such marketing functions like stock control, inventory investment, product shortage, obsolescence and transportation of service. Historically "Service" industries including airlines, banks, investment companies, physicians, accountants, tax advisors and insurance companies have been new to adopt the marketing concept. Looking to the beginning of the next century, it is becoming increasingly evident that many organizations in service industries simply must become more market oriented if they wish to survive in the upcoming competitive environment in Pakistan. Pakistan has a great potential for rewarding the private entrepreneurs for their investment and management skills if they are willing to share the burden of government in providing social services like education, health care, transportation, gas distribution and electricity.

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## Book Review

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**Ali Banuazizi and Myron Weiner (ed.),**

*The State, Religion, and Ethnic Politics: Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan*, Vanguard, Lahore, 1987, Pages 390 + xi, Price Rs. 300.

The process of national integration and the task of nation building is increasingly becoming a complex one. The disintegration of Soviet Union and the massive social developments in the Eastern Europe indicate that this is an era of ethno-nationalism--the period of highest level of politicisation of ethnicity. The notions of voluntary togetherness or the emotional integration of nationalities to form a nation are no longer practicable. The post colonial states--specially in the third world--are facing legitimacy crisis. At the same time, their efforts for development and social mobilization are being eroded by what is generally called parochial loyalties and fissiparous tendencies. *The State, Religion and Ethnic Politics : Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan* an edited volume of twelve articles provides a deep insight into these problems and the future course of action for these countries.

In early eighties the three countries of the region--Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan--were experiencing some basic political changes. Despite differences in each society, there is generally striking similarity in respect of ethno-religious and cultural aspects. A group of scholars organized a comparative study in order to analyse these changes in their historical perspective. The results of these studies were presented in a thematic conference of New York in 1982. The Scholars from different disciplines of social science studied interrelationship among Islam ethnicity and politics in these societies.

Introducing the issues it was stressed that "in no region of the world have changes in religion and ethnicity had a great impact on political life than in these three countries." The central theme of the papers had been the complex interplay of the state power and the religious and ethnic identification. It is concluded that for a long time to come ethnicity will continue to play a

significant role in these countries. This generalization was offered on the grounds that :

- (a) All these societies are essentially multi-ethnic with one major and dominant group blocking social mobility of other minorities.
- (b) Many of the minority groups in these countries are transborder people : immune to political, moral and material support for the projection of their claims.
- (c) Relative weaknesses and limited capacity of each of the state address legitimacy problems.

Shaharogh Akhavi in his article on "State formation and consolidation in twentieth century Iran" pointed out that the Pehlvi state has been comparatively stronger to centralize state power through establishment of a modern army, an aggressive industrialization programme, and major expansion of civil bureaucracy. Raza Shah was also successful in breaking the power of various ethnic groups and tribes and to assimilate non-Persian speaking linguistic communities into Persian culture and language but he failed completely to deal with the religious hierarchy. The Pehlvi state also failed to comprehend the after effects of its claim on legitimacy based upon pre-Islamic Persian heritage, and it ultimately proved disastrous for the dynasty. The new revolutionary government dominated by the religious hierarchy, on the other hand claimed legitimacy based on the Jaffriyah traditions. The new government in its first phase of consolidation was also facing challenges, but not as yet from any ethnic group. Linguistic diversity perhaps will not be as important an issue in twentieth century for Iran as it might be for Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Shahrani and others surveyed the policies and practices pursued by the Afghan regimes since the formation of Pashtun state in 1947. They assert that there had never been a legitimate government in Afghanistan. The real difficulty with the development of state structure has been the inability or the unwillingness of the government to try to establish an organic relationship with its citizens based on just and equitable treatment of them. A mechanical relationship based on corrupt bureaucracy was nothing more than a castle built on sand. When challenged the collapse of Afghan state became unavoidable.



Canfield studied ethnic, regional and sectarian alignments in Afghanistan. According to his estimates about 30 per cent Pashtun dominated and ruled the whole of Afghanistan for the last two hundred and forty years. There exist strong ethnic communities like Tajiks 25 per cent, Hazara Shia's 15 per cent, followed by the Tajiks, Aimaq's, Nooristanis and others. Their inclusion into the Pashtun Afghanistan has been through subjugation and conquest. In his view, they all remained a constant challenge to the state. The only known successful rebellion against the Afghan dynasty was from Tajik ethnic group, when Bacha-e-Saqqa took over Kabul and ruled the country for over nine months.

The Shia religious sect forms 15 per cent of the total population. They are mostly the Hazaras of Central Afghanistan. The efforts have been made in these studies to bring to surface different tribes and other segments of the populations as opposed to the ruling class. This is a general trend of the scholars of imperialist countries. In the name of scholarships, they sow dissertations and feel that they have done their jobs.

In Pakistan, Punjabi ethnic group dominates politics, economy, military and bureaucracy. While the Muhajir among the minorities share power with the Punjabis. The Sindhis, Baluchis and Pashtuns are in dominant position in their own provinces, each challenged the central authority more than once, and each have transborder ethnic affiliations. Selig Harrison in *Ethnicity and Political Stalemate in Pakistan*, pointed out that "sections of all minorities continue to clamour for greater power sharing, autonomy for the provinces, and above all for the acceptance of the notion that Pakistan is a multi-ethnic state, positions that are rejected by the Pakistani governments in the past. Besides the resistance from the minorities the Pakistani state as a whole exhibited considerable more authority.

\* This trend is apparent in the writings of the scholars of the imperialist state. They would like to create disturbances and commotion through these identifications of problem. The strong bias in favour of the tribal politics is limited to specific areas. The conflicts as are indicated can be as imaginary than based on realities. These books needs to be read with care and their outlook should be scanned out.

# Statements

## SOUTH ASIAN REGIONAL COOPERATION

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### NINTH TECHNICAL COMMITTEE MEETING ON METEOROLOGY

Karachi, Pakistan : April 24 - 25, 1991

The Ninth Meeting of Technical Committee on Meteorology was held in Karachi (Pakistan) from 24-25 April 1991 under the Chairmanship of Pakistan. All SAARC countries participated in the meeting.

Mr. F. M. Qasim Malik, Director-General, Pakistan Meteorological Department in his opening remarks touched upon the adverse effects of climate on the people of South Asia and stressed the need for collective expertise in solving the dynamics of the weather system for the benefit of the people of South Asia. He expressed the hope that SAARC Meteorological Research Centre (SMRC), when established, would provide the much awaited infrastructure for studying the inter-annual variability of monsoon and other weather phenomena that affect the countries of the region.

Mr. K. B. Shrestha, Director, SAARC Secretariat made a statement on behalf of the Secretary-General, SAARC. He emphasized that since Meteorology has a direct bearing with the activities in the agricultural sector, it is important to have a close collaboration between the Meteorology and Agriculture Committee to ensure that the scientific know-how available to the region's meteorologists are made optimum use of in the agriculture sector. Meteorology also has bearing on the work of TC on Transport, particularly with respect to air and sea travel.

The meeting also discussed the Regional Award given annually for outstanding scientific research paper or a review article on meteorological topic by young scientists of the region working in the field of meteorology. The Fourth Regional Award was made to Mr. B. K. Vaidya of Nepal for his

paper entitled 'A Study of Rainfall Distribution in the Central and Eastern Region of Nepal' under the sponsorship of Pakistan. The Fifth Award sponsored by Bhutan, went to Mr. S. Karmakar of Bangladesh for his paper entitled 'On the Zonal and Meridional Fluxes of Energy Components of the Troposphere over Bangladesh and Neighbourhood during the Withdrawal Phase of South-West Monsoon'. The award consists of a citation in English, a bronze medal and an equivalent of US\$ 500. The Committee was informed that selection formalities for Sixth and Seventh Awards to be sponsored by Sri Lanka and Maldives respectively were under process and would be announced in the next meeting of the Technical Committee. The Committee agreed that from the Eighth Award onwards, the sponsors would be in the alphabetical order.

The Committee also reviewed status of SAARC Meteorological Research Centre (SMRC) and took cognizance of the emphasis given by World Meteorological Organisation (WMO) on International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction (IDNDR) and urged Member Countries to increase their activities related to IDNDR in their respective countries during the decade of the 1990s.

### **TENTH TECHNICAL COMMITTEE MEETING ON AGRICULTURE**

**Kathmandu, Nepal : June 4 - 6, 1991**

The Tenth Meeting of SAARC Technical Committee on Agriculture was held in Kathmandu from 6-4 June 1991. The Chief Guest, Mr. H. B. Rajbhandari, Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture, in his inaugural address stressed the importance of agricultural development as being crucial to the growth of prosperity of the SAARC countries. He pointed out that many of the problems of the SAARC countries were of common nature and hence joint endeavours were needed to solve them.

The Chairman of the Meeting, Mr. S. N. Regmi, Executive Director, National Agriculture Research Center, in his welcome address highlighted the importance of SAARC and also said that issues such as environmental degradation required joint collaboration.

Mr. K. B. Shrestha, Director, SAARC Secretariat, speaking on behalf of the Secretary-General suggested that the Technical Committee should consider



selection of well-identified, target-oriented and time bound programmes during the 1990s.

Participants presented country reports on the activities which have been implemented in their respective countries. The Committee reviewed the progress in the implementation of recommendations of counterpart scientists/regional workshops and recommended developing of effective mechanism to monitor the implementations.

### TENTH TECHNICAL COMMITTEE MEETING ON POSTAL SERVICES

Kathmandu, Nepal : June 11 - 12, 1991

The Tenth Meeting of Technical Committee on Postal Services was held in Kathmandu from 11-12 June, 1991. The Chief Guest Mr. Kali Prasad Rijal, Acting Secretary, Ministry of Communications, in his inaugural address said that over the last few years, the framework of cooperation as outlined by the SAARC Charter had played an important role in facilitating increased exchange of professional knowledge and expertise among the postal administrations of member nations.

The SAARC Secretary-General, Ambassador K. K. Bhargava observed that the Tenth Technical Committee on Postal Services was meeting at a time when regional cooperation in the framework of SAARC was poised for a breakthrough in the core economic areas of Trade, Manufactures and Services. He pointed out that improvement of postal services in the region was both an end in itself and a means to facilitate cooperation in other areas.

Under the Chairmanship of Mr. N Rao Padhye, Director-General, Department of Postal Services, His Majesty's Government of Nepal, the Committee reviewed the progress in the implementation of decisions taken for the Calendar of Activities from June, 1990 to May, 1991. It was noted that the study tour on New Mail, and Financial Services, the seminar on Postal Operations and Future Challenges, and letter writing competition on the theme "What will happen if the postal system ceases to operate" had been successfully carried out in Pakistan, Colombo and Bangladesh respectively.

India had conducted the Workshop on 'Popularization of Expedited Mail Service (EMS) in the SAARC Region' in December, 1990.

The proposal of introducing higher professional degree course on Postal Management as also involvement of the NGOs and professional bodies in the implementation of Integrated Programme of Action, and inter-sectoral cooperation arrangement were discussed.

The SAARC Secretariat was represented at the Meeting by Director, Ms. Nima Ome.

**FIRST MEETING OF THE SAARC EXPERT GROUP ON THE STUDY  
ON 'GREENHOUSE EFFECT'  
AND ITS IMPACT ON THE REGION**

**Male', Maldives : March 11 - 13, 1991**

The Council of Ministers, at its Eighth Session in Male', directed the Secretary-General to convene a meeting of the SAARC Expert Group to decide on the terms of reference, methodology, funding and time-frame for the Study on "Greenhouse Effect" and its impact on the Region.

Pursuant to the above decision, the First Meeting of the SAARC Expert Group on the Study on "Greenhouse Effect" and its Impact on the Region, was convened in Male' from 11-13 March, 1991 at the invitation of the Government of the Republic of Maldives. The meeting was chaired by Mr. Hussain Shihab, Director of Environment, Ministry of Environment and Planning, Government of the Maldives and was inaugurated by Honourable Abbas Ibrahim, Minister of Fisheries and Agriculture, Maldives.

In his statement, the Minister said, any predicted climatic change must be viewed in the context of present dynamic change of world and large scale natural events such as El Nino which can cause significant impact on agriculture and human settlements. The predicted population explosion, the Minister emphasized, will produce increased demand for energy, fresh water, food and housing, which will vary from region to region according to rates of development.

Mr. Ahmed Saleem, Director of the SAARC Secretariat also made a statement. He outlined the procedures followed by the Expert Group on the study on the Causes and Consequences of Natural Disasters and the Protection and Preservation of the Environment and recommended guidelines which could be followed by the meeting in its deliberations.

The meeting which was attended by all SAARC Member Countries decided on the terms of reference, general format, methodology and time-frame for the study. Draft format for the study will be prepared by Pakistan and submitted to the Secretariat. Thereafter copies will be circulated to the member states by the SAARC Secretariat. The Second meeting of the Group of Experts will finalize the format for the study. Individual countries will also conduct national studies and submit them to the SAARC Secretariat. All seven national studies will then be consolidated into a draft regional study by the Secretary-General for submission to the SAARC Summit meeting.

### **PANEL OF EXPERTS ON CHILDREN MEETS**

**New Delhi, India : April 10-11, 1991**

A Panel of Experts from the SAARC Member Countries met at New Delhi on 10-11 April 1991 to formulate guidelines for a regional Plan of Action for improvement of the situation of children in South Asia. The Panel was chaired by Ms. Mira Seth, Secretary, Department of Women and Child Development, Government of India. The Panel reviewed the major objectives and sectorial targets set by the World Summit for Children 1990 and in the light of these objectives and targets, formulated guidelines for a regional Plan of Action in the areas of child health, maternal health, nutrition of children and mothers, water supply and sanitation, basic education, children in difficult circumstances, girl child, environment and women.

The guidelines prepared by the Panel will be examined by the Technical Committee on Health and Population Activities at its meeting to be held in June 1991 at Dhaka.

The Panel was appointed by the Secretary-General in pursuance of a directive of the Fifth SAARC Summit held at Male' in November 1990. The Heads of State or Government at that time "reviewed the status of children in South Asia and noted that the recent World Summit for Children had imparted a new impetus to the on-going efforts in this field. They believed that relevant recommendations of the World Summit could be usefully incorporated into a Plan of Action in the South Asian context and its implementation should be reviewed annually. The guidelines for such a Plan of Action could be prepared by a Panel of Experts to be appointed by the Secretary-General and examined by the Technical Committee on Health and Population Activities.\*



Ambassador K. K. Bhargava, Secretary-General and Mr. Q.A.M.A. Rahim, Director of SAARC were also present in the meeting.

### **FIFTH MEETING OF THE SAIC GOVERNING BOARD**

**Dhaka, Bangladesh : April 28 - 30, 1991**

The Fifth Meeting of the SAARC Agricultural Information Centre (SAIC) was held at Dhaka from 28-30 April, 1991. The Board Meeting was presided by Dr. M.S.U. Chowdhury, Executive Vice-Chairman, Bangladesh Agricultural Research Council (BARC) and Chairman, SAIC Governing Board.

The Board confirmed proceedings of its Fourth Meeting and reviewed the present status as presented by the Director. The Board noted that since all the professional staff have not yet joined the Centre, the technical activities could not be accelerated to a pace where a meaningful outcome could be expected in some areas. The SAARC Secretariat was represented by Mr. K.B. Shrestha, Director.

### **EXPERTS ON TOURISM MEET**

**Columbo, Sri Lanka, April 29 - May, 1991**

In pursuance of a directive of the Fifth SAARC Summit held at Male' in November, 1990, the Group of Experts on Tourism from the SAARC member States met at Colombo from 29 April to 1 May, 1991.

The Meeting observed that South Asia had tremendous potential as an international tourist destination, yet the region's share in the international tourist arrivals has been insignificant. The Experts expressed the view that cooperation among the tourist industries in the SAARC Member Countries in such areas as joint marketing, improvement of tourist facilities, development of expertise, sharing of know-how and promotion of incentive fares by airlines of the region would contribute in attraction more tourists from abroad and benefit all the countries of the region.

In view of the potential in the field, the Experts recommended that a Technical Committee on Tourism be established with a view to recommending specific programmes for cooperation as well as for continuous monitoring of activities in this field.

The Report of the Meeting will be considered by the next meeting of the Standing Committee to be held in July, 1991 at Male'.

It may be mentioned here that there already exists a SAARC Scheme on the Promotion of Organized Tourism in respect of intra-regional tourism. Various details of the Scheme have already been worked out and it is expected to be launched soon.

The Colombo meeting at which the SAARC Secretariat was represented by Mr. Q.A.M.A. Rahim, Director, was also addressed by the Secretary-General, Ambassador K. K. Bhargava.

**SAARC EXPERT GROUP WORKSHOP  
ON POVERTY ALLEVIATION  
Colombo, Sri Lanka : May 3 - 4, 1991**

The SAARC Expert Group Workshop on Poverty Alleviation was held in Colombo from 3-4 May, 1991. At the fifth meeting of the Planners' poverty alleviation strategies were discussed and Sri Lanka had offered to host a workshop exclusively on the theme.

The Secretary-General SAARC H.E. Mr. K.K. Bhargava speaking on the occasion stated that poverty alleviation strategies should contribute to the achievement of the central objective of SAARC, which is to promote the welfare of the peoples of South Asia and to improve their quality of life. He said that because of the emphasis in the SAARC Charter, the Workshop on poverty alleviation strategies should take into account the Integrated Programme of Cooperation in twelve agreed areas as also "SAARC 2000 - A Basic Needs Perspective", which is aimed at meeting specific targets in areas such as food, clothing, shelter, education, primary health care, population planning and environmental protection by the end of the century. Moreover, the emphasis on Human Resource Development in SAARC, the observance of the SAARC Decade of the Girl Child, the SAARC Year of Shelter, the SAARC Year of Environment, the SAARC Year of Disabled Persons and the Plan of Action for Children should also help in developing strategies for alleviating poverty in the region. He suggested that the concerned Technical Committees in the twelve agreed areas under the Integrated Programme of

Action of SAARC could in their work give emphasis to these aspects of cooperation which would facilitate the task of poverty alleviation strategies.

In the two days deliberations, the experts discussed various modalities for overcoming poverty in the region. There was also the general agreement that a theme should be selected for every meeting of Planners for in-depth discussions which has bearing on poverty alleviation strategies. The recommendations of the Workshop will now be considered by the Sixth Meeting of Planners before the matter comes up for consideration in the Council of Ministers meeting.

Mr. Arif Ayub, Director, represented the SAARC Secretariat at the meeting.

#### EIGHTH MEETING OF THE SAARC AUDIO VISUAL EXCHANGE (SAVE) COMMITTEE

Male', Maldives, May 3 - 5, 1991

The Eighth Meeting of the SAARC Audio Visual Exchange (SAVE) Committee was held in Male' from May 3-5, 1991. The Meeting was presided over by Mr. Hussain Mohamed, Director of Programme of the Television Maldives and leader of the Maldivian delegation. The Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Maldives, Mr. Ibrahim Hussain Zaki in his inaugural address said that people to people contact was very important and that SAVE has played a major role in this regard.

The Committee approved the Radio Programme on 'Highway Safety' by India and decided that the programme be broadcast on December 8, 1991 in all member countries to coincide with the anniversary of the signing of the SAARC Charter Day. The Committee also decided that co-production of TV/Radio programmes for 1992 and 1993 be based on themes designated by SAARC for the years. Hence it was agreed to co-product TV/Radio programmes on environment in 1992 as the year has been designated the "SAARC Year of the Environment". To coincide with the anniversary of the signing of the SAARC Charter, the Committee recommended the member countries to produce national programmes on shelter and telecast the programme on December 8, 1991 in their respective countries.



TV/Radio programmes to be telecast/broadcast during the period June, 1991 to April, 1992 were approved.

Ms. Nima Ome, Director, represented the SAARC Secretariat at the meeting.

### **EXPERT GROUP MEETING ON JOINT VENTURES FOR HANDICRAFTS AND COTTAGE INDUSTRIES**

**Islamabad, Pakistan : May 8 - 9, 1991**

The Heads of State or Government during Male' Summit had decided that measures for establishing joint ventures in the field of cottage industries and handicrafts should be taken up forthwith to set a stage for promoting collective self-reliance in the region. The Secretary-General was directed to appoint a group of 2-3 Experts selected from within the region, to prepare a paper suggesting the modalities for the setting up of joint ventures, sources of funding and other necessary details for consideration at the next meeting of the Council of Ministers.

Pursuant to the directive of SAARC Heads of State or Government that measures for establishing joint ventures in the field of cottage industries and handicrafts should be taken up forthwith to set a stage for promoting collective self-reliance in the region, an Expert Group meeting was held in Islamabad from 8-9 May, 1991. Experts selected from Bangladesh, India and Pakistan attended the Meeting. The Experts had the benefit of the views of Mr. T. Z. Farooqi, Secretary, Ministry of Industries, Government of Pakistan and H. E. Mr. K. K. Bhargava, Secretary-General, SAARC in their deliberations.

While joint ventures could in due course be established particularly in the marketing field for cottage industries and handicrafts and in production areas for small scale industries, the group felt there were several possibilities for joint cooperative efforts which could be undertaken immediately for promotion and development of these industries in the member countries. They recommended that another meeting of experts from the region be convened.

In the two-day meeting country papers were presented and measures identified for joint ventures and joint cooperative efforts in the field of cottage industries and handicrafts in SAARC countries.

Mr. Arif Ayub, Director, represented the SAARC Secretariat at the meeting.

## SAARC STUDY ON TRADE, MANUFACTURES AND SERVICES FINALISED

New Delhi, India : June 3 - 5, 1991

The Second Meeting of the Group of Coordinators to consider and finalize the Regional Study on Trade, Manufactures and Services, was held in New Delhi, from June 3-5 1991, the draft of which was prepared by the SAARC Secretary-General with the help of the Consultant, based on the separate country studies presented by the respective Member Countries.

The meeting was inaugurated by Mr. Muchkund Dubey, Foreign Secretary of India. He observed that the delegates had before them the opportunity to give genuine economic content to SAARC cooperation and transform SAARC into a full fledged economic grouping so that it can cope with the imperatives of contemporary changes.

In his statement, SAARC Secretary-General Ambassador Kant Kishore Bhargava suggested that concrete and specific measures should be recommended by the meeting. He called for agreement among the Member States to factor the SAARC spirit into their foreign economic policies. He pointed out the need for establishing carefully, commodity trading requirements for each country after ensuring that the necessary upstream supplies of exports can be generated in producing SAARC Countries and that there is corresponding utilization of such imports in the region. He stressed that import commitments of certain member States of SAARC from other members should be matched by the efforts of the latter to develop their export potential of quality goods. Secretary-General called for active involvement of business sectors in member States for promoting regional economic cooperation. He underlined the need for setting up trade financing facilities in the SAARC region and for cooperation in the services sector. Finally, he observed that the meeting should collectively aim at evolving a system which would be based on the principle of mutual advantages, would take into account different levels of trade, industrial and economic development and contain special provisions in favour of weaker economies. He urged the delegates to

work towards building an enduring relationship and suggested a declaration of intent to progressively move towards free trade in the region.

The Group consisting of representatives of the seven Member Countries identified the constraints in promoting cooperation among the SAARC countries in Trade, Manufactures and Services and recommended certain specific measures encouraging cooperation in these areas. The meeting was chaired by Dr. V. R. Panchamukhi, Director of Research and Information System for the Non-aligned and other Developing Countries.

The Study which aims at promotion of economic cooperation among the Member Countries of SAARC will be examined by the Group of Planners expected to meet soon in Dhaka, after which it will be presented to the Standing Committee in July, 1991.

The first meeting of the Group was held in Colombo in early 1989. Besides the SAARC Secretary-General, Mr. Q. A. M. A. Rahim, Director, SAARC Secretariat, was also present at the meeting.

#### **FIRST MEETING OF GROUP OF EXPERTS ON STATISTICS**

**Islamabad, Pakistan : June 4 - 6, 1991**

The First Meeting of SAARC Group of Experts on Statistics was held in Islamabad from 4-6 June 1991. The Group made substantive recommendations relating to the revision of national accounts in the SAARC Member Countries and suggested that the Member Countries take a common stand on the system of national accounts issues presently under consideration for revision at different forums. The other recommendations related to exchange of relevant publications on foreign trade statistics on a regular basis, setting out a list of core socio-economic indicators to be developed by each Member Country in order to monitor progress in this field, exchange of statistical publications as also of information on detailed methodology of data collection. The Group recommended that statistics may be exchanged in computer readable devices tapes, floppy diskettes CD-ROM.

Mr. Arif Ayub, Director, represented the SAARC Secretariat at the Meeting.



## **SECOND MEETING OF THE TECHNICAL SUB-COMMITTEE (AIRLINES)**

**Bombay, India : January 9-10, 1991**

The Second Meeting of the Technical Sub-Committee (Airlines) was held in Bombay, India from 9-10 January 1991. Representatives of the Airlines made presentations on their present technical capabilities, future development plans for fleet enhancement and other related issues. The presentations generated much interaction between the member airlines to identify effective areas of technical cooperation for mutual benefit.

The meeting unanimously decided that a 'Task Force' be set up to work out the details of specific areas for interaction and an implementation plan with a time schedule. Member Airlines emphasized the need for simplification of existing procedures and systems for movement of men and material between member countries so as to ensure speedy implementation of the recommended action and achieving the desired objectives of SAARC. They felt that Regulatory Bodies of SAARC countries may be requested to approve the system of licensing and approvals of other member countries to enable Airlines to undertake and sub-let their work to each other for mutual benefit without any restriction in respect of certification.

All the delegates agreed that the meeting provided an opportunity for interaction and helped them understand developments that are taking place in technical areas, human resources, training, automation, computerization.

The delegates felt that member airlines should exchange data on their fleet acquisition plan for the next 5-10 years and desired that commonality of fleet selection would help in setting up of common facilities and effective utilization of resources by eliminating parallel establishments.

## **THIRD SAARC TRAINING PROGRAMME ON HIGHWAY AND BRIDGE ENGINEERING**

**New Delhi, India : January 14 - February 14, 1991**

Third SAARC Training Programme on Highway and Bridge Engineering was conducted by the National Institute for the Training of Highway Engineers in New Delhi from January 14 to February-14 1991. Representatives from Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal and India attended the training programme.

The objectives of the Programme were to help the participants in (a) acquiring basic knowledge of some of the advanced tools and techniques available to meet the challenges in the planning of highways; (b) acquiring knowledge about some of the advanced techniques for design of highway and bridges; (c) getting acquainted with the current and emerging concepts in management of construction and maintenance activities for effective execution of works; (d) familiarising them with the use of modern construction and maintenance equipment.

### SAARC WORKSHOP ON TREATMENT, REHABILITATION AND DETOXIFICATION OF DRUG ADDICTS

Lahore, Pakistan : January 26 - 29, 1991

A SAARC Workshop on Treatment, Rehabilitation and Detoxification of Drug Addicts was held in Lahore, Pakistan from January 26-29, 1991. Representatives from Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka attended the workshop. Country reports and technical papers relating to various aspects of the theme were presented and discussed. The workshop recommended :

- (a) That necessary measures be taken for the training of primary health care workers for treatment and rehabilitation programmes of drug addicts to ensure their integration in the present health care systems.
- (b) The need for motivation and involvement of religious institution and leaders for playing their role in prevention and rehabilitation of drug addicts.
- (c) That preventive measures be taken to discourage the intravenous use of drugs.
- (d) That the use of disposable syringes in Health Care Centres by SAARC member countries should be encouraged.
- (e) The practice of blood transfusion from professional blood donors should be discouraged and that the screening of blood for HIV positive and drug abuse cases needs to be encouraged.
- (f) That under the international treaties there should be ample control and strict implementation of drug laws in the respective countries. Over the counter sale of psychotropic drugs should be banned and

they should be dispensed only on the prescription of registered medical practitioners.

- (g) That efforts should be made to evolve local and indigenous methods/modalities of treatment and rehabilitation by member countries. As methadone treatment and maintenance programmes are not appropriate for SAARC member countries, research in efficacy of methodology, treatment and preventive aspects of indigenous programmes, treatment modalities and therapies should be conducted among the SAARC member countries for their standardization.

## SECOND SAARC MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

Colombo, Sri Lanka : March 25 - 27, 1991

The Second SAARC Meeting of Representatives of Law Enforcement Agencies towards making exchange of information more effective was held in Colombo, Sri Lanka from 25-27 March 1991. The meeting having examined the question of facilitating the effective and rapid exchange of information among the drug law enforcement agencies in the SAARC region made recommendations on :

1. The identification and improvement of channels of communication between Law Enforcement Agencies.
2. Establishment of a SAARC Drug Offences Monitoring Desk to speedily receive and disseminate intelligence, information on drug trafficking trends.
3. Adoption of a 'Standard' SAARC Information/Reporting Form to ensure prompt communication of information relating to narcotic offences.
4. Inclusion of training programmes for drug enforcement officers in the SAARC Calendar of Activities.
5. Visa exemption for drug enforcement officers to facilitate expediting travel in the performance of their duties.



6. Exchange of samples of national passports/visas with a view to detecting forgeries/falsifications to assist in the prevention and detection of offences.
7. Expediting legislation to provide for implementation of the Controlled Delivery technique.
8. Close cooperation and coordination of the drug law enforcement agencies in exchanging information.

### **SAARC WORKSHOP ON DISTANCE EDUCATION**

**New Delhi, India : April 11 - 13, 1991**

Under the auspices of the Technical Committee on Education a SAARC Workshop on Distance Education was held at New Delhi from 11-13 April 1991. All SAARC countries except Nepal participated in the Workshop.

The Workshop was inaugurated by the Minister for Human Resource Development, Government of India, Shri Raj Mangal Pande at the UNDP Conference Hall, New Delhi.

The Minister while highlighting the importance of the Distance Education observed that educational programmes in the SAARC region will have to be tackled in the context of scarcity of resources. The 'social debt' accumulated by the education sector in the region was reflected in the high illiteracy rate, large number of out-of-school children and high incidence of school drop-outs which calls for alternative strategies to formal schooling. The Minister stated that Distance Education holds the promise of bridging the gulf between educationally forward and educationally backward sections of society and stressed the need for the SAARC countries to move towards increasingly coordinated action in Distance Education as a means of achieving Education for all.

Recommendation of the Workshop included introduction of Distance Education and Open Learning (DE/OL), sharing the needed information base on DE/OL, developing a core curriculum in selected languages and subjects and use of modern technologies for communication and increasing awareness levels among women, in particular knowledge inputs and skills in selected and

relevant areas such as family life education, health care, environment conservation, legal literacy, and job skills.

## NINTH SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Male', Maldives : July 3 - 4, 1991

The Government of the Republic of the Maldives has announced that the Ninth Session of the Council of Ministers of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) will take place in Male' from 3-4 July, 1991. The meeting will be chaired by the Maldives Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hon'ble Fathulla Jameel.

This inter-Summit Session of the Council of Ministers will review the progress made in the implementation of the Integrated Programme of Action (IPA) and also discuss inter-alia the setting up of a Nucleus Centre for Human Resource Development, the three studies relating to the Causes and Consequences of Natural Disasters and the Protection and Preservation of the Environment, Greenhouse Effect and its Impact on the Region, Trade, Manufactures and Services and the SAARC Regional Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism which came into effect on 22 August, 1988. The Council would also consider the recommendations prepared by its Chairman on the rationalisation of SAARC activities with a view to promoting effective functioning of the Association, as decided at the fifth SAARC Summit.

According to the SAARC Charter, the Council of Ministers is entrusted with the task of policy making, identifying new areas of cooperation and also reviewing the implementation of existing areas of cooperation.

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# Chronology of Important Events

## SOUTH ASIAN REGION

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July to December 1991

### BANGLADESH

- July 18* It was reported that more than 1,200 journalists and 5,000 print workers in Bangladesh went on a day-long strike demanding higher pay.
- 19* The Bangladesh Government's Anti-corruption Bureau had charge-sheeted deposed President Hussain Mohammad Ershad.
- 20* It was reported that deposed Bangladesh President Hussain Mohammad Ershad would be tried for the murder of three student leaders during anti-Government demonstrations.
- 25* Bangladesh authorities ordered the freezing of all Bank accounts of deposed President Hussain Mohammad Ershad, his wife and son.
- August 2* It was reported that Bangladesh Parliament might pass legislation switch over to Parliamentary form of Government after 16 years Presidential system.
- 3* Bangladesh's interim President, Shahabuddin Ahmed, threatened to resign over inter-party differences on proposed constitutional amendment having the way to parliamentary democracy.
- 7* Prime Minister Khaleda Zia's Government early pushed through parliament a crucial constitutional amendment reverting Bangladesh to a parliamentary system.
- 12* Bangladesh President Shahabuddin Ahmad called for a referendum on the law approved by Parliament: "The new law says the members of Parliament would elect the President and that the President would work on the advice of the Prime Minister."

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The above Chronology has been prepared by Syed Karim Haider, Research Assistant, Pakistan Study Centre, University of the Punjab, Quaid-i-Azam Campus, Lahore.

- August 17* The Bangladesh Supreme Court ordered the release of prominent opposition leader Bader Siddiqui.
- 18 It was reported that Bangladesh would send its Foreign Minister to negotiate settlement of some of the outstanding issues between the two countries.
- August 21* Bangladesh Government employees started a 48-hour strike after rejecting a wage offer.
- 24 It was reported that Ratan Wichling police fired teargas to disperse stone-throwing government employees striking for better wages.
- 26 Bangladesh is sending Foreign Minister Mostafizur Rahman to New Delhi on a four-day visit aimed at starting a new era in political and economic cooperation with India.
- September 1* Deposed President Hussain Mohammad Ershad and his wife, Raushan, had been charged in connection with Bangladesh's biggest gold smuggling case.
- 11 Unidentified gunmen opened fire and set off bombs as Bangladesh's top opposition leader Sheikh Hasina Wajid.
- 12 The ruling Bangladesh Nationalist party won five of 11 contested seats in by elections to the Parliament.
- 16 Bangladesh voted overwhelmingly revert to a parliamentary system of Government after 16 years of Presidential rule.
- 16 Bangladesh's Prime Minister Khaleda Zia cancelled her planned visit to attend the General Assembly session in New York due to disastrous floods in her country.
- 19 Begum Khaleda Zia, taking oath as Bangladesh's first Executive Prime Minister, said that voters in a referendum gave verdict for restoration of parliamentary democracy.
- 30 Bangladesh Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia said that the objective of her Government was to build an honest, efficient, dynamic, corruption-free.
- October 1* The Bangladesh Government passed an ordinance prohibiting a member of parliament from voting against his party's candidate in Presidential elections.



- October 8* Abdur Rahman Biswas, a candidate for the BNP elected Bangladesh's 11th President by members of the Parliament.
- 17* United States Pacific Commander-in-Chief Admiral Charles R. Larson met with Bangladesh President Abdur Rahman Biswas and senior military officials.
- 20* Prime Minister Khaleda Zia dismissed Opposition reports about a famine in northern Bangladesh as untrue and politically motivated.
- 21* More than five million people face starvation in the muddy villages of northern Bangladesh.
- November 2* It was reported that India had sealed off the two Bangladesh enclaves and stopped movement of food there creating near famine situation.
- 6* Bangladesh Manpower Minister Abdul Mannan Bhuiyan said: Bangladesh would ask Malaysia not to expel Bangladeshi workers living there illegally.
- 11* It was reported that the Bangladesh Government had almost finalised a plan to end 17 years of insurgency in the south eastern hills by initiating a political dialogue with the rebels.
- 16* Bangladesh would receive a 125-million dollar credit from the Asian Development Bank in the current financial year for industrial development and job creation projects.
- 20* Begum Khaleda Zia, worried by growing violence and crime, had vowed to stamp out terrorism.
- 23* Bangladesh<sup>1</sup> Opposition leader Sheikh Hasina touched off bitter controversy when it was disclosed. She wrote to diplomatic missions in Dhaka complaining of alleged persecution of opposition activists.
- 30* At least 30 people were injured as rival students clashed using bombs and stones during a day-long strike in the south eastern Bangladesh port city.
- December 5* Mamata Wabab, a state Minister in the Cabinet of deposed Bangladesh President Hussain Mohammad Ershad, was arrested under the Special Powers Act of 1974.
- 8* Nearly 71 people were injured when clashes erupted among supporters of ruling BNP and the Opposition Awami League.

- December 8* Prime Minister, Begum Khaleda Zia lashed out at the disruptive elements for their sinister activities and designs and said people would foil all their attempts to undo the current democratic process.
- 8* Bangladesh's former Vice-President Moudud Ahmed was arrested.
- 9* It was reported that a Review Committee of the High Court extended the detention of deposed President Ershad saying he would be kept in custody for the sake of justice.
- 11* Finance Minister Mohammad Saifur Rahman said that Bangladesh had failed to achieve dynamism in its economy because of the conditions the present Government inherited and the recent road and rail blockade by workers.
- 17* Begum Khaleda Zia said that public sector corporations and autonomous bodies suffered a financial loss of over 91,000 million taka during nine years of autocratic rule in the country.

## BHUTAN

- October 24* Bhutan King Jigme Singye Wangchuk, under pressure in the National Assembly, to intensify a crackdown on dissenting ethnic Nepalese activists, threatened to abdicate if no permanent solution was found.
- December 16* It was reported that Bhutan was likely to skip its turn to hold the 1992 South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) Summit and offer the chance to Bangladesh.

## BURMA

- November 1* The Head of the United States Drug Enforcement Agency said that Burma was the top producer of opium.
- 6* Australian Trade Minister Neal Blewett told Parliament that Burma's detained Opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi appears to be well and there was no definite evidence that she had begun a hunger strike.
- December 7* The Election Commission of Burma had banned the Democratic Party for new society on the grounds that it had established contacts with an underground insurgent organization and plotted to mount an armed revolt against the state.
- 20* Burmese Government troops had captured a rebel-held mountain pass in Burma's southwestern Mon state.

## INDIA

- July* 4 Indian Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao said that India would endeavour to improve its relations with Pakistan.
- 4 It was reported that India successful test-fired a surface-to-surface ballistic missile.
- 5 Indian Defence Minister Sharad Pawar said there was "no war-like situation" in the sub-continent.
- 6 Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao said that he would try to strengthen the traditionally close and friendly relations between India and Sri Lanka.
- 15 The Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao Government won the vote of confidence motion in the Lok Sabha.
- 25 Indian Finance Minister Manmohan Singh announced a grant of 38.4 million dollars to foundation set up in memory of the late Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.
- 16 It was reported that Sikh woman running for election to the Punjab Assembly had been killed by suspected Sikh militants in the northern Indian state.
- 31 Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao, beset with the problems of managing a minority government.
- August* 2 India's new Government was facing its first political crisis over a provincial river water dispute which were divided the ruling party and strained its alliance with a powerful Tamil regional ground.
- 3 Indian Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao discounted the prospects of his Government backtracking on economic reform, despite criticism from the Opposition and sections of his own party.
- 4 At least six people were killed and 19 injured when a military train and a passenger expressed collided.
- 4 India's new-Government decided to appoint a former senior policeman to Governor East Punjab.
- 4 Seventeen Sikh militants and two bank officers were killed in East Punjab.
- 7 India's Interior Minister said the Government would soon move towards a political settlement of violent Sikh and Muslim separatist conflicts.



- August* 7 Indian President Ramaswamy Venkataraman cancelled visit to Turkey, Italy and Chill.
- 9 An Indian Air Force MiG 21 fighter crashed into a field in norther India.
- 10 The Supreme Court had upheld the decision of the Chief Election Commissioner, T.N. Sesham postponing elections in Punjab.
- 15 Indian Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao would pay a three-day official visit to Germany.
- 15 Indian cabinet had approved the purchase of four Boeing 747-400 passenger jets.
- 23 V.P. Singh resigned as leader of the Janata Dal Parliamentary Party.
- 23 It was reported that India's Ambassador to Romania, Julio Francis Ribeiro, was shot and seriously wounded by Sikh assailants.
- 24 Indian Parliament presented a draft bill, under which a mosque or a church cannot be changed into a temple nor can temples be changed into mosques or churches.
- September* 3 The Indian and Pakistani army sector commanders held a flag meeting in the no-man's land on the line of control in Poonch Sector.
- 4 It was reported that India is considering recognizing Israel and might upgrade its diplomatic representation to ambassadorial level.
- 6 German Chancellor Helmut Kohl received Indian Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao with Military honours.
- 7 Air Force Planes pounded a Tamil Guerilla hideout in Curfew-bound northeast Sri Lanka at least 35 militants and raising to 284 the death toll in the latest round of fighting.
- 8 Five soldiers were killed in a Tamil rebel ambush in northwest Sri Lanka.
- 11 The lower house of the Indian parliament approved a bill to protect thousands of ancient shrines across the country.
- 15 The Indian army was deployed in the north-eastern state of Assam to fight separatist guerillas.
- 20 The Indian President R. Venkataraman had said that India desired to resolve all outstanding issues with China.

- September 25* Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao had said he was prepared to take "a fresh initiative" with his Pakistan counterpart Nawaz Sharif to remove all irritants in Indo-Pak relations.
- October 5* The Uttar Pradesh Congress (I) Parliamentary Board had unanimously recommended Mrs. Sonia Gandhi's name for the party ticket in the Amethi Parliamentary by election.
- 9 The Congress (I) Parliamentary Board had approved the candidature of Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao for the Nandial seat.
- 10 India's Election Commission announced that by-elections to 16 Federal Parliamentary and 58 state assembly seats had been postponed.
- 12 Sonia Gandhi, the widow of the assassinated former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, confirmed that she would not stand as a candidate in a by-election.
- 18 The Indian Prime Minister Mr. Narasimha Rao said that the Prime Minister of India and Pakistan had decided to redouble their efforts to find ways and means to solve problems confronting the two countries.
- 19 India would import 19.6 million tonnes of crude oil and 10 million tonnes of petroleum products worth about 125 billion rupees in 1991-92.
- 29 Police arrested former Indian Prime Minister Vishwanath Pratab Singh, when he was trying to enter a northern temple town to protest Hindu revivalist plans to build a temple on land claimed by Muslims.
- 31 India among the first countries to impose sanctions on South Africa, lifted all curbs on travel between the two countries and ended cultural and scientific boycotts.
- November 1* Sonia Gandhi received the Indira Gandhi Award for National Integration posthumously given to her assassinated husband.
- 4 Indian defence scientist announced the successful testing of the short range surface to air missile "Trishul."
- 5 An Indian policeman shot dead two colleagues and seriously wounded a third before committing suicide by shooting himself in the head.
- 7 It was reported that India had refused a European Parliament delegation permission to visit the occupied Kashmir Valley.

- November 18* Janata Dal leader V.P. Singh demanded an inquiry by a sitting High Court Judge into the recent violence in Varanasi.
- 20 Indian Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao was sworn in as a member of Parliament. Rao's victory in by-elections in the Southern State of Andhra Pradesh by record margin of 80,000 votes.
- 22 India had cleared the way for a crucial visit by Nepalese Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala by agreeing to accept a controversial envoy from the Himalayan Kingdom.

## MALDIVES

- July 5* Maldives Foreign Minister Fathullah Jameel told that Sixth Summit of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) would be held from November 7 to 9 in Sri Lanka.

## NEPAL

- July 2* Mahanta Thakur of the Nepali Congress were elected Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives.
- 5 Nepalese Prime Minister Girja Prasad Koirala added two more members to his Government -- the total number of Ministers in the Government to 17.
- 5 Aishwarya Lal Pradhananga had been unanimously elected as Vice-Chairman of the Nepalese National Assembly.
- September 3* At least 35 pilgrims were feared drowned when their boat capsized in a torrestial river late.
- 4 Prime Minister Girja Prasad Koirala said that the collapse of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, had demoralised the strong communist opposition in Nepal.
- 6 A group of Nepalese Journalists and lawyers had filed an application with the Department of Labour seeking permission to open and operate a new news-agency.
- December 6* Nepalese Prime Minister Girja Prasad Koirala left for new Delhi on a trip. He described it as a goodwill mission designed to strengthen Nepal - India relations.



- December 19* Nepalese Premier Girja Prasad Koirala left Kathmandu to take part in the Summit Meeting of SAARC.

**SRI LANKA**

- July 17* A Colombo army officer said that Tamil rebels suffered heavy casualties in pitched battles over a strategic military camp in northern Sri Lanka.
- August 10* Heavy fighting raged around a main army garrison in northern Sri Lanka as troops captured a village held by the Tamil separatist rebels.
- 13* Tamil separatist rebels hacked to death five members of a Sinhalese family, in eastern Sri Lanka.
- 16* Four separatist rebels and a civilian guard had been killed in fighting in Sri Lanka.
- 21* Five soldiers were killed and four wounded when suspected Tamil rebels ambushed a military vehicle in eastern Sri Lanka.
- 22* At least six people were killed and a curfew was imposed after clashes in a Sri Lankan village between majority Sinhalese and minority Muslims.
- 29* Tamil Tiger Guerrillas killed 13 soldiers in two separate ambushes in northeastern Sri Lanka as troops shot dead five militants in fresh fighting in the region.
- 30* Sri Lankan President Ranasinghe Premadasa suspended parliament, as political crisis in the country.
- September 3* President Ranasinghe Premadasa fighting off a challenge from his own ruling party, says he is ready for a referendum on the future of Sri Lanka's Presidential system.
- 4* The opposition leader in Sri Lanka's Parliament, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, welcomed President Ranasinghe Premadasa's offer to hold a referendum on the issue of scrapping the executive presidency and handing back power to the legislature.
- 10* The Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka, Mr. Harold Herath, accompanied by Mr. B.P. Tilakaratna, Foreign Secretary and two Senior Officials of the Sri Lankan Ministry of Foreign Affairs arrived in Islamabad.
- 12* An estimated 400 Tamil rebels and 35 soldiers have been killed in the biggest ever Jungle operation in progress by the Sri Lankan military.

- September 16* Parliamentary Speaker Haniffa Mohammad said that the Sri Lankan Parliament would go ahead with an impeachment motion against President Ranasinghe Premadasa despite a ruling by the Attorney General that it had lapsed.
- 19* Eleven Muslim farmers were to be killed by Tamil rebels in the north of Sri Lanka.
- October 7* An impeachment motion against Sri Lankan President Ranasinghe Premadasa had been rejected by the speaker of Parliament.
- 12* Sri Lanka's Parliamentary Speaker survived an opposition no-confidence motion to oust him over his action in dropping impeachment charges against President Ranasinghe Premadasa.
- 20* Security forces captured two small islets from Tamil Tiger Guerrillas after a land, air and sea attack in northern Sri Lanka.
- 27* Sri Lankan Security forces were planning a major assault on Tamil rebels in northern Vavuniya District.
- November 4* Government troops had launched a search for Tamil Guerrillas believed to have been involved in the killings of dozens of security personnel in eastern Sri Lanka.
- 7* Sri Lankan President Ranasinghe Premadasa called for collectively deciding to set up independent South Asian Commission on poverty alleviation.
- 20* Tamil Separatist guerrillas killed nine soldiers in an attack on an army unit in northern Sri Lanka.
- December 6* A Sri Lankan Judge ordered that a former Deputy Minister of the country's ruling political party be held in custody in connection with a murder case.
- 13* Former Sri Lankan Prime Minister Srimavo Bandaranaike was rushed to a Colombo hospital.

## LIST OF PUBLICATIONS 1981 - 92

Rafiq Ahmad Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza	<i>Maldives</i> : No. 5, March, 1984.
Fayyaz Ahmad Rafiq Ahmad Mohammad Javed Iqbal	<i>Burma</i> : No. 6, December, 1985.
Rafiq Ahmad Musarrat Javed	<i>Bhutan</i> : No. 7, December, 1986.
<b>Current Affairs Series</b>	
Rafiq Ahmad	<i>South Asian Scanner</i> : No. 1, (1981).
Rahim Yar Abbasi Rafiq Ahmad Rahim Yar Abbasi	<i>South Asian Scanner</i> : No. 2, (1982).
Rafiq Ahmad Rahim Yar Abbasi Mohammad Jahangir Khan	<i>South Asian Scanner</i> : No. 3, (1982).
Rafiq Ahmad Mohammad Jahangir Khan	<i>South Asian Scanner</i> : No. 4, (1982) and No. 1, (1983).
Rafiq Ahmad Mohammad Jahangir Khan	<i>South Asian Scanner</i> : No. 2, (1983) and No. 6.
Rafiq Ahmad Mohammad Jahangir Khan Sohail Mahmood	<i>South Asian Scanner</i> : No. 1, (1984) and No. 7.
Rafiq Ahmad Mohammad Jahangir Khan Sohail Mahmood	<i>South Asian Scanner</i> : No. 1, (1985) and No. 8.
Rafiq Ahmad Mohammad Jahangir Khan Sohail Mahmood	<i>South Asian Scanner</i> : No. 2, (1985) and No. 9.
Rafiq Ahmad Mohammad Jahangir Khan	<i>South Asian Scanner</i> : No. 3, (1985) and No. 10.
Rafiq Ahmad Mohammad Jahangir Khan	<i>South Asian Scanner</i> : No. 4, (1985) and No. 11.
Rafiq Ahmad Mohammad Jahangir Khan	<i>South Asian Scanner</i> : No. 12, (1986).



### *List of Publications 1981-92*

#### **Monographs**

- Rafiq Ahmad *The Assam Masacre : 1983  
(A Documentary Record).*
- Mohammad Jahangir Khan  
Mohammad Sarwar *The Assam Agitation, (Urdu)  
(A Politico-Economic Analysis).*
- Mohammad Sarwar *Indian General Elections : 1984.*
- Ayaz Mohammad Rana *Pak-Nepal Relations, (1986).*
- Rafiq Ahmad *Hegemony Bipolarity or Multipolarity ?  
Key to Durable Peace in South Asia.*
- Mohammad Sarwar *Indian General Elections 1989.*
- Ahmad Ejaz *Republic of India (Bharat) : A Profile 1990.*
- Inayatullah *Politics of Ethnicity and Separation in  
South Asia.*

#### **Books**

- Rafiq Ahmad *Pakistan India Relations--Prospects for  
a Durable Peace.*
- Sarfraz Hussain Mirza  
Syed Farooq Hasnat  
Sohail Mahmood *The Sikh Question : From Constitutional  
Demands to Armed Conflict.*
- Tahira Anjum *Bharti Secularism our Aqliyyaten (Urdu)*
- Qazi Javed *SAARC : Masail our Irtiqat (Urdu).*

#### **Seminar Papers**

- Theodore P. Wright (Jr.) *Seminar 1984  
Methodology of Research on Indian  
Muslims.*
- Prof. Richard B. Barnett *Seminar 1985  
The Late pre-Colonial Background to the  
Indian Princely States.*

**Journal (Bi-annual)**

Rafiq Ahmad (Editor) :

*South Asian Studies* : Vol. I, No. 1, January 1984 ; Vol. I, No. 2, July 1984 ; Vol. II, No. 1, January 1985 ; Vol. II, No. 2, July 1985 ; Vol. III, No. 1, January 1986 ; Vol. III, No. 2, July 1986 ; Vol. IV, No. 1, January 1987 ; Vol. IV, No. 2, July 1987 ; Vol. V, No. 1, January 1988 ; Vol. V, No. 2, July, 1988 ; Vol. VI, No. 1, January, 1989 ; Vol. VI, No. 2, July, 1989 ; Vol. VII, No. 1, January 1990, Vol. VII, No. 2, July 1990, Vol. VIII, No. 1, January 1991, Vol. VIII, No. 2, July 1991.

## Notes to Contributors

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Abstracts

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

The Editor reserves the right to make editorial revisions.