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JULY 1994

SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES

RAFIQ AHMAD

Editor

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Central - Local Relations in Bangladesh : A Study on Selected Pourashavas

MUSLEHUDDIN AHMED

INTRODUCTION

Bangladesh was part of the Indian sub-continent under the British colonial rule until it became the eastern part of Pakistan in 1947. It became an independent state in 1971. In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, the function of the government is conducted by number of ministries responsible for the administration of a general area of government business located in the Bangladesh Secretariat which is, considered as the nervecentre of Bangladesh Public Administration. Beyond the Bangladesh Secretariat public polices are implemented by the Departments and Directorates as well as a vast network of the units of administration consisting of five Administrative Divisions, 64 Districts and 460 Thanas (formerly known as Upazila), each functioning as the field establishment of central administration.²

Along with this, the local governments are organised to correspond to the administrative units of the country as provided in the Constitution. There are two categories of local bodies operating in the rural and urban areas functioning on the legal basis of their respective statues. (Choudhury, 1987) At present, the Union Parishad is functioning as the unit of rural local government. But in the urban areas, two forms of urban local bodies are functioning with their respective jurisdiction of area—four City Corporations at the four Divisional Headquarters and one hundred and nine Pourashavas at the urban areas which include sixty District Towns and forty-nine Thana level urban centres. At the national level, their activities are coordinated and controlled by the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Cooperatives (LGRDC). The administrative units, controlling authority and urban local bodies are shown in the Table 1.

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TABLE I Administrative Units and Controlling Authority as well as Urban Local Government Bodies in Bangladesh

Administrative Unit	No.	Controlling Authority as well as Urban Local Government Bodies	
National Level		Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Cooperatives.	72
Division	5	City Corporation	- 4
District	64	Pourashava	60
Thans	460	Poureshava	49

Source: Government of Bangladesh, Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Cooperatives.

In recent times, the urban local government has been getting increasing importance due to the rapid growth of urban areas in the country.3 These are also enjoying more power and are being entrusted with growing responsibility to render service to the city dwellers and hence occupying significant position to manage urban affairs. The unique characteristics is that the Mayor who is the chief executive of the City Corporation and the Chairman who is the head of the Pourashava are directly elected by the people. The execution of government policies of a Ministry is carried out by the different field level administrative tiers as well as by the local government units. But how far the local bodies will be successful in discharging its development function and fulfilling the people's aspiration depends to a great extent on its autonomy in performing day-to-day functions as well as its relationship with the government.4 The principal purpose of this study is to assess the nature of control exercised by the government over the Pourashavas. It also highlights the nature of relationship between Pourashavas and Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Cooperatives with special focus on the measures of control and the proceedings of the Bangladesh Jatiya Shangshad (Parliament) as well as our field study based on some selected Pourashavas, i.e., Barisal, Bogra, Mymensingh and Sylhet.

NATURE AND FORMS OF CONTROL AND ACCOUNTABILITY

The nature of control and accountability over Pourashavas largely depends on its structure, functional jurisdiction, and measures of control and accountability. The legal and formal aspects are described in the Pourashava Ordinance, 1977 and its subsequent amendments. The statute spells out in detail the power and responsibilities.⁵ It has given the Ministry of LGRDC unlimited discretionary power to control and supervise all the functions of the Pourashavas. It has also empowered the Ministry to take necessary measures and issue directives to regulate the activities and functions in accordance with the specific statutory powers conferred on them by the statute. The government's powers of supervision of Pourashavas cover a number of other areas. The government can also appoint any person or an enquiry committee to conduct and control the affairs of any Pourashava as a prescribed authority. However, the delegation of statutory powers does not mean that they are endowed with unlimited authority particularly in policy matters and functions. Policy making is always narrowly confined to the bounds of the statute and government does not have any power for overriding every day activities on those bodies.⁶

The government formally exercises control over the Pourashavas through legislative, administrative, financial and judicial measures under the provision of their respective ordinances or acts. Let us now discuss the different measures of control and accountability from the following perspective:

- Parliamentary Supervision and Control.
- Administrative Supervision and Control.
- 3. Financial Supervision and Control.
- Judicial Supervision and Control.

During the British period and in the days of united Pakistan the Deputy Commissioner of the District had a large say in urban local administration. From Montague-Chelmsford reforms in 1919 to the promulgation of the Basic Democracy Order of 1959, the urban local government used to be headed by the elected Chairman. But after the introduction of the Basic Democracy Order in 1959, the Deputy Commissioner became the ex-officio Chairman of the then Municipalities. This system existed until the emergence of Bangladesh. But at present the statute authorises the Secretary of the Local Government Division of the Ministry of LGRDC to exercise all powers of supervision and control over these bodies.

1. Parliamentary Supervision and Control

There are number of means through which the Jatiya Shangshad exercises supervision and control over the Pourashavas. These may be broadly classified as: 1. Parliamentary Questions, 2. Debates, Discussions and Adjournment Motions, 3. Approval of Ordinances, Rules, and Regulations, 4. Control over Public Expenditure.

1. Parliamentary Questions: Members of Bangladesh Jatiya Shangshad have right to put questions to the Minister concerned on different aspects of urban local activities. By this method, a member not only keeps himself abreast with the development but also extracts commitment from the Minister concerned of a particular course of action. Sometimes, a question is used as a means of redressing an individual grievance. A close look at the proceedings of the Bangladesh Jatiya Shangshad shows that issues relating to function, personnel, finance and mode of working of Pourashavas were very rarely discussed on the floor of the house.

Information on organisational matters pertaining to elections, appointment of administrators, suspension and removal of Chairman and Commissioners of the Pourashavas and grant of extension to their tenures is occasionally sought by many members of Jatiya Shangshad. Questions are also asked about the appointments and transfers of personnels of the Pourashava. Besides, informations are also sought on the urban local finances which are mainly about revenue income and different types of government grants. Questions are also asked on the administrative matters and mode of working of Pourashavas. A few examples are cited here regarding the questions asked in the Jatiya Shangshad on different dimensions of urban local activities.

Information was sought on the delayed holding of election. In 1990, one member of Jatiya Shangshad, i.e., Member of Parliament (MP) asked why election to Barisal Pourashava was delayed and wanted to know the future date of the election. The Minister concerned replied that the election has to be postponed because of the absence of an updated list of voters. Questions on the appointment of administrator and scheduling of a date for election to Barisal Pourashava were also asked by one Member of Jatiya Shangshad and the concerned Minister gave no clear answer beyond stating that the administrator was appointed on temporary basis.

Questions were also asked for eliciting government views on converting urban areas to Pourashavas. The Minister for LGRDC replied that the government was considering declaring some urban areas into Pourashavas. He also mentioned that the government was actively considering to set up Pourashavas in all the former Upazila towns gradually. On July 17, 1991, three questions were asked by two Members named Professor Rafique Islam and Dr. Nizamul Huq, about the creation of three Pourashavas in Jhekargacka, Karimganj and Moralganj. The Minister replied in negative for the first two. On the Pourashava in Moralganj, he referred to an enquiry on the creation of this body and said that the government would approve the creation of

Pourashava only if the prerequisite requirements were fulfilled. Several questions on the extension of the areas of Pourashavas were raised in the Shangshad by the opposition members. A Member once asked whether Mymensingh and Barisal Pourashavas were granted extension so long as the Chairman was a Jatiya Party and a Awami League leader respectively. A question was also asked by another Member of Shangshad, Fazle Rabbi, on the possibility of upgrading Class B grade Gaibandha Pourashava into Class A grade. The Minister replied that the annual income of Gaibandha Pourashava did not justify its conversion to Class A grade Pourashava.

Questions about the transfer of personnel and removal of Chairman were also raised in the Jatiya Shangshad and one Member enquired whether any transfer of personnel was done in Mymensingh Pourashava and reasons behind the removal of its Chairman. The Minister denied any such transfer having taken place but added that some high officials from BCS (Administration) cadre had been deputed. He also said that the Chairman had been removed on the basis of specific charges against him.

The finances of Pourashava were always considered as important issues in Jatiya Shangshad. Several issues are raised concerning their revenue income, realisation of taxes, outstanding dues, failure of delay in their recovery or grants distribution and loan sanction to the Corporations and Pourashavas. These were discussed because the Section 49 of Pourashava Ordinance of 1977 stated that no payment would be made without a budget allocation. On July 17, 1989, Mushtaque Ahmed, a Member of Jatiya Shangshad enquired during question hours of how the expenditure on the disposal of garbage in different Pourashavas were financed. The Minister replied that the garbage disposal expenses were being borne by the Pourashava. Another question was asked on the amount of government grants distributed to Pourashavas from 1984-85 to 1989-90.

2. Debates, Discussions and Adjournment Motions: Debates, discussions and adjournment motions in Jaliya Shangshad provide a member with opportunities to criticise the activities of urban local bodies. He can also ask for an inquiry into the activities of any urban local body. Lengthy discussions and debates took place on several occasions on the performances of Pourashavas. Such discussions revolve round the misappropriation of fund, appointment of administrators, delay in holding election, condition of the cities, suspension of employees, amendment of acts and establishment of Pourashavas. In one session in 1989, one member of Jatiya Shangshad advocated that urban local functions should not be increased without giving

them adequate finances, because they were not even in a position to perform their primary functions, such as water supply, garbage disposal and lightening.

- 3. Approval of Ordinances, Rules and Regulations: The Jatiya Shangshad has power to approve the ordinances and authorise the Ministry concerned to frame rules and regulations for the purpose of administration of the Pourashava. Sometimes, ordinances were promulgated by the government for urban local bodies when the Jaliya Shangshad was not in a session. Such ordinances were later ratified by the Shangshad. For example, the Pourashava Ordinance, 1977 was promulgated when the country was being governed under Martial Law by General Ziaur Rahman and, therefore, there was no Jaliya Shangshad in existence. The ordinances were later ratified when a new Jatiya Shangshad came into being two years later. The Jatiya Shangshad also approved the 5th Constitutional Amendment in 1979. In 1993, the new changes in urban local bodies approved by the present Jatiya Shangshad. Under the changes, the women Commissioners are elected by the votes of Commissioners and Chairman of the Pourashava.
- 4. Control over Public Expenditure: The parliamentary supervision and control over public expenditure is exercised in two ways. Firstly, when the budget proposals containing allocation for local government are presented before the Jatiya Shangshad for approval. Secondly, after the money has been appropriated and spent through its committees, namely, Public Accounts Committee and Estimate Committee.
 - (i) Budget Discussion: It is the Jatiya Shangshad which approves the demand for grants and budgetary allocation under Annual Development Programme (ADP) for urban local bodies. It determines the areas on which the money would be spent from the consolidated fund of the country. The Jatiya Shangshad may approve the demand for grant or refuse or reduce it. It has however no power to increase the quantum of demand. The house can express its disapproval of the policies of the Ministry by proposing a cut motion.
 - (ii) Public Accounts Committee: The Jatiya Shangshad also exercises control over finances of corporations and Pourashavas through its Public Accounts Committee. The Committee has 15 members elected from all the parties of the Shangshad. The functions of the Committee are to see that: (a) All expenses are incurred within the scope of the demand and the grants are utilised for the purpose they have been sanctioned. (b) The money has been spent economically.

Besides, the Committee inquires about the cases of irregularities, losses and wastage of public funds. But in practice, during the period 1987-88 to 1989-90, no such evidence was found and no inquiry was conducted on Pourashavas. It was however been observed that Public Accounts Committee only performed a routine work of the approval of the report on annual spending.

(iii) Estimates Committee: The Estimates Committee is the second committee of the Jatiya Shangshad through which it exercises supervision and control. It has 15 members. After the budget estimates for the new year is presented in the house, the Committee discusses the estimates of different departments in order to : (a) department the financial improvements in Suggest administrative reforms consistent with the policy. (b) Examine whether the money is spent in conformity with the policy implied in the estimates. (c) Suggest the form in which the estimates are to be presented before the house. The Estimate Committee has powers to review all records and files of the departments and can ask the concerned civil servants to explain the notes or items recorded in the files.

Our study reveals that the Shangshad keeps itself abreast with the activities of the Pourashavas through a number of means. The Shanshad delegates a large number of its functions to formulate rules and regulations to the administration. Due to the technical nature of some subjects, the members are being unable to deal with them in the short sessions which greatly increased the actual amount of delegated legislations by the administration. A reference to this limitation does not imply that the Shangshad has no control over Pourashavas. In fact, it has many ways of checking the functioning of these institutions and it can even appoint a special committee to investigate their working and functioning. The fear of painful investigation keeps these bodies cautious about taking any irrational decisions. The Jatiya Shangshad so for has not yet appointed any committee to go into the details of working of urban local bodies and no such record was found. Such control over these bodies are necessary to check the urban local bureaucracy and to curtail administrative inefficiency.

The above mechanism of control reveals that the Jatiya Shangshad keeps itself involved with the activities of the Pourashava in many ways. However, except or the change in the urban local acts and rule making, the control is not effective and substantial. The other media of control like parliamentary

questions, debates, discussions, appropriation of finances are generally routine activities which has less impact. In short, the parliamentary control mechanism is not properly used to make the urban local administration accountable.

2. Administrative Supervision and Control

Administrative supervision and control over Pourashavas involve both policy implementation and its administration by the government. It includes the power to prevent the implementation of such decisions which is contrary to the specific goals of Pourashavas and interest of town dwellers. Analytically, administrative control can be divided into two ways: 1. Organisational Supervision and Control. 2. Administrative and Operative Supervision and Control. These may overlap in details but broadly the former stands for the controls that are exercised with a view to keeping the frame intact in form and structure, while the later stands for the control that are exercised in administering the Pourashavas in operation of both in normal as well as special situation.

- Organisational Supervision and Control: All important measures of organisational supervision and control are specifically mentioned in the statute. These measures are exercised by the executive wing of the government. Thus, decisions regarding the exercise of this form of control are taken at the highest policy-making level of the government. The major dimensions of orginsational supervision and control over Pourashavas are: (i) Area, Extention Creation and Classification of Pourashavas. (ii) Strength, Composition and Conduct of Election. (iii) Functional Espects (iv) Personal Management System. (v) Documents and Disputes.
 - (i) Area Extension, Creation and Classification of Pourashavas: All the Pourashavas are created by the Pourashava Ordinance, 1977. But it is up to the government to extend or modify their territorial jurisdictions. Acts or Ordinances provide the controlling authority, i.e., Ministry of LGRDC, with considerable powers to create and demarcate areas. The areas of Pourashavas are extended to increase revenue income of the respective bodies and to provide services to the people. But in our study in Barisal, Sylhet and Mymensingh Pourashavas we have found that the town dwellers are generally reluctant to include their areas into Pourashavas for fear that it may invite imposition of new taxes. Some objective criteria was spelled out in law with regard to declaration of a Pourashava into different grades. The Pourashavas are classified into three

grades by the government. The basis of it is the income of the Pourashavas. The government has powers to transfer a Pourashava from one class to another on this basis.

- (ii) Strength, Composition and Conduct of Election: The government exercises control over the strength and composition and the mode of elections. The concerned statutes did not specify the strength of the functionaries and empowered the government to determine the actual size on the basis of population which further authorised the government to decide about the number of elected seats and seats to be reserved for women members. As for example, the Composition of Pourashavas are determined on the basis of their size, area, number of wards and population whereas the number of 3 women Commissioners are fixed by the government. The government has also power to determine the number of electoral wards and can increase its numbers.
- (iii) Functional Aspects: The functions of all the selected Pourashavas are defined in the respective ordinance. These ordinances also authorised the government to change its functions or exempt any Pourashava from discharging certain specific functions. For example, the right to levy octroi tax was taken back by the government from Pourashavas in 1982. Besides, many other functions of local nature are being performed by the local bodies.
- (iv) Personnel Management System: The respective ordinance prescribed a large number of provisions which gave power to the government to exercise control over the total strength, salary and service condition of the personnel of Pourashavas. The statute has empowered the government to control the strength, salary and service condition even of those employees who are recruited by Pourashavas. The government has also power to fix up the total strength of the staff in a particular class from time to time. In some cases where the Pourashavas can appoint employees, but their pay scales and other service conditions are prescribed by the government. Another form of government control exercises by posting its officials on deputation. The government makes rules and regulations and also ensures the terms and conditions of the government

- servants who are deputed to local bodies. In the Class I and Class II Pourashavas, government appoint a Chief Executive Officer from the government service on deputation.
- (v) Documents and Disputes: Section 39 of the Pourashava Ordinance of 1977 enables the government to keep a check on records, documents, properties of Pourashavas and to settle disputes which arise from two or more local bodies. Such types of control are exercised in many ways which include the powers of the government (i) to call for any extract from the proceedings of Pourashavas and any book or document in their possession, (ii) to authorise its officials to enter and inspect the urban local office and properties and (iii) to call for reports on specified activity. Beside, under Section 34 (IV and V) of the Pourashava Ordinance, 1977, minutes of every proceeding of the Pourashava must be recorded in a book and reported to the prescribed authority within 14 days of the meeting. But these are only routine work, it is observed.
- 2. Administrative and Operative Supervision and Control: Powers of supervision and control are needed to administer the Pourashava. They are derived from the statutes but their exercises depend upon the time and need. These are: (i) Power to Suspend or Supersede and Approve by-laws of Pourashavas. (ii) Power to sanction Specific Scheme. (iii) Power to prescribe Service Standard and to hear Appeals. (iv) Power of Inspection and Inquiry:
 - Power to Suspend or Supersede and Approve by-laws of (1) Pourashavas: The respective ordinances also empower the government to suspend or supersede an Pourashava on specific ground and conduct any inquiry against any matters contrary to the rules of the government. The effective operation of the statutes depend on the quality of by-laws framed by Pourashavas. These bodies have power to frame necessary bylaws according to local needs. But these are subordinate legislation and therefore not compatible with the statutes. By-laws cannot be enforced without the approval of the government. So, by approving by-laws the government can control urban local activities to a considerable extent. The rules and regulations for controlling expenditure and accounts are also framed by the government. Similarly, all statutory rules for construction of buildings, enforcement of compulsory

education, preparation of town planning schemes are to be issued by the government. For example, the by-laws regarding town planning and construction of building are framed by the government. But, these laws are rarely followed in the selected Pourashavas.

- (ii) Power to Approve or Sanction of Schemes: The various schemes of public works require the approval of the government. This provides an opportunity to the government to scrutinise these schemes and control expenditure. The government has the power to sanction certain schemes for Taka five lakh and above for Pourashavas. But it is observed that the tendency of the selected Pourashavas have developed to take scheme below Taka five lakh to by-pass government approval. This tendency has developed due to delay in approval of schemes. Thus, our study reveals that the power of approval and sanctioning of schemes delayed the implementation of many programmes.
- (iii) Power to Prescribe Service Standards and hear Appeals: The ordinance empower the government to prescribe the service standards and procedural norms and day-to-day administration of Pourashavas. The departments which are related to the functioning of Pourashavas communicate to them about their forms and procedures. The ordinance also empowers the government to hear appeals from Pourashavas personnel who may have been discharged, dismissed or removed from services. Appeals for tax assessment upon the annual rental value of houses can be made to the government or to its representative appointed for this purpose.
- (iv) Power of Inspection and Inquiry: Inspection needs to look into the affairs officially. It is one of the methods to achieve the objectives of administration. Our study attempts to examine the system of inspection as an administrative device employed by the government to fulfill the requirement of supervision and control over Pourashavas. Respective ordinances authorised the government to inspect the offices, properties and works of urban local bodies. The government has designed a format of inspection to ensure that supervision and control over the working of these bodies from administrative and financial

matters in proper way. Inspection for the purpose of administrative control are carried out by the Ministry of LGRDC of the government. Inspection for the purpose of financial control are carried out by government's Audit Department and officials specified by the government. These inspections are of two kinds — fixed and casual. The fixed inspections are detailed and held according to fixed programme in a prescribed manner while the casual can be made by competent authority whenever it is required inspection and differ from one another. Both types of inspections were observed in the selected Pourashavas.

Generally, the Secretary of the Local Government Division of the Ministry of LBRDG inspect the Pourashavas on an occasional basis. The Ministry can also authorise any of its officials or Divisional Commissioner or Deputy Commissioner to inspect the Pourashava. The inspection report contains the date of last inspection, the period of inspection, position of finance, advance money, cash balance, general administration and review of all functions.

The study of inspection report reveals that no serious attention is paid to the regularity of inspection and it generally takes place after long intervals, sometimes after a gap of 3 to 5 years. Even after inspection, this appears to be that elected bodies give very little attention to the objections raised in the inspection report.

The ordinance also empower the government to conduct any inquiry into any matters which concern with the administration of Pourashava. Generally, the power of administrative control through inquiry includes: (i) Removal of office bearers. (ii) Matters related to no confidence motions. (iii) Cancellation or suspension of resolutions. (iv) Supervision and dissolution of any activity or any department.

3. Financial Supervision and Control

Financial supervision and control are largely interrelated with the financial efficiency and performance of the Pourashavas. There are certain important measures imposed by the Ministry of LGRDC for exercising financial control authorised under the ordinance. These measures stress the need for sound financial system of Pourashavas. These are: 1. Control over Expenditure and Budget. 2. Regulations of Income from Various Sources. 3. Maintenance of Accounts and Audit.

- 1. Control over Expenditure and Budget: There are many ways for the Ministry to exercise control over the expenditure of Pourashavas. The heavy dependence on financial grants from the government does give the Ministry an automatic say over the spending of Pourashavas. There are also laws which allow the government to retain adequate degree of control over the budget and accounts. In respect of the budget, the law requires the submission of budget to the Ministry within the scheduled time and the government has power to modify it within the thirty days of the date of receipt of the proposals from the Pourashava. If nothing is done within the period of thirty days, the budget submitted by a Pourashava is accepted as approved.
- 2. Regulations of Income from Various Sources: The jurisdiction of the Pourashavas for imposing taxes, rates and fees are specified by the government. The range of imposition is specified in the Pourashava Model Tax Schedule of 1985. The Pourashavas are also empowered to derive income from several other specified sources. Thus the financial resources could be divided into two categories, i.e., tax revenue and non-tax revenue. Tax revenue is the levy without reference to a particular service to the payee while non-tax revenue implies payment in return of service. The ordinances also classify taxes into holding tax and other taxes. In the selected Pourashavas, it is observed that they have imposed tax and other taxes as per direction of the government. No record was found which violated the government's instruction regarding rate collection. Holding tax prescribed in the statute include tax on annual letting value of building or land or both situated within urban local limits and tax on profession and vocation. Holding tax is imposed in every holding of the Pourashava. Since the government did not take any step to penalise a defaulting Pourashava many of them lost initiative to realise this tax. Many officials of Pourashavas also opined that tax assessment and collection machinery are too inadequate to take necessary measures to realise this tax. As regards tax on profession and vocation, it is observed that selected Pourashavas are taking such taxes from a large portion of town dwellers. Here too, the local drive is absent because those to be taxed are political important and they wield influence during the time of elections. The government also controls the amount of taxes on vehicles, electricity, water, imposed by the Pourashavas. Sanction and approval of the government is also required for any types of tax the local bodies propose to impose. The government can also withhold its approval and may ask the authority to amend the tax proposal or cut them down altogether. But our study reveals that it has been rarely practised.
- 3. Maintenance of Accounts and Audit: Another means of exercising government supervision and control over finance is to provide the mode of

maintenance of accounts. It enables the government officials to examine and check expenditure and carry out internal audit of accounts. According to rules, a statement is to be prepared showing progressive income and expenditure of the Pourashava at the end of the month. Similarly, at the end of the each year, the annual statement of accounts is to be prepared and displayed before the general meeting of the Pourashava. The accounts of four selected Pourashavas are maintained by the Chief Accounts Officers, Accounts Officers and Accounts Assistants. Collections of taxes and fees are duly entered in the general cash book and collection registers and registers of the movable and immovable property. These are also preserved under the supervision and control of the Chief Executive Officer.

It is observed in practice that the Accounts Officers and other employees of Pourashavas rarely follow the rules and regulations concerning the accounting system. One reason being the political interference by urban local members and Mayor or Chairman who never take any action on discrepancies reported to them. It was found that the system of maintaining urban local accounts varied from one Pourashava to another. Generally, inefficiency is all pervading. It makes it infinitely difficult to determine the total annual expenditure incurred by a Pourashava. Our study shows that no updated audit reports showing legality, integrity and uniformity of accounts are available.

The audit of accounts is the most important means of financial supervision and control. Audit ensures a check against any attempts at misappropriation of funds. Its importance lies in the fact that the executives of a given Pourashava can rectify irregularities committed in the previous year if they study the audit reports and the objections that may have been raised therein. There are rules which empower the government's Audit Department to check the accounts book and other papers related to the financial transaction of the urban local body at the end of a financial year. But we observed that it was not practised each year. Instances are also rare when irregularities identified by the Audit Department were taken serious notice of or measures to rectify the lapses undertaken by the Pourashava.

The data available from our field observation support the finding that audit has not been an effective means of supervision and control. It was observed that audit objections were generally not cleared and reports were not at all sent back with rectification within the prescribed time limits and no record was found to show that the selected Pourashavas took actions in this behalf during 1987-88 and 1989-90. It was also observed that audit only detected the misuse of funds but did not stop such recourse. Since post audit is

only a test audit, there is every possibility that many transactions may have escaped scrutiny altogether. But in practice, no audit reports were available. Audit reports were however found in the Pourashava offices which were sent to them by the Ministry. But no record was available which shows that the Pourashavas resubmitted their financial statements to the Ministry after corrections along the suggested lines.

Judicial Supervision and Control

Judicial supervision and control occupies an important place in the control mechanism of Pourashavas. Judicial review acts as a sort of touchstone where individuals can test their litigation against the urban local bodies or the government. In Bangladesh or elsewhere in the world, there is an universal complaint against bureaucratic high-handedness where rights of people are trampled. Judicial supervision is the only means to challenge such tendency. Pourashavas have a wide range to powers and these are increasing with the rapid rise of urban population. It is up to the judiciary to examine whether the Pourashavas have done what they ought to have done and have not done something the wrong way. Pourashavas currently enjoy much powers which they can use for the wellbeing of urban people. Bulk of the matters they deal with are supposed to be of utmost importance. A good number of their decisions are binding or the people in a given area. It is, therefore, essential that there should be an independent authority like the judiciary to see that law is properly interpreted and individuals are protected against possible whims of Pourashavas. Judiciary thus acts as a bulwark against the injustice and ensures rule of law. Judiciary can also examine the implementation process of the various laws and by-laws according to the rules and procedures laid down by the statutes. It can also hear of appeals against the orders of the government.

Interpretation of Acts, Statutes and By-Laws: Acts, Statues and By-Laws on Pourashavas can be questioned in the Court. In 1987-88, a city dweller filed a case in the Court against the imposition of higher taxes by Pourashavas. The Court's verdict however went in favour of the Pourashava. Pourashavas in Bangladesh derived their all powers from the ordinances proclaimed by the President and later ratified by the Jatiya Shangshad. The Judicial Courts have to examine the actions of these bodies in accordance with the powers given to them and intention of the legislature as expressed in the statutes. The Courts prevent these bodies from misinterpreting their power and functions. The Court can also take action on grounds of irregularities in the conduct of election if anyone files a petition to that effect.

Court Hearing and Appeals: The Court has also right to hear appeals against arbitrary decisions of the government on urban affairs. No such cases were found in the selected Pourashavas under study during the period under review, i.e., 1987-88 to 1989-90.

Means of Judicial Control: Judicial control over Pourashavas are excised through two kinds of legal procedures, i.e., ordinary and extra-ordinary or prerogatives. Ordinary legal remedies include injunction, declaration and damage. But extra-ordinary remedies are certionary prohibition and mandamus.

- (a) Injunction: Injunction is a judicial process which is an order designed to refrain a person or party from violating the law. It is a flexible remedy which can command action as well as demand action. Whenever an urban authority injures a person or party performing its mandatory functions, the person or party may file a suit against the Pourashavas claiming the damages done to him, i.e., done when its action causes injury in the legal sense. There was no such evidence of injunction found in selected Pourashavas between 1987-88 to 1989-92.
- (b) Certionario and Prohibition: It is an order which removes a case from a subordinate Court and passes it to the superior one, so that the proceedings of the case may be scrutinised properly. Mandamus is an order from the High Court which compels any urban local body to discharge its statutory duties, where no other remedy is convenient. No such evidence was available.

It is clear from the above analysis that the legality of any action or proposed action of Pourashavas may be tested in the Court. But Judicial Control has some limitations because it never takes action on its own accord. The Judicial Control is mostly in expensive and time-consuming. It has often prevented an authority from doing something good for the locality or community. There are instances that such a situation has hindered the development works undertaken by them. It is mostly used against possible excesses committed by an urban local body but it was never compelled the body to exercise power.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSION

Local bodies are responsible for providing services to the local people. Those countries which have a long history of local government, have to concentrate and coordinate the dispersed power of local governments in the process of modern state building. But the present framework and performance of local bodies in Bangladesh are far too inadequate to allow them to do their job properly. The Pourashava Ordinance, 1977 empowered the government to control the activities of Pourashavas under Iegal basis. But the Pourashavas have never touched these activities with the pair of tongs.

The very composition of the Pourashavas are not structurally sound. The scope for political interference remains to a large extent. The Chairman of a Pourashava is representative of the people. So also all the Commissioners who are directly elected by the people for a term of five years. But the Ministry has power to dismiss or suspend any Commissioner or even Chairman with just the storks of a pen. Reasons cited for such dismissal are trite. There are unspecified charges of abuse of power or criminal offenses. The government can also supersede a Pourashava on the grounds of inefficiency and abuse of power. And all this it can do in the name of public interest. The government tends to use this lever against the Chairman who belongs to opposition political parties. Another weapon in the government's armoury to influence the course of Pourashavas is a provision for indirect election of women commissioners. Ingratiated as they are, the women commissioners always to the government line and vote for the government when controversy arises over a certain policy in a given urban local body.

Although the Pourashavas are responsible for ensuring civic facilities to the urban people, they still do not have any direct packages with other development agencies of the government responsible for the implementation of development programmes. There is no clear-cut policy to determine their relative stands. This, therefore, causes reckless use of development fund, mainly by those who has stronger political influence in a given area. The result is obvious and a haphazard, unplanned and uncoordinated delivery of services. In short, the existing legal framework is complex, ambiguous and conflicting.

Ever since the British period, there have been many reform attempts relating to the local bodies in the area now known as Bangladesh. These reforms brought about little changes in the functional jurisdiction, personnel management system and financial ability of the local bodies and their relationship with the government. The means that the basic problem experienced during the British Raj still continues. The elected functionaries of Pourashavas are people's representatives, but they are often controlled and supervised by the senior officials of the government. Respective statutes empowered the government, i.e., the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Cooperatives to exercise general supervision and control

over Pourashavas in order to ensure that their activities are in conformity with the law. For this purpose there exists the concept of 'Prescribed Authority'. The Ministry has the power to suspend any committee or any department or section of the Pourashavas which must be preceded by a show cause notice on them. The scope and nature of such control and supervision should be clearly defined and minimised.

The government's lout of supervision over the urban local bodies extends to a number of other areas. Those include calling for records, inspection, giving direction on certain matters, supervision and suspension. In this regard, the power of prescribed authority should be clear-cut and definite. Under the present arrangement, all power for taking formal disciplinary action against the officers lie with the Ministry. This is a gross anomaly because the officers are posted in Pourashava and they draw their salaries and fringe benefits from these bodies. Ministry has also the power to sanction pension of all officers posted in these bodies. Pourashavas have no power in this regard which weakens their authority over the officers. Officials in these bodies do not often know who is responsible for doing what and there is a lack of supervision and follow up to ensure accountability of officials responsible for a specific job.

The foremost pre-requisite for such accountability is a clear and comprehensive job description. The personnel should clearly understand the responsibilities entrusted to them and the various tasks they have to perform. There should also be clear system of inter-departmental assignment of responsibility. The Ministry is responsible for monitoring policy implementation, reviewing progress and changing policies if and when necessary. But this job of monitoring should be carried out by periodic visits to the field, not by interfering with the details of implementation. Progress reports should be received on a monthly or quarterly basis and should focus on deviations from planned targets. Effective supervision is essential for monitoring work and for achieving improved accountability. Special emphasis needs to be placed on the use of supervisory capability as a key criterion in making promotions.

Government control and intervention have a dichotomic impact. It facilitates raising of revenues on the one hand and acts as an impediment on the other because it restricts responsibility of the local authority. The point at issue is the attitude of the national government, their role vis-a-vis local bodies. Experience shows that the local government has improved its own resources even under a restricted parameter in areas where it received support from the higher administration. Gradual and step-by-step adjustment of the

existing structure for a more desirable achievement should start immediately. Within the present structure, an elaborate financial inspection system should be introduced. Financial sustainment and self-sufficiency can be improved through rigorous revenue raising activities of the City Corporations. The tax base of urban local bodies has to be sufficiently expanded. The government should increasingly delegate more powers and functions to the local government and transfer more resources to them in order to help boost their ability to govern. Side by side, there should develop a large measure of financial autonomy so that the local bodies may not have to depend on the external sources. At present, local government still depends heavily on the subsidies from national government to supplement their financial shortage. Therefore, in operating the local autonomy, one of the most important points is to set up the ideal relationship between central and local governments. 10

Accountability in Pourashavas depend upon an independent and effective audit system. Someone from outside the hierarchy needs to check on progress to see how well work has come along. There is no substitute for this type of outside view to ensure that officials of Pourashavas are accountable to a broader sense of public purpose. Therefore, audit should be carried out on a timely basis, audit report must be reviewed promptly by the Public Accounts Committee, audit objections should be settled promptly by the City Corporation and priority should be given to develop a management audit capability to check on the achievement and performance. These measures will improve proper audit system which will ensure accountability. There is an inherent weakness in our administrative structure. Still following the attitude of the former colonial authorities, the government tend to have little respect for Pourashavas and little disposition to provide them autonomy.

It was pointed out that very often the Pourashavas have to depend on such technical agencies like Department of Public Health, Engineering, Health Directorate, for dealing with water-supply, sanitation and medical services respectively. The Pourashava not only require technical assistance from these agencies but also depend on them for the execution on schemes. Thus a relationship between Ministry and these technical bodies as well as Pourashava is necessary and the Ministry works as a catalyst between Pourashavas and the technical bodies.

Numerous methods for structuring the local government in line with decentralization of power have been suggested by both scholars and politicians. 11 Cities are the nerve-centre of political, economic, educational developmental and recreation activities and the Pourashavas are charged with the responsibility of providing an efficient civic and administrative assistance suited to the local needs, assuring planned development and utilisation of local resources to the best advantages of the community. For the welfare of the respective areas as well as for the socio-political development of the whole country, the existing problems of City Corporations need to be resolved and they should emerge as autonomous but accountable and financially solvent local self-governing bodies.

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Constitutional Framework of Bangladesh Public Administration: Myth and Reality

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INTRODUCTION

Public Administration of Bangladesh is the main agent of social change and development in the country. There is hardly any sphere of life where the public can avoid direct contact with the government and its functionaries. A citable part of the people is either illiterate or politically unaware. Their dependence upon the government officials is unlimited. Moreover, political under-development of the country made it indispensable to retain the civil servant to act in a specific area of authority. Hence the study of legal framework of Bangladesh public administration is essential for the public intrest in terms of accountability of the Civil Servants.

In the present article firstly the relevance of the study of constitutional basis of public administration will be highlighted. Next constitutional provisions pertaining to public administration would be considered and thirdly attention would be devoted to whether these provisions are adequate to safeguard the public interests.

THE RELEVANCE OF CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

It may be stated that the public administration functions within the framework of law of the land in order to ensure consistency in procedure and uniformity in its public dealings as well as public responsibility. The public administration cannot do anything contrary to, or in excess of the legal power. The unauthorized acts and excesses of administration are corrected by the courts in accordance with the provisions of law. Law prevents administration from encroaching on the liberties of the citizens. Most laws contain in them

Khandaker Md. Shariful Islam, Assistant Professor, Public Administration Department, University of Rajshahi, Bangladesh. expressions of public policy, i.e., they prescribe what shall be done and public administration becomes the systematic and detailed execution of public laws.²

Government of a State is generally composed of three organs namely, the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. Constitution shows the distribution of powers among them. Public administration functions within legal limits laid by the Constitution. Thus the Constitution becomes relevant in the study of Public Administration. To quote Wilson, "The study of administration, philosophically viewed, is closely connected with the study of the proper distribution of constitutional authority. To be efficient, it must discovers the simplest arrangements by which responsibility can unmistakably be fixed upon officials; the best way of dividing authority without hampering it; and responsibility without obscuring it. And this question of distribution of authority, when taken into the sphere of higher, the original functions of the government is obviously a central constitutional question. If administrative study can discover the best principles upon which to base such distribution it will have done constitutional study an invaluable service."

CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS FOR BANGLADESH PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh provides for a unitary-cum-parliamentary system of government. All powers are vested in the national government which however delegates power to its administrative units or sub-divisions. Part II of the Constitution deals with the Fundamental Principles of State Policy, and Part III with Fundamental Rights. Part II states that the basic responsibility of the state is to provide the basic necessities (e.g., food, clothing, shelter, education, health care, jobs and social security), to its citizens through planned growth and other appropriate measures. "The principles set out in this Part shall be fundamental to the governance of Bangladesh, shall be applied by the State in the making of laws, shall be a guide to the interpretation of the Constitution and of the other laws of Bangladesh, and shall form the basis of the State and of its citizens, but shall not be judicially enforceable."

The Constitution sets out the composition, powers and functions of the Executive, Legislature and Judiciary, Part IV, Part V and Part VI respectively. Though public administration covers the whole range of government activity under all the three branches, attention in this work is given especially to the executive, Part IX of the Constitution is entirely devoted to the services. According to this Part: (i) Appointment and conditions of service of persons in the civil service are to be regulated by law enacted by Parliament (but the

President shall be competent to make rules regulating appointments and conditions of service of such persons until provision in that behalf is made by Parliament). (ii) All public servants shall hold office during the pleasure of the President. (iii) They shall not be dismissed or removed from service or reduced in rank by an authority subordinate to that by which they were appointed. (iv) Disciplinary action will not be taken until they have been given a reasonable opportunity of showing cause against the action proposed to be taken, unless the action is taken on grounds of conviction on a criminal charge or the dismissing authority is satisfied that for reasons recorded by him it is not reasonably practicable to give an accused civil servant an opportunity of showing cause, or the President decides that it is not expedient for reason of State security to give that person such authority.⁶

The Chief Executive

The constitution of Bangladesh provides specifically that Parliament may by law regulate appointments and conditions of service of civil servants, but the President shall be competent to make rules regulating appointments and conditions of service of such persons until provisions in that behalf is made by or under any law of Parliament. Rules so made by the President shall have legal effect subject to the provisions of any law enacted by the Parliament subsequently. It is further provided that every person of the service of Bangladesh shall hold office during the pleasure of the President. All executive actions of the government are to be expressed in the name of the President. He, by rules, specifies the manner in which orders and other instruments made in his name are to be attested or authenticated, and the validity of any order or instrument so attested or authenticated is not to be questioned in any court on the ground that it is not duly made or executed. He also makes rules for the allocation and transaction of the business of the government.

It may be noted here that, on September 18, 1991, the Constitution was amended to provide for a parliamentary form of government. Following this amendment, the President now is to be elected by members of Parliament in accordance with law. Previously he was to be elected by direct election on the basis of universal adult franchise. It is stipulated in clear terms that the President shall act in accordance with the advice of the Prime Minister in discharging his functions, except for the function of appointing a Prime Minister pursuant to Article 56(3). 10

Thus the President under the amended Constitution is merely a titular head of state. He in effect acts on the advice of the Prime Minister with respect to recruitment and control of the services. The necessary rules regulating recruitment and service conditions of the government servants are also made by the President in accordance with advice tendered by the Prime Minister. In other words, although theoretically the civil servants are the servants of the President, in practice they are the servants of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. The ultimate powers of control over the services actually lay in the hands of the Prime Minister.¹¹

The Prime Minister and the Cabinet

The Constitution, again lays down that there shall be a Cabinet for Bangladesh having the Prime Minister at its head and comprising also such other Ministers as the Prime Minister may from time to time designate. The executive power of the Republic shall be exercised by or on the authority of the Prime Minister. The Cabinet shall be collectively responsible to Parliament. The appointments of the Prime Minister and other Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers, shall be made by the President, provided that not less than nine-tenths of their number shall be appointed from among members of Parliament and not more that one-tenths of their number may be chosen from among persons qualified for election as members of Parliament. The President shall appoint as Prime Minister the member of Parliament who appears to him to command the support of the majority of the members of Parliament.

The Prime Minster may at any time request a Minister to resign, and if such Minister fails to comply with the request, may advise the President to terminate the appointment of such Minister. If the Prime Minister resigns from or ceases to hold office each of the other Minister shall be deemed also to have resigned from office.¹⁴

The Legislature

Of the several branches into which the problems of administration is divided, that having to do with general administration, i.e., the Legislature (Parliament) is the most important one in which shall be vested the legislative powers of the Republic. 15 Parliament may, however, delegate to any person or authority by Act of Parliament, power to make orders, rules regulations, by laws or other instruments having legislative effect. The validity of the proceedings in Parliament shall not be questioned in any court. 16

Parliament has direct bearing on the administration and control of public personnel. Most Ministers are the members of Parliament. The Cabinet is collectively responsible both to the Prime Minister and to the Parliament.¹⁷ Moreover, Parliament have some indirect functions of control over the public administration. First and foremost, the Constitution clearly provided that the custody of public moneys, their payment into and withdrawal from the Consolidated Fund or the Public Accounts, and all matters connected therewith or ancillary thereto, should be regulated by Act of Parliament. 18 By and large, the System of Parliamentary Control of public moneys rests on two processes:

- The demand of the executive for moneys required in the coming financial year and the proposals for raising such moneys.
- The allocation of moneys by Parliament for specific purposes and the examination of the ways in which those moneys were spent. In more specific terms, the demands for grants under different heads relating to the revenue expenditure of the government are subject to legislative scrutiny every year.

In the process of deliberations over these demands for grants, members of Parliament obtained an insight into the cost of personnel services under various heads of the administration of the public sector. The members of Parliament may also suggest modifications or alterations to such 'demands' provided that they had the numbers in support of such modifications or alterations. 19 Secondly, all drafts of service legislation are required to be placed before Parliament for deliberation and approval. 20 Thirdly, Parliament is duly empowered to constitute certain standing committees, including a Public Accounts Committee, consisting of its members, and assign to them prelegislative review functions in respect of subjects for which Parliament is competent to make law. It can also constitute ad hoc legislative committees for specific functions, e.g., to investigate the activities of a ministry/division and require it to furnish through an authorized representative relevant information.21 Finally, Parliament in Bangladesh seems to have been following in good spirit a legislative convention in respect of allowing its members to raise 'motions' on specific issues relating to the proposals for legislation, items of the annual budget the President's massages, and to ask 'questions' of ministers regarding any matters pertaining to their respective portfolios.22

The Ombudsman

The Ombudsman is one of the popular devices of control over administration by Parliament. The Constitution provides for the establishment of an office of Ombudsman to deal, on behalf of Parliament, with citizen's grievances against the executive. The Ombudsman is empowered to exercise such powers and perform such functions as Parliament may, by law, determine, including the power to investigate any action taken by a Ministry, a public officer or a statutory public authority. The Ombudsman shall prepare an annual report concerning the discharge of his functions, and such report shall be laid before Parliament. 23

The Administrative Tribunals

Modern public administration has taken a leaf not only from the legislature's book but also from that of the judiciary. The latest addition to the administrative techniques is that of adjudication. ²⁴ The Constitution provides that Parliament may by law establish one or more Administrative Tribunals to exercise jurisdiction in matters relating to or arising out of the terms and conditions of persons in the civil service, including the matters provided in Part IX and the award of penalties or punishments; the acquisition, administration, management and disposal of any property vested in or managed by the Government by or under any law, including the operation and management of, and service in any nationalized enterprises or statutory public authority. Where any administrative tribunal is established under this provision, no court shall entertain any proceedings or make any order in respect of any matter falling within the jurisdiction of such tribunal. Provided that Parliament may, by law, provide for appeals from, or the review of, decisions of any such tribunal. ²⁵

Public Service Commission

The Public Service Commission (PSC) in Bangladesh, like its predecessors in British India and United Pakistan is a Constitutional body,26 which is required to consist of a Chairman and such other members as shall be prescribed by law:27 The basic functions of the PSC are (a) to conduct tests and examinations for the selection of suitable persons for appointment to the service of the Republic; (b) to advise the President on any matter on which the Commission is consulted under Clause (2) or on any matter connected with its functions which is referred to the Commission by the President; and (c) such other functions as may be prescribed by law.28 The President shall consult the Commission with respect to: (a) matters relating to qualifications for, and methods of recruitment to, the service of the Republic; (b) the principles to be followed in making appointments to that service and promotions and transfers from one branch of the service to another, and the suitability of candidates for such appointments, promotions and transfers; (c) matters affecting the terms and conditions (including pension rights) of that service; and (d) the discipline of the service. The Commission shall not later than the first day of March each year, prepare and submit to the President a report on the performance of its

functions during the period ended on the previous 31st day of December.²⁹
And the President shall cause the report to be laid before Parliament at its first
meeting held after 31st March in the year in which the report was submitted.³⁰

Audit and Accounts Department

The power of accounting and audit of public money of the Republic is vested in the Audit and Accounts Department which is headed by a Comptroller and Auditor-General of Bangladesh who shall be appointed by the President. The conditions of service of the Auditor-General shall be such as the President may, by order, determine.³¹ The public accounts of the Republic and of all courts of law and all authorities and officers of the Government shall be audited and reported on by the Auditor-General and for that purpose he or any person authorized by him in that behalf shall have access to all records, books, vouchers, documents, cash, stamps, securities, stores or other government property in the possession of any person in the service of the Republic.³² The public accounts of the Republic shall be kept in such form and in such manner as the Auditor-General may, with the approval of the President, prescribe.³³ The reports of the Auditor-General relating to the public accounts of the Republic shall be submitted to the President, who shall cause them to be laid before Parliament.³⁴

Local Government Institutions

Constitutional guarantee is obviously no substitute for public esteem for local government bodies. Nevertheless Constitutional recognition can be helpful and is an indicator of the position enjoyed by local government in the body politic of the country. Viewed in the historical context the legacy of the local government in Bangladesh flourished with federal structure of government during the British and the Pakistan periods. It was then a provincial subject. Independent Bangladesh being a unitary country, there occurred a structural transformation in the center-local relationship. This found reflection in the Constitution under Chapter III (Articles 59 and 60), the salient points of which were:

- There would be local government in every administrative unit.
- Such local government would be entrusted to bodies composed by elected persons.
- The foundations of local government units will be prescribed by Act of Parliament relating to administration and the work of public

- officers, administration of public order and preparation and implementation of plan.
- The Parliament would confer powers on the local government bodies to impose taxes for local purposes.

The above provisions of the Constitution gave a framework for transforming the age-old local government structure suitably. But nothing to this effect was done. By the Presidential Order 1 of 1972 Union Parishad was abolished but was soon restored under the traditional framework in exactly the same pattern as it was under the Basic Democracy System introduced by General Ayub Khan. The Thana Council, which was nominally a local government, was also retained. The District Council/Zila Parishad was allowed to continue in moribund status. Neither its representative character nor the council was restored. Thus, in spite of constitutional provisions and the new requirements of unitary governmental structure, no steps were taken to transform the local government structure to suit the changed requirements of the new nation.

However, by the Proclamation Order No. 1 of 1977 the above constitutional provisions were omitted. Instead under the general principles of state policy of the constitution in the following words:

The State shall encourage local government institutions composed of representatives of the areas concerned and in such institutions special representation shall be given, as far as possible, to peasants, workers and women* (Article 9).

ACTUAL OPERATIONS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS REGARDING PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

From earlier discussion it appears that the Constitution of Bangladesh contains lofty and fail provisions for public administration of the Republic. In sum, the institutional framework is there for making the bureaucracy accountable. The Jatiya Shangshad (Parliament), comprising the directly elected representatives of people has been the centre-piece of national politics; a cabinet consisting of the leaders of the majority party, has been accountable to the Shangshad. The Prime Minister, the Primus inter pares, is the head of the government, the constitutional head of the state is the President, elected by the Shangshad. There are also Ombudsman, Public Accounts Committee and Committee on Public Undertaking and Administrative Tribunals, designed for the purpose of making the civil servants accountable. Therefore, it appears that rules are adequate enough to hold the administrators accountable. But in

reality, there exists a gap between ideals and practices. These realities can be seen as below. Major problem in this regard is that our Constitution has been frequently suspended specially at the time of Martial Law and emergency. Military often takes over power and interferes in our administration without being concerned with what has been said in the Constitution.

As seen earlier the President is constitutionally empowered to regulate the appointment and conditions of service of the civil servants by law, provided until provisions in that behalf is made or under any law of Parliament. President shall be competent to make rules regulating appointments and conditions of services. Although this article provides ample power to the Parliament over the bureaucracy, yet it could not be able to frame any law in that behalf. As a result of this the power ultimately rests with the President.

Again, as it is mentioned earlier that every civil servant shall hold office during the pleasure of the President. In practice, it is not possible for the President to supervise personally the activities of all the civil servants as the size of the bureaucracy is very large. So it is the bureaucracy through whom the President exercises this power. Thus it is seen that the bureaucracy itself remains the controlling authority of the civil servants.

The extent of legislative control over the executive is contingent upon the way the overall political system operates in a country. In Bangladesh, since liberation the legislative process had been overshadowed by three dominant 'official' political parties, i.e., by the Awami League (AL), BNP, and by the Jatio Party (JP). Again each of these three dominant parties seemed to have operated under the strong personalized rule of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, General Zisur Rahman and of Lieutenant General Ershad, respectively. Like the predecessors present BNP Chairperson Begum Kheleda Zia is in sole control of the party as well as the country. Hence it is likely that the legislative control over administration in Bangladesh has been ineffective.35 Legislative control has been weak in Bangladesh for some other reasons. They are : short lived Parliament, frequent absent of the leader of the house and the leader of the opposition in the Parliament, refusal of Ministers to answer on ground of security reasons or public interest, built-in limitation of members of Parliament owing to their lack of experience and lastly lack of seriousness of Public Accounts Committee.

The Constitution of Bangladesh has been frequently changing. Since its introduction it has changed twelve times keeping, however, the basic structure of public administration intact, they did not affect the field administration in a noticeable way. Thus apparently there has been a tremendous change in public

administration of the country each time. But in fact in public administration and more particularly in the field administration there had been little change throughout the period in forms and spirits with few exceptions like the Upazilla Scheme. So is the case with the Office of the Deputy Commissioner or a Superintendent of Police or an Officer-in-Charge of Police Station or a Sub-Registrar.³⁶

The Government of India Act of 1935 and the Constitution of 1956 and 1962 in Pakistan had provided certain special procedural safeguards for civil servants. These required the rule making authority (Legislative and Executive) to see to it: (i) that no law or rule be framed which would vary the terms and conditions of service of a person to his disadvantage and (ii) that every person would have at one appeal against any order which would (a) punish or censure him, (b) alter or interpret to his disadvantage any of his existing service conditions, or (c) terminate his employment before he has reached superannuation age (provided the order was not made by the Governor-General/President). The Constitution of Bangladesh provides no such procedural protection to civil servants. Moreover, the Constitution of 1956 and 1962 in Pakistan seemed 'soft' and about the finality of decisions by the dismissing authority especially in circumstances in which the affected person was denied an opportunity to show cause. By contrast, the Constitution of Bangladesh firmly maintains that such decisions of "the authority empowered to remove or dismiss such person or to reduce him in rank shall be final." In addition, relevant constitutional provisions purporting to provide for some measure of procedural safeguard to civil servants in Bangladesh have lost much of their legal force in view of Article 136.37 This article empowers the government to enact law for the reorganization of the civil service by amalgamating or integrating the existing services, even though such measures might vary or revoke conditions of service for persons in the service.

The Public Accounts Committee constituted the Fourth National Assembly viewed that concerned Ministries had not taken necessary actions on many recommendations made by former committees in spite of consecutive advise by Audit Department.³⁸ As we see, Public Accounts Committee, appointed by the Parliament, is a standing committee for the examination, from year to year, of the audited accounts of the public expenditure. But the reality is that this power of the committee has not been properly exercised. The reports on the activities of the committee do not publish in due time and on regular basis. As a result public can not be informed of how far it is playing its role in this sphere.

In April 1980, Parliament passed the Ombudsman Act (1980) in pursuance of Article 77 of the Constitution, which provides for the establishment of an office of Ombudsman to deal with citizen grievances. As yet, no such office had been formally constituted. Moreover, the power of the Ombudsman is actually advisory. The final authority to take any action against the accused civil servants lies on the President.

Like the USA and India, Supreme Court of Bangladesh can examine the validity of any administrative law or directive and can declare it ultravires if it is found against the Constitution. Besides, a suit can be filed in the High Court Division against any executive officer or an authority in order to enforce fundamental rights as provided in the Constitution. The High Court can also employ extra-ordinary devices in writs under man damus, habeas corpus, prohibition and quo-warranto. However, judicial control suffers from serious limitations. Judiciary can not intervene on its own accord. Judicial control becomes operative only when the considerable demage has already been caused. Besides, the process is very slow, cumbersome and incredibly costly which a common man can hardly afford.

The Public Service Commission has a constitutional duty to conduct tests and examinations for the selection of certain categories of civil servants. But the Public Service Commission's position as an independent constitutional body seems to have been circumscribed by the fact that it is an attached department of the Establishment Ministry. Most matters of its organization, administration and finance are subject to the final scrutiny and control of the Establishment Ministry.⁴⁰

The PSC's jurisdiction relating to recruitment seems to have been somewhat circumscribed by a number of rules, regulations and orders made by the President. It appears after an examination of these rules, regulations and orders that presently the PSC's role relating to recruitment is limited to Class I and Class II gazetted posts only.⁴¹

The constitutional provision for submitting the annual reports to Parliament purports in effect to recognize the legislature as the ultimate judge of government's actions in recruitment and civil service management. It is basically designed to ensure that consultation with PSC is not over looked, and that the advice of the PSC is as a rule accepted. But the PSC's annual reports published so far depicts that there has been so many cases of non-acceptance of BPSC's advice, as well as non-consultation with BPSC. There are also many cases of non-acceptance of advice and non-consultation reported in the PSC reports for which the executive authorities did not give any reasons

whatsoever. Thus, even a constitutionally laid down safeguard does not always guarantee that the executive authorities shall never err or commit breach of their privileges.⁴²

The Auditor-General submits the report of public accounts of the Republic to the President who is supposed to send it to the Parliament. The ultimate powers of taking action regarding this matter rests on the Parliament. After liberation, for the first time, Public Accounts Committee was formed in the First Parliament in 1974. That committee could not submit any report to the Parliament.⁴³

The provision for local government bodies is nothing but mere statement of state policy and does not indicate anything especially about the structure of local government as original provisions of the constitution did. As a result, the pattern and structure of local government in the country is no longer a constitutional obligation.⁴⁴

CONCLUSION

Experience suggests that the constitutional provisions, rules systems have not been able to produce expected results from the administrators. Public Administration is not isolated from its environment. Drawing from the political environment of the society and depending largely on the prevailing socio-political milieu, it is considerably influenced and shaped by them. If Bangladesh society and politics are characterized by greed, gain, grab and graft, how can bureaucracy be kept safe from them. But there is nothing to worry about if we can use democratic instruments constitutionally as well as practically to retain the civil servants to act in accordance with these rules. For this developed and people oriented political system and committed political cadre and consciousness of general masses are the essential preconditions. To maintain accountability, moral force in the individual is also an important element. If administrators are law-abiding, their accountability is automatically achieved; moral force is the source of their law-abiding behavior. In fact, an ethical civil service is an accountable civil service.

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Punjabi Muslim Women's Role in the Movement for Pakistan

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Political activism amongst the Muslim women of the Punjab marked a new stage in their struggle for emancipation. From being silent spectators of national events they emerged as major force in the events that shaped the future of their country. The elements which had traditionally placed obstacles in the advancement of Muslim women, found it difficult to object to the participation of women for a cause with strong religious overtones, a homeland for the Muslims of India. In Punjab, Muslim women's liberation from the traditional shackles of *Purdah* came to be very closely linked with the struggle for Pakistan. The Quaid made a very deliberate move to involve Muslim women and students in the movement for Pakistan. Earlier the women members of the Indian National Congress who had started participation in politics, most of them were either Christians or Hindus.

Individual political activism of Indian women dates back to 1889, when ten women attended the fourth session of the Indian National Congress.\(^1\) The partition of Bengal in 1905 led to a more to a wider participation of the Congress women in the movement against it, although it was confined to Bengal and Hindus only. During the Home Rule agitation from 1914 to 1917, and the entry of Annie Besant into Indian politics, women's participation in politics increased. Annie Besant was the first woman elected to be the President of the Indian National Congress in 1917. When she presided over the Congress session, she was flanked on the Congress platform by Sarojni Naidu and Bi Amman, the latter being the first Muslim woman to shed seclusion but not Purdah, and to participate in the mass politics. The non-cooperation movement launched by Gandhi in 1920, encouraged womenfolk to take part in the politics.

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The first women's association was formed in 1917, and was called the Indian Women's Association.2 It's aim was to do public service, and its branches were opened in some of the major cities of India, but not the Punjab. Expression of what might be termed as political activity by Indian women took place with the arrival of the Secretary of State for India, E.S. Montagu, and that too accidentally. Originally, the objective of the women's delegation in wanting to see Montagu was to lobby for education and social reforms, but the deputation was told that it could only be received to discuss political subjects. It was only then that the Memorandum was expanded to include equal suffrage for women and men.3 The deputation of women was led by Sarojni Naidu and had fourteen members. Only one of its members was Muslim, the wife of the poet from Aligarh, Hasrat Mohani. Next year the All-India Muslim League and the Congress both supported this demand. In 1919 when the Government of India Bill was introduced, women leaders once again led by Sarojni Naidu, presented their demand for franchise before the Joint Committee of both the Houses of Parliament. The Parliament decided to leave the matter of female franchise to the provincial legislatures. By 1929 all the provinces, except Bihar and Orissa, had given women the right to vote, but with property qualification.4

Shah Nawaz, who was elected to the Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1921, played an important role in securing franchise for the women in the Punjab. However, the size of the electorate of women in the Punjab remained almost negligible because of the property qualification, as most of the Punjabi women did not own property. Since the Muslims, especially from the rural areas, followed Customary Law, their women suffered from the handicap of not being able to inherit any property.⁵

The emergence of Muslim women from seclusion and to participate in the rough and tumble of Indian politics dates back to the Khilafat movement. The Balkan wars covered the period from 1911 to 1924. The Muslims of India felt emotionally involved in the success of the Ottomans because its Caliph was the symbolically, the religious and political head of all the Muslims. The Khilafat movement was concerned with mobilising Indian Muslims in order to persuade the British to retain the Caliphate, the temporal and spiritual power of the Caliph.⁶ The movement acquired additional force because it joined hands with Gandhi's first non-cooperation movement which he launched in August, 1920. This broadened the scope of the movement, and both Hindus and Muslims struggled for independence side by side. New forms of organization and protest developed, students, lawyers and other groups of the citizenry came to boycott the Government organizations.

It was in this milieu of a mass popular movement that Muslim women stepped out of the seclusion of the four walls of their homes. The Anjuman-e-Khuddam-e-Kaaba was founded in 1913 by the Ali Brothers, Maulana Shaukat Ali and Maulana Mohammad Ali, and Maulana Abdul Bari of Firangi Mahal. The aim of this Anjuman was to collect funds for the defense of the holy places of Muslims from any kind of threat from the Christian Europe. It was in connection with this that the first women's meetings were held in Delhi and Lucknow. These meetings were attended by the mother of the Ali brothers, her daughter-in-law, and wives of other Aligarh luminaries like the poet, Hasrat Mohani, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. M. A. Ansari. These were fund-raising meetings, supposedly for a strictly religious cause. However, this group of activists was associated with the Aligarh University, and their activities were more prominent in U.P.⁷

The Anjuman-e-Khuddam-e-Kaaba and the Kanpur Mosque incident in the same year, were landmarks in the history of Muslim women's emergence on the national political scene. These were seen as religious causes, and it would have been impossible for the more conservative elements to oppose the involvement of women in movements which were led by *Ulama* like Maulana Abdul Bari of Firangi Mahal. Since it was the *Ulama* who are regarded as the custodians of religious and social norms, there was no room for criticism. The meetings in which the women of the *Shurafa* participated were strictly segregated, but such get togethers for a political cause were unprecedented. Whether it was through fund raising, very often by donating their jewelry, or trying to reach out to a wider section of women of the society, it gave them the confidence that they were influencing events and issues of national importance.

The Anjuman-e-Khawateen-e-Islam was founded all over the country, and in Lahore the women of the Shafi family organized its branch. Three ladies of Lahore, Baji Rashida, Saeeda and Fatima Begum, the daughter of Maulvi Mehboob Alam (the editor of the daily Paisa Akhbar and the women's fortnightly, Sharif Bibi), had approached Begum Shafi and asked her help in forming this organisation. But this organization was primarily concerned with the spread of education and social reform. However, the Punjab was not immune to the campaign for Svadeshi, the use of only those goods which were made in India. In the weekly, Tehzib-e-Niswan, there were articles advocating that women must stop using anything imported, and should only use cloth made from handloom (Khaddi), Amtul Hameed Khanum, the author, also asked the readers to collect funds for the Svadeshi movement and to contribute generously to it, for that and the boycott of all imported goods was the only way that women could contribute to the Svadeshi movement. She also pleaded

in the articles that women should launch a donation drive for the Svadeshi movement. The same lady writing seven months later, proudly proclaimed that women followed the instructions of their leaders and wore only Khaddar on Eid days. 10 There was also a demonstration by the ladies of Lahore on the 8th of January, 1922, which was led by the wife of Maulana Zafar Ali Khan. 11

The big catalyst in bringing the Muslim women into politics was the Khilafat Movement. When the Ali brothers were arrested, their mother addressed the All-India Muslim League Session of 1917 from behind Purdah, and exhorted the people to carry on the mission of her sons. 12 She continued to address large gatherings from inside her Burqa, a revolutionary and an unprecedented step, for no Muslim woman before had addressed such mass gatherings attended by the men and women. While her sons languished in jail, Bi Amma was raising funds and organising meetings and committees for the Khailafat Movement. She was soon assisted and joined by other women, including her daughter-in-law Amjadi Bano. 13 Bi Amma died in 1924, but she had led the Muslim women of India out of their homes and into active participation in politics. However, the Punjab remained largely unaffected by it.

In 1928 a Statutory Commission was formed for the purpose of reviewing the reforms of 1919. It recommended that special qualifications be prescribed for women because too great a disparity existed between the voting strength of men and women. The Government called a Round Table Conference in London in November, 1930, to discuss constitutional reforms. Two women represented the women of India at this conference, one was from the Punjab, and the other from Madras. Jahanara Shahnawaz, the daughter of Mian Mohammad Shafi, a prominent Muslim leader from Lahore, made a refined speech at the Round Table Conference about the need to improve the political status of women in India. Only individual woman like her had come to prominence in Indian politics as part of the wider movement which was beginning to lead to the emancipation and enfranchisement of the women, but she was a rare exception, as the life of the majority of them remained unaffected. Most of their organisations and work continued to be restricted to social and educational, rather than political issues.

It was only through the Muslim League that the Muslim women of the Punjab got involved in political activity at any significant scale. The political participation of the Indian women, which had been going on since the second decade of the twentieth century, seemed to have bypassed the Punjab. It was Madras, Bombay and Bengal which had provided the lead, and even U.P. had only followed later, during the Khilafat Movement.

When the Quaid returned from his exile in London in 1934, and proceeded to organise the Muslim League, he must have been aware, that unlike the Congress, the absence of women from the Muslim League was a big handicap. During the Lucknow session of the Muslim League in October, 1937, a women's section of the Muslim League was formed under the Presidentship of Begum Mohammad Ali, but it remained dormant. Jahanara Shahnawaz pointed out in the meeting that a Punjab Provincial Women's League had existed since 1932. If It was at the Patna Session in December, 1938 that the Muslim League gave serious thought to the need of involving women in its political activity, and for this purpose formed an All-India Muslim Women's Sub-Committee. This resolution was moved by Begum Habibullah and seconded by Begum Wasim. 17 The Resolution said:

Whereas it is necessary to afford adequate opportunities to women for their development and growth in order to participate in the struggle for social, economic and political emancipation of the Muslim nation in India, this Session of the All-India Muslim League resolves that an All-India Muslim Women's Sub-Committee be formed of the following members with powers to co-opt with the following objective in view:

- (a) To organise provincial and district women's Sub-Committee under the Provincial and District Muslim Leagues.
- (b) To enlist larger number of women to the membership of the Muslim League.
- (c) To carry on intensive propaganda amongst the Muslim women throughout India in order to create in them a sense of greater political consciousness.
- (d) To advise and guide them in all such matters as mainly rest on them for the uplift of the Muslim society.

Members were appointed on it from all the provinces, and its members from the Punjab consisted of Begum Shahnawaz, Mrs. Rashida Latif, Lady Jamal Khan and Lady Abdul Qadir. This Central Sub-Committee took up the task of organising committees in the provinces. In the Punjab, the women's wing of the Muslim League had existed since 1935. Lady Fazl-i-Hussain had been elected its President and Begum Qalandar Khan its General Secretary, later on Begum Shahnawaz took her place. 18 But it had confined its activities

to social and educational work. After the Patna Session of the Muslim League, this women's wing of the Punjab Muslim League decided to widen scope of its activities. A drive to enlist more members was launched, and work was begun to form primary committees. However, it was not till 1939 that this organisation was affiliated to the Central Sub-Committee, ¹⁹ Gaiti Ara Bashir Ahmed said in an interview that, it was at the Patna Session that the resolution was passed for the formation of a women's committee, for which forty women were nominated from different provinces. It was pointed out that in the Congress, women's participation was very substantial, and the Muslim League must follow suit.²⁰

It was the first time that a political leader had asked the Muslim women to come and join in a political movement, and spread political consciousness through each and every district, and recruit women as two anna members. The result was that in a couple of years political consciousness spread to all classes and groups of women, and they joined the Pakistan movement.²¹

When the Unionist Party swept the elections in the Punjab in 1937, Jahanara Shahnawaz was appointed Parliamentary Secretary in Sir Sikander Hyat's Government to deal with Education, Medical and Health Departments.22 This was the first time that a woman had held such a high political office in the Punjab Government, and it was a recognition of the increasing role that women were beginning to play in the politics of the province. A year earlier, in 1936 Sir Fazl-i-Hussain had appointed five Secretaries of the Unionist Party to reorganize the Unionist Party in the five divisions of the Punjab for the coming elections. Jahanara Shahnawaz had been one of them.23 It was, however, the Muslim League and its efforts to mobilise men and women for the cause of Pakistan, which led to their increasing involvement in politics. The increasing activity of the women's wing of the Punjab Muslim League becomes apparent in the momentous year of the Pakistan Resolution. The women's section of the All-India Muslim League held its annual session at the Islamia College for Girls, Lahore on March 23, 1940.24 By this time the Islamia College for Girls, Lahore, had become a centre of the political activity of the women's section of the Muslim League under the dynamic and committed Muslim Leaguer, Fatima Begum, who was the Principal of the college.25

At the annual session of the Women's Section of the Muslim League, Begum Hafeezuddin gave a somewhat militant keynote address, in which she called upon the nine crore Muslims of the Indian sub-continent to get united under the flag of the Muslim League and show to the opposition forces like the

Congress that they were not afraid of anyone. She called for unity and the adoption of simple living according to the tenets of Islam.26 Two resolutions were passed at this session, one dealing with the Muslim League, and the other dealing with Muslim women's legal rights. The first resolution called for Muslim women to get support for the Muslim League amongst all their women acquaintances, and to help organise sub-committees of the Party in both the towns and the rural areas. The second resolution called on the leaders of the Muslim League to help the Muslim women acquire the rights that they have under the Shariat or Islamic law, and where necessary to do legislation.27 Baji Rashida Latif, another luminary thrown up by the Muslim women of the Punjab and who was a member of the Legislative Assembly at the time, also spoke on the occasion and expressed the need for the Muslim women to be given the rights which they had under the Islamic law, but which they had been deprived of under the influence of the capitalists. 28 In all probability she was referring to the feudals who had managed to exclude the right of inheritance of property by women from the Shariat Bill of 1937, as applied to the province of the Punjab.

1940 was also a year of clash between the police and the Khaksars, an organization consisting of Muslim volunteers, in which many Khaksars were killed in the firing by the police. Demonstrations by the Khaksars followed and a dozen of them ended up in the hospital.29 The mounting hostility led to a demonstration of Burga clad women in Bhati Gate. The number was small, about ten, but it did create a sensation, for they shouted slogans, carried crow bars, and walked through the streets of the bazars and then went into the Sunehri Masjid.30 Most of these women were those whose close relatives had been killed in the clash with the police on March 19. A great crowd had assembled in the Bhati Gate to see these women, because in all probability this was a novel experience for the inhabitants of Bhati Gate to witness a demonstration by women. This, however, was not an isolated case of women's participation in the Khaksar movement. Earlier, Sardar Akhter Begum had addressed an audience of twelve thousand on February 20, at Rawalpindi, which included four hundred uniformed Khaksars. Akhter Begum had come all the way from Cawnpore, but the enormity of the Jalsa or public meeting and the fact that a woman addressed a gathering in which a majority were men, is itself a testament to the de-segregation of the sexes that the society was undergoing, and the confidence that women were acquiring through political activity.31

The Punjab Provincial Muslim Women's League had started to mobilise girls in schools and colleges by holding functions of the Party on the premises of their schools. One example of this was the organisation of a function at the Jinnah Islamia High School at Mozang, Lahore where Jinnah was invited to attend as the girls would present an address of welcome. 32 Again it was Fatima Begum who was behind the invitation to the Quaid by the Punjab Girl Students Federation to come to the Jinnah Islamia College. 33 Jinnah addressed the girls at the College and said:

"It has now become crystal clear to the world that Indian Mussalmans are not a minority but are a nation and as a nation they want to set up their independent states in those territories where they are in an over-whelming majority. . . . I am glad to see that not only Muslim men but Muslim women and children also have understood the Pakistani scheme. No nation can make any progress without the cooperation of its women. If Muslim women support their men as they did in the day of the Prophet of Islam, we should soon realize our goal."

This speech of the Quaid seemed to have summed up his attitude and policy, and hence that of the Muslim League under his leadership, towards women. He went on to say that no nation was capable of becoming a strong nation, without the participation of its womenfolk.35 Women guide men when to use the pen or the sword for a national cause. Then he advised the female audience to participate in the freedom struggle till it was crowned with success.36 These were powerful and inspiring words from an important national leader to young college girls, who till the time of the Pakistan Movement had been relegated to the secondary role. He went on to tell his audience that the Muslim League was very conscious and desirous of the need to have women participation in its struggle, and with that purpose in mind it had formed an All-India Muslim Women's Central Committee at its annual conference at Patna. He declared that for the last fifteen months he had watched this Committee's progress, which had been considerable, despite the many obstacles it faced. He told his young audience that they were much luckier than their mother's generation, because they would achieve freedom soon.

A few days later, at a function held in the Town Hall grounds in honour of the Quaid, a young student of the Lahore College for Women made a speech in which she exhorted the Muslim men of India to educate Muslim women so that they could take their rightful place alongside men for the achievement of Pakistan. This young first year student reminded the audience how Islamic history was replete with instances when Muslim women had fought the battles of Islam side by side with men, and said that the ideal of Pakistan would become a reality once the Muslim women were also involved in its struggle.³⁷

The movement for Pakistan had reached the girls schools and colleges least the urban areas of the Punjab. Azra Khanum, a first year student who read out the address at the reception in the Town Hall, was asking for the education of Muslim women and their rights, as given to them by Islam. Mushairas or get togethers where different poets read their poems were organized by the women's branch of the Punjab Muslim League. One such function in Lahore had the attendance of four hundred women. The theme of the Mushaira was "Pakistan and the Muslim League", and Lady Shafi presided over it. 38 Once again at the end of the meeting the President of the Mushaira moved a resolution expressing indignation at the usurpation by men of the rights that Islam had given to Muslim women, and it called for starting a movement to restore these rights. 39 Small meetings were organised at the houses of different women members and activities of the Muslim League, where patriotic pro-Pakistan songs might be sung, and general support whipped up for the cause of Pakistan. 40

In May, 1943, a branch was opened in Lyallpur (now Faisalabad). Fatima Begum, the Principal of the Jinnah Islamia Girls College, Lahore, was the moving spirit here also, and the premises used for this purpose were that of the Islamia Girls School. Fatima Begum had been an Inspectress of Schools in Bombay, but with the Pakistan movement gathering momentum, she resigned her post and returned to the Punjab. She had opened a college in her own house, and called it Jinnah College, the opening ceremony of which had been performed by the Quaid. She was instrumental in opening a branch of the Women's Muslim League in Murree in August, 1944.

By 1945 the Unionists had been considerably weakened and the Muslim League had accelerated its campaign, in which the women were playing a prominent role in the Punjab. The political campaigning of the ladies had ceased to be restricted to Lahore and its drawing rooms. By the middle of March one group of ladies had completed the tour of Gujranwala, Gujrat, Jhelum, Rawalpindi, Amritsar and Lyallpur where the branches where opened and the sub-committees consolidated. The aim of this exercise was to increase the membership of the League in order to get them to attend the coming session of the All-India Muslim League in Lahore at the end of March, 1945.

At this time a lady who emerged in the Muslim League politics of the Punjab was Begum Tasadduq Hussain. She was nominated to the Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League by the Nawab of Mamdot in 1944. She played a prominent role in the Muslim League politics of Punjab in the 40s, and upto the time of independence, had originally started as a social worker. With the formation of the Punjab Provincial Sub-Committee for Women, she became its Joint-Secretary. She was active in opening primary school for girls and industrial homes at Lahore. In the elections of 1946 she worked hard for the Party, and fought the election on the Muslim League ticket from inner Lahore.

Begum Shahnawaz's sister, Begum Bashir Ahmed had become the President of the Provincial Muslim League Women's Committee. As the Muslim League prepared for elections of 1946, divisional and district committees and conveners were appointed and placed under young women workers. 46 Such was the intensity of the work and mobilisation of the Punjab Muslim League in preparation for the elections that, in the second week of January seventy meetings of the Party were reported to have been held in the province, including that of the Women's Committee. The students of Islamia College toured the districts accompanied by the local students and the local Muslim Leaguers. 47 A students contingent had arrived from Aligarh to help in the election campaign, but they were not very effective because of the language problem.

The Muslim League celebrated 'Victory Day' on January 11, as they had won all the Muslim seats to the Central Assembly. The Muslim League flag was flown from houses, cars, tongas, and houses were illuminated. The Muslim League Students Federation organised a meeting of fifteen thousand at the Islamia College. While Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din and Raja Ghazanfar Ali toured Kasur and Jhelum respectively, Shaukat Hayat was in Ludhiana. A large women's meeting was held in Ludhiana, which was attended by women members from Lahore. According to one intelligence assessment the kind of work and zeal that the Muslim students from Islamia College and Aligarh had shown far outshone any done by Hindu or Sikh students in the Punjab. The Quaid visited Lahore and left it on January 18, after addressing large meetings organized by the Muslim Students Federation (MSF) and the women's wing of the Muslim League. At the women's meeting he was escorted by two girls, who walked on either side of him with drawn swords.

As the campaigning for elections gathered momentum, Maulvis and other religious elements were drawn in, and over a hundred meetings were held by the Muslim League ending by February 12.51 Loyalty to Islam was invoked by the men and women who were involved in the electionnering campaign.52 As

the polling day approached, Muslim League candidates were helped at the public meetings and at the polling booths by students. Women's level of activity and participation can be gauged from the fact that in the last week before polling they held meetings in Simla, Amritsar, Gujranwala and Lahore. In Lahore, a women's meeting was held to depute women to the different polling stations.⁵³

The Punjab Muslim League was jubilant at the election results, having obtained seventy-five seats out of one hundred and seventy-five. The Parliamentary Board of the Muslim League met, and negotiated on behalf of the Party with the Congress and the Akalis to form a coalition Government. Of the ten members of the Parliamentary Board, one was a woman, Begum Shahnawaz. Meetings were held demanding the release of Captain Abdul Rashid of the RIN, and the women's section of the Muslim League also held meetings in Gurgson and Lahore demanding his release.

But when the elections were held, despite the Muslim League having emerged as the largest party, the Government was formed by a coalition of the Unionists, Congress and other smaller parties. The Muslim League responded with further militancy, which further raised the political temperature. At this juncture, the women's wing of the Punjab Muslim League took to organising demonstrations. On March 8, a meeting was held by the Party women at the house of Rashid Ali Khan which condemned the "unconstitutional and unjust action of the Governor in attempting to impose a non-Muslim Ministry on the Muslim majority province of Punjab.* This meeting was followed by a peaceful demonstration of about five hundred men and women on Queen's Road, in front of Malik Khizar Hyat's residence. St

Baji Razia Sultana, Organising Secretary Jullundur Division, the General Secretary City Muslim League Jullundur, and Secretary Muslim National Guard Jullundur, went to Ferozepur and addressed public meeting, and told the women to be prepared for the direct action programme, which the Muslim League was about to launch. 56

Before the elections could take place, in September, 1946, the Quaid got an invitation from the International Herald Tribune to send the representative of the Muslim League to the International Herald Tribune Forum to present the case of the Indian Muslims for a separate homeland. The Quaid nominated Mr. M.A.H. Ispahani and Begum Shahnawaz to go the U.S.A. and present the case for Pakistan there. Mr. Ispahani writs about the Quaid:

"He told me that he had decided to appoint me as his representative, and would ask Begum Shahnawaz to accompany me to U.S.A. to counteract the Hindu propaganda that the Muslims were reactionaries and their women were neither politically awake nor exercised any rights and, therefore, if Pakistan were founded, it would be an intolerant and theocratic State."

Both the members of the delegation conducted the tour successfully, and according to Ispahani, "Begum, an experienced parliamentarian, made quite an impression on the audience with her fluent speeches." At the Herald Tribune Forum, Ispahani's speech won great acclaim, and according to a newspaper report, the Americans claimed that it had given them a totally new perspective on the Indian situation. 59 They addressed public meetings in New York and met the heads of the delegations to the U.N. from various countries. 60 Except for Russia, all other delegations met them, and the Muslim League's point of view was explained by these delegates at the conference. When Begum Shahnawaz returned to Lahore, she was given a rousing reception, and the high command of the Punjab Muslim League was there to receive her armed with garlands. 61

After the elections of 1946, the Punjab Assembly elected its quota of members to the Constituent Assembly. Begum Shahnawaz was elected from the Punjab, and Begum Shaista Ikamullah from Bengal. The Muslim League Women's underarmed to maintain their position⁶² against all other bodies set up to cause disruption among the Muslim women.⁶³

The two prime instances of women coming to the forefront to take the lead in the affairs of the Muslim League was the appointment of Salma Tassadduq Hussain to the Working Committee of the Punjab Muslim League. 64 Begum Shahnawaz declared at a press conference that while in New York, they met different foreign delegations at the United Nations, 65 especially those from Muslim countries. 66 The Muslim League delegation also had talks and contacts with the American press 67 and other officials and non-officials. 68 She also disclosed that an information bureau of the Muslim League had been set up in New York, which would issue fortnightly bulletins and also provide correct information regarding Muslim India. 69

In ten districts of the province of the Punjab no organization existed at all. Its total primary League membership for the province was only about fifteen thousand. Ferozepur led with a membership of three thousand and five hundred, followed by Montgomry (now Sahiwal) with three thousand and two hundred, and Lahore came third with two thousand members. 70 U.P. at this

time had eight times the membership, while even Baluchistan had a thousand members more. It is much later in 1944 that its membership drive and expansion of its organization began to take root in the countryside, especially as the rural elite began to switch their allegiance to Muslim League from the Unionist Party. By 1945 the women's section of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League was making valiant efforts to establish primary Muslim Leagues in different towns of the Punjab like Amritsar, Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Gujranwala, Gujrat and Lyallpur. Public meetings were held in Gujrat, Gujranwala and Jhelum by the women's section of the Punjab Muslim League. This particular drive was geared towards mobilising the Muslim women supporters for the coming public meeting of the Muslim League in Lahore on March 23, the anniversary of the Pakistan Resolution.

The Muslim League had won over the feudals and the Pirs of Punjab. 74

The Unionists were reduced to only eighteen seats, although the Congress did well with fifty-one seats, all Hindus. However, Glancy, the Governor deprived the Muslim League of power, by nailing together a coalition of the rest of the parties, with Khizar Hayat Tiwana as its Prime Minister. A procession consisting of men and women numbering almost five hundred, demonstrated outside Khizr's house. The demonstrators shouted anti-Khizar and anti-Glancy solgans for imposing a non-Muslim Ministry over a Muslim majority province. 75 Before the demonstration, the ladies had held a meeting in which they had declared the formation of the Khizar Government as unconstitutional.

A confrontation between the Government and the Muslim League was triggered off when the Government declared the RSS and the Muslim League National Guard as unlawful. This was followed by simultaneous police raids on the offices of these organisations, and their leaders were arrested. The Begum Kamaluddin of the Frontier was also arrested.

On January 25, 1947, there were two processions of Muslim women, one on Temple Road and another on Lawrence Road, the latter had about five hundred women participating in it. Both the processions were tear gassed, and some of the girls participating in them fainted as a reaction to the tear gas, and had to be taken by ambulances to the hospital. These girls were from the Islamia College for Girls, Lahore. The procession on the Temple Road re-grouped after having been tear gassed, and marched along the Mall to the Assembly Chambers, but the police stopped them from going to the main entrance of it. Fatima Begum who had led the demonstration which had been moving along the Lawrence Road was slightly injured during the *lathi* charged on the Muslim women demonstrators. Rome girls who participated in the

procession and defied the ban of the Punjab Government which had imposed the Public Safety Ordinance Section 144, were arrested. Among those arrested were Nasira Siddiqui, Qamar Parveen, Begum Karim Dad and Mumtaz Shahnawaz, the daughter of Jahanara Shahnawaz. Sixteen members of the Legislative Assembly offered arrest, the first batch at the Assembly Chambers and the second batch at Mochi Gate. The agitation spread to other districts, where Muslim shopkeepers carried out *Hartals*, processions and meetings to court arrest.⁷⁹

The whole episode further embittered the Muslim supporters of the Muslim League, and editorials were written condemning the violence committed against a peaceful demonstration of Muslim women. It was considered appalling that women, who had newly emerged from seclusion, should become victims of *lathi* charge and tear gassing. 80 On January 28, a procession of veiled Muslim women was led by Lady Noon, the English wife of Sir Feroze Khan Noon, and Miss Zahida Hayat, the sister of Sardar Shaukat Hayat, and the daughter of late Sir Sikander Hayat. Both these ladies were arrested near the Assembly Chambers, and so were the seven members of the Muslim League National Guard volunteers who had accompanied the procession. 81

As a result of the violent reaction from the Muslims of Lahore and the adjoining districts to the arrest of their leaders, the Government withdrew the notification under which the Muslim League National Guard and the RSS had been declared illegal on January 28. The Muslim League raised their demand to the withdrawal of Section 12 of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance. The Government refused to accede to this demand, and when the agitation continued, followed a policy of arresting the leaders of the movement but leaving the masses alone. Replace A Government intelligence report acknowledged that: "Women in some places have played a not inconsiderable part." The Government, showing its vulnerability in the face of mounting agitation, sent instructions to the Press not to publish any news item which was critical of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance. It even banned Dawn from being sold or bought in Punjab.

By February 15, after three weeks, the agitation had shown an increase, and the agitators began to interfere in the running of trains. 84 The rural areas began to be affected by it, and villagers were reported to be coming to towns to participate in the processions. There were incidents when processions tried to enter the Kutchery area, and attempts at hoisting the Muslim League flags from District Courts and Post Offices. They successfully removed the Union

Jack from the High Court building and put the Muslim League flag in its place temporarily. 85 It is obvious from these reports that the Muslim League had managed to mobilise street agitation, as had never been seen before in the Punjab, at least not by Muslims.

In Lahore demonstrations and processions took place at the District Courts and the Secretariat, and one procession which took place in the evening numbered 100,000.85 There were similar demonstrations in other parts of Punjab, Rohtak, Ambala, Gujrat, Gujranwala, Rawalpindi and Ludhiana. There was violence at Amitsar, and at Ludhiana the Bombay Express was held up at a level crossing, and the crowd had to be dispersed with tear gas.87 Under the compromise reached between the Muslim League and the Government, the ban on public meetings was removed, although the ban on processions continued. The disliked Public Safety Ordinance was to be replaced by some other legislation which would be more acceptable to the opposition. The Government also agreed to release all political prisoners, except those who had committed an offence under the Indian Penal Code.88 As an immediate gesture of goodwill, the Government issued orders for the release of the fifteen hundred civil disobedience prisoners the same day.89

The League supporters regarded the compromise as their victory. In recognition of the success of the movement, Liaquat Ali Khan, the Secretary General of the Party, sent a telegramme of congratulations to the President of the Punjab Muslim League, Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot, on the "successful struggle for the restoration of civil liberties." But what is noteworthy is the recognition he gave to the contribution of Punjab Muslim women to the struggle. He wrote, "Muslim India is proud of the heroic and noble part which Muslim women have played in the struggle." When the Committee of Action of the Punjab Muslim League met after the release of its members, it too congratulated the Muslims of Punjab at the successful conclusion of the struggle of civil disobedience, but gave special recognition to the women's contribution in the whole campaign.

"Above all we are proud of Muslim womanhood of the Punjab who have led the vanguard of our movement and whose heroism and courage will remain an abiding inspiration to all Muslims of India. Cowardice cannot breed in, and defeat cannot darken the hearths over which such heroines preside."91

They were also instrumental in mobilising the women of the Frontier, the bastion of social conservatism, where segregation of the genders and *Purdah* is still the norm to this day. As far back as October, 1945, Lady Abdullah

Haroon, the President of the Ali-India Zanana Muslim League led a delegation of the Muslim ladies to the Frontier province. Six ladies accompanied her, including Fatima Begum of Lahore, Salma Tassaduq Hussain, Secretary, Punjab Zanana Muslim League, Begum Hakem, President, Bengal Muslim League, and three other ladies. 92 When a meeting was organized in Peshawar under the auspices of the Zanana Muslim League, as many as a thousand women attended it. With Lady Haroon in the chair, Begum Fatima from Lahore, presided over the function, while Salma Tassaduq, also from Lahore was the main speaker. Salma Tassaduq criticised the Congress, extolled the Muslim League and the Quaid, and explained the cause of Pakistan to the audience. Rupees eight hundred were raised for the Muslim League fund. 93

By early 1947 the Pakistan movement had gained popularity at the mass level. An intelligence report, quoting the Dawn said, that a thousand women clad in Burqa attended the annual session of the Frontier women's Provincial Muslim League held in Peshawar on February 2, 1947. Begum Aslam, who spoke on the occasion, appealed to the Frontier women "to take a lesson from the brave women of the Punjab." She said that the events in Punjab had opened their eyes and shown that the League and its supporters are capable of making sacrifices, and thousands have gone to jail for the cause. In April, parties of women Leaguers from Punjab were going in groups to the Frontier. The Frontier Women's Sub-Committee had asked for assistance from the Punjab Provincial Women's Muslim League Sub-Committee. Mrs. Kamaluddin was one of the two Punjabi women who toured Kohat and delivered a speech to the local female agitators from a loudspeaker at the Muslim League office in May, 1947. According to one report, she had been removed from the Frontier province on more than one occasion in the past. 97

As the date of the referendum approached, parties of women were formed to tour the districts of Mardan, Hazara and Kohat. Muslim League women from Punjab and Peshawar were reported to have addressed meetings of women in Kohat city, Jangal Khel, Ustarzai and Hangu, in the month of June. Mumtaz Shahnawaz, the young and dynamic daughter of Jahanara Shahnawaz, addressed a meeting in Mardan in May. Young and radical, she is reported to have told off the men of Mardan for not allowing the women of Mardan to start agitation. Amongst the prominent Punjab women who were part of the parties formed to tour the Frontier Province from village to village for propaganda purposes, were Salma Tassaduq, Jahanara Shahnawaz, M.L.A., and Begum Ghulam Fatima. Men a large public meeting was held in Mohammad Ali Park in June, three women spoke from behind a curtain in favour of Pakistan. The events narrated indicate that the Muslim women

continued their role in making the Pakistan movement a success. Muslim men and women, in one voice, demanded Pakistan and got it in 1947.

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Role of Revolutionary Activities in the Punjab Politics: 1907__1920

MUHAMMAD KHURSHID

Revolutionary politics had often played an important role generally in the political history of the sub-continent and specially in the Punjab and Bengal. At the beginning of the 20th Century, Punjab witnessed a series of revolutionary activities which indicate the emerging political unrest1 among the urban elites who had benefited from the tools of change to create political consciousness in their communities. But there was no identity of views among the leaders of different communities, because of their religious difference. They stood divided in their methodology for the attainment of self government. The extremist had the view that the Indians could never seek freedom merely by begging and pleading. So 'freedom or death' had become their creed and the master passion.2 At that moment British Government had been facing a critical situation in Bengal due to its partition and feared that such a trend may find its way in other provinces. So, in Punjab, the government decided to adopt a paternal attitude for their appearement. It took some legislative measures - the Punjab Land Alienation Act, 1900, the Transfer of Property Act, 1904, the Punjab Pre-Emption Act, 1905, the Punjab Land Alienation (Amendment Bill), 1906,3 and the Punjab Tenancy Act of 1887 to protect the interest of the peasantry. The Arya Samaj which had emerged as a vital force, considered the above listed legislation "as severe blow to national unity and solidarity and an attempt to win the favour of the Muslim peasants at the cost of the Hindus. "4 Indian National Congress which claimed to be the representative body of the whole India, condemned these measures by calling it against the national unity. These regulations were also resented by the landed gentry as an unjustified interference in their customary rules and traditions. Attempts were, therefore, made by the dissatisfied and frustrated elements to incite the public against the government by creating Muhammad Khurshid, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Islamia University, Bahawalpur.

secret revolutionary societies and agencies. Revolutionary speeches and seditious articles were published and the flow of this revolutionary literature was entirely controlled by the money lending class.⁵ In these revolutionary activities, the Sikhs, who had been "entirely loyal to the British Government" till 1906, were now surprisingly found in the fore-front of the revolutionary politics. It is interesting to point out that most of the leaders who participated in these revolutionary activities were either sons or relatives of the men who had served or were serving in the army. So in the atmosphere of distrust, when government decided to pass the Punjab Colonization Act, it caused hue and cry in the colony area leading to a disturbed political situation.

For the economic development of the Punjab, the British Government planned canal colonies project, by which the barren waste land of the South-West region was converted into fertile farm. In the beginning, to attract the peasants, the government granted many facilities and low rates of revenue and water charges (Abiana). With the passage of time, when the colony area was converted into one of the most fertile and prosperous regions of the province, the government decided to modify the tenure system to bring it at par with the other agricultural areas to maintain uniformity and also took some other measures about the transfer of land. For this purpose the government introduced the New Colonization Act in 1907, which caused unrest among the peasants. According to the new settlement, on account of the increase in the water rates taken from the Bari Doab with a higher rate of assessment and due to extra legal fine system which cost "over Rs. 300,000 in Penalties,"7 the economic burden on the agriculturists reached a breaking point. According to N.G. Barrier: "Four general issues aroused political discontent in the Punjab during 1907; prosecution of the Punjabee, a Bill amending the Punjab Alienation of Land Act, a Colonization Bill, and an increase of water rates on the Bari Doab canal. *8 All the three major communities were equally affected by these measures. The resentment was so serious that the ten thousand colonists passed a resolution for the non-payment of the extra charges at Lyallpur (now Faisalabad) on February 3, 1907, under the revolutionary command of Arya Samaj leader Lala Lajpat Rai. It was completely a rural agitation, the urban politicians came simply as spectators and avoided to play any role. Beyond this, Lala Lajpat Rai, Sarla Devi, and the famous Sikh reveloutionary leader Ajit Singh⁹ engineered a successful campaign of their propaganda among the rural classes especially the Sikhs, while causing grave resentment among them against the high-handed policy of Lord Curzon. On the other side the speeches of Tilak and Aurobindo Ghosh influenced the youth to hold demonstrations and riots in Lahore, Lyallpur and Rawalpindi.

Consequently, the spring and the summer of 1907 saw a new change on the political horizon with the stirring poem of Bankey Dyal (Pagri sambhal o Jatta). Moreover, the fire-breathing speeches of Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh evoked revolutionary feelings soaked in Punjabi folk tradition and temper. Actually, this agitation was largely organized by revolutionary Ajit Singh who was working under an organization called the Anjuman-i-Muhibhan-i-Watan.

The agitation was not confined to peasants and the colony areas. The leading families of central districts, who had their relatives in the colony are, ex-government servants and educated people living in the colony area assumed the leadership. Some of the urban personalities such as Ram Chand, Shahabud-Din and Siraj-ud-Din Ahmad, led the Zamindar Association meetings. 10 At a meeting of ten to fifteen thousand Zamindars, held on March 7, 1907, at Lahore, Ajit Singh appealed to 30 crores of Indians to over-throw the despotic rule of government comprising one and a half lakh of Europeans. The revolutionary leaders sent telegrammes to the Viceroy, the Secretary of State and to the Lieutenant-Governor Denzil E.J. Ibbetson (1905-1907) of Punjab, warning them that "in future taxes would not be paid on account of canal water, but that the water would be taken free. *11 In another public meeting on April 7, Ajit Singh called on the landowners to disobey the British command. In addition a memorandom was issued "which was of a most seditious character and at which the thumb impressions of the villagers were taken. "12 The revolutionary leaders were talking of open rebellion and by April 1907, the Punjab seemed to be moving towards anarchy. Under these conditions, the Punjab Government was convinced to withdraw the increased amount on revenue and Abiana, on the ground that the crop conditions and plague had made the increase unwise. But this announcement did not help to stop the agitation. The Arya Samai, under the leadership of Lajpat Rai, persuaded the rural population to suspend revenue payments. It also spread dissatisfaction among the troops and students. These circumstances compelled Ibbetson to request the Viceroy "to ban public meetings, to seize presses and to arrest individuals inciting Zamindars not to pay revenue. "13 Ibbetson had the view that the rural population would never turn against the rulers unless they had been misled or engineered to relect by urban politicians. Anyhow, the out break of national agitation which caused political unrest, forced the government to adopt measures of repression and suppression. The Lieutenant-Governor was empowered by Section 35 of the Act to control the situation in notified areas. Although there was a lot of resentment against the repressive measures, there was no serious disturbance. The situation was brought under

control and orders were issued for the externment of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh from the Punjab. They were deported to Burma and the political situation was easily controlled by the government. However, as a result of this agitation central government decided to withhold the assent of the Colonization Act on May 26, 1907.

The disturbance of 1907 was merely confined to the agricultural community of colony areas and very few Muslim agriculturists had shown their interest in this agitation. Though this agitation was confined to the cultivators but it was organized under the proper guidance of their "towndwelling brethren and most of them were Muslims.*14 The persons like Muharram Ali Chishti, leader, Anjuman-i-Nomania, who had close relations with the leaders of Arya Samaj advised the Muslims to keep on good relations with the Hindus. One the other side Arya Samai also tried to develop close communal harmony with them by offering seats to the Muslim children in local schools at reduced fees. In spite of such offers the majority of the Muslims of the Punjab kept themselves aloof from revolutionary politics. It was due to this fact that there were very few evidences of Muslim peasantry support in this agitation. The majority of the Muslim leaders advised the Muslims not to participate in the agitation. The famous Punjabi leaders, Mohammad Shafi (1878-1932) and Shah Din (1968-1918) played an important role to dissuade the Muslims from revolutionary activities, and decided to set up a rival organization against the pro-Congress 'Muslim League' of Fazl-i-Husain. Muhammad Shafi called the meeting of the Muslims of Lahore in March 1907, which framed the objectives of the organization and sent out circulars to Muslim Anjumans asking them for cooperation. This organization supposedly would oppose sedition and place Muslim petitions 'respectfully' before the British. "15 When the agitation reached its extreme, Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh appealed to the masses to overthrow the government. Muhammad Shafi called a meeting of the Muslims to denounce violence. The prominent leaders like Mahboob Alam, Umar Bakhsh and Muharram Ali Chishti attended this meeting. In this meeting, Muslim leaders censured the riots and asked the Muslims to withdraw from agitation, led by Hindus and by Ajit Singh.16 They also rejected the aggressive attitude of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh and advised to adopt the constitutional agitation. 17 In another meeting they sympathized the Englishmen, who were attacked, to counter the "wave of loyalty among the timid nationalists and the Muslim community."18 However, it is note-worthy that the Sikhs who in the past received more benefits from the British Government than any other community, were most hostile towards the government. According to the

moderate politicians the revolutionary activism damaged the interests of the Sikh and Muslim peasantry of the central and western Puniab and the Hindu peasantry of eastern Punjab had been badly affected by this revolutionary movement.

The movement, which had developed as a result of the economic unrest was not isolated as it had contacts with radical movement like Swadeshi Movement and Ghadar Movement, not only within but also outside the country. When in 1909, the government decided to take over the administrative control of Khalsa College, it created ill-feelings among the educated Sikh Community. The Arya Samaj and other Hindu religious political parties criticised the concessions given to the Muslims under Minto-Morly Reforms (1909). They demanded the same for the Hindus who were in a minority in the Punjab. It led to political polarization at the national level. The seditious activities became more dangerous when on December 23, 1912, a bomb was thrown on Lord Harding (1910-1916) in Delhi, and another bomb exploded at Lahore on May 17, 1913. The demolition of the wall of Gurdwara Rikab Gani, 19 Delhi, and the tragedy of Budge Budge²⁰ further complicated the political situation. Ajit Singh who was deported to Burma, secretly left for Persia and then to the U.S.A. where he got in touch with the Ghadr Party which was organized on November 1, 1913. The main object of this party was to spread rebellion against the British and to overthrow their rule. The first World War encouraged the Ghadarites to intensify their activities. The Sikhs planned to stage revolt in a number of Punjabi regiments of Indian army at Labore and Ferozpur on February 12, 1915, but due to its leakage, the scheme failed and the revolutionaries involved in it were arrested. Seventeen of them were hanged and a large number of them were sentenced to life imprisonment. This repressive action no doubt weakened the revolutionaries. But it could not stop the revolutionary activities and consequently, by August 1915, all important leaders like Nidam Singh, Rur Singh and Kartar Singh Sarabha were arrested

At the beginning of the First World War, another spate of revolutionary activities began in the Punjab as a result of the Pan-Islamic Movement. At the end of 19th Century, Abdul Hamid the Khalifa of Turkey had launched Pan-Islamic Programme. This idea had attracted much attention in India as the Muslim Leader Jamal-ud-Din Afghani had played an important role. In 1908, the Khalifa and his regime was removed by the 'Young Turks' and Pan-Islamic Movement received a set-back. In 1912, Muslims of India due to Italo-Turkish War and the Balkan Wars got a clear expression that the western imperialism, specifically British, was conquering and destroying their culture and

oppressing the Muslims.21 Consequently, the Muslims of the sub-continent express their allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey as the Caliph of Islam. Further, the participation of Turkey in the war against the Allies created a rift between the Muslims of India and the government. The Muslims of the Punjab also found a great appeal in this and religion became the symbol of their struggle for freedom. In December 1914, an attempt was made to unite the Muslims of the Punjab in support of Turkey. For this purpose, a session of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference was held in Rawalpindi in which leaders like Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Muhammad Ali and others participated.²² Speeches were delivered in the meeting held at Peshawar and Lahore for the unity of the Muslims. This movement inspired the students generally and in February 1915, fifteen of them left Lahore for tribal areas to join the Wahabis,23 who were waging war in the N.W.F.P. against the British Government. After crossing the frontier, they proceeded to Kabul where they were imprisoned by Habibullah Khan, the Amir of Kabul, but were subsequently released. Afterward they joined the anti-British activities and planned to form a united front of all Muslims under the Sheriff of Macca against the British. The Muslims of the Punjab had hoped that the emigrants would be able to arouse the Frontier tribes against the British Government. Obaidullah Sindhi was the leader of this movement who formed a Pan-Islamic force which was mostly composed of Muslim students from all over India. It was planned to organize them through a secret service whose instructions were sent on Silken pieces of cloth. These letters were written on Silk cloth and were sent to Sheikh Abdul Rahim of Hyderabad, (a new convert to the Muslim faith in Sindh) for sending them to Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan. The government intercepted these letters and the plan for a 'Silk Letters Conspiracy' failed. According to Maulana Obaidullah, the main reason of its failure was the betrayal by Habibullah Khan, the Amir of Kabul, who was in fact helping the cause of British Government.24 Further, this movement was weakened because of the revolt of the Sheriff of Macca against Turkey. But this movement enhanced political awareness among the Muslims of Punjab.

At the close of First World War, a serious agitation of the Muslims of the sub-continent took place under the name of Khilafat Movement. Although the agitation had started at the beginning of the War, the moderate Muslim politicians remained loyal to the government. When the War was coming to an end, the peace terms for the Turks were such that roused them against the religious sentiments of the Muslims against the government. They had presumed that the government would be bound to respect the Muslims's feelings regarding the final fate of Turkey. Actually, the terms of the Treaty of

Serves were against the sovereign status of Khilafat. Moreover, dispite the request of the Indian Muslims the British Empire had treated the Turkish Khilafat in worst manner than the other belligerent powers. This attitude completely changed the Muslims's trend and their feelings against the rulers. Ultimately, it led to the rise of Khilafat Movement and the Muslims started agitation against the government through press and public demonstrations. The fear of the dismemberment of Turkey, and the attitude of Great Britain at the Peace Conference remained the main concern of the Muslims through out India in the year 1919. Consequently, the efforts to win the Hindu cooperation for their cause led many Muslims to join the Rowlatt Act Satyagraha in April 1919.25 One of the effects of the Jallinwala Bagh Tragedy was that in Punjab, especially in urban areas, the Khilafal agitation gained cooperation from all the communities. In a meeting presided over the Fazl-i-Husain (1877-1936), the Muslims of the Punjab decided to establish a Khilafat Committee. 26 Khilafat Committee was also formed in Amritsar under the secretaryship of Maulvi Muhammad Daud. Emotional speeches were made, resolutions were passed advocating not only boycott of peace celebrations, but also demanded the withdrawal of armed forces from Mesopotamia. The payment of compensation to the Turks for the losses sustained by them was voiced. Withdrawal of the government patronage from the Sheriff of Macca was streesed.

Through out the Punjab, Khilafat Conferences were held, Hartals were observed, non-cooperation programmes were arranged, Hijrat Movement was supported, agitation was started and disturbances were created all over India. All the prominent leaders of the Muslims such as Maulana Muhammad Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Hasrat Mohani, Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew, Malik Lal Khan and Muhammad Daud were arrested along with the Non-Cooperationists like Pandit Neki Ram Sharma, Batashi Ram Krishan, Sardul Singh Cavesheer, Bhai Jaswant Singh, Lala Sham Lal and Pandit Shri Ram Sharma. Congress-Khilafat volunteer organizations were declared illegal.27 A prominent leader of the Non-Cooperation Movement, Mahatma Gandhi led the agitation, but unfortunately, on account of the Chauri Chaura incident, he suspended the movement which had adverse effect on the movement. It injured the Muslim feelings and that they thought that they had been cunningly used to advance the Hindu cause of Swaraj for India.

At the time of the out-break of the First World War, on the one hand the revolutionary Muslim and the Hindu leaders were demonstrating against the British attitude and on the other hand the feudal lords and the local governing bodies were supporting the British cause. For example, during the War, one

half of the Indian army had been drawn from the Punjab as about 3,60,00028 soldiers were recruited from this province. Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieutenent-Governor of the Punjab "described Punjab as a 'shield', 'spearhead' and 'swordhand' of India. "29 It shows that particularly Punjab, with men, money and material made a substantial contribution to this War. It was all due to the efforts made by the landlords and Pirs for their personal material benefits. In term of money, the Punjab contributed "more than two crores of rupees to the warfund and charities and invested about ten crores in war loans. "30 Thus the Zamindars and the rural gentry had made contribution to the war efforts. The provincial authorities were also of the view that during the First World War their administrative and political success in the Punjab was mainly due to the efforts of district officers and the rural gentry.31 They justified the Punjab policy of supporting them and maintaining their Izzat and status.32 It is important to mention here that although the martial races of Punjab were fond of joining British army but during the First World War force and coercion were also applied in recruitment.33 This statement has been supported by Fazli-Husain who "gave a vivid account of the resentment caused as a result of intensive recruitment campaigns in the villages before the Disorders Inquiry Committee.34 Anyhow, as a result of these loyal services many of loyalist rural leaders, sooner or later found way to Punjab Legislative Council.

In January 1919, government introduced the Rowlatt Act, in place of the Defence of India Act. Actually, in October 1917, the Viceroy had appointed a commission to find out the causes of disorders and their remedy. In the light of commission's report, government introduced a legislation35 strictly according to the recommendations. This Act was passed only for the War period to cope with revolutionary disturbances.36 The government with the enactment of Rowlatt Act wanted adequate legislation for "use of executive action rather than legal process to punish or prevent anarchical and revolutionary crime. *37 It was a turning point in the history of the Punjab because for the first time the masses began to join the nationalist politics. The Rowlatt Act was resented by the people of all shades of political opinion in the Punjab, Throughout this period the Sikhs took an active part in the anti-government wave to safeguard their interest more adequately. They decided to organize a political party -'The Central Sikh League' on March 30, 1919. On the same day disturbances took place in different towns to show resentment and disapproval of the unpopular legislation. The government called the police and army to crush these risings. M.A. Jinnah, protested against this bill and said :

The fundamental principles of justice have been uprooted and the constitutional rights of the people have been violated at a time when there

is not real danger to the State by an over fretful and incompetent bureaucracy, which is neither responsible to the people, nor in touch with real public opinion, and their sole plea is that the powers when they are assumed will not be abused. I, therefore, as a protest against the passing of the bill and the manner in which is was passed, tender my resignation as a Member of Imperial Legislative Council,38

The popular cry against the bill was 'on dalil, no vakil, no appeal' and was universally opposed by all the communities. Consequently, Hartals and agitation were held under the leadership of the urban middle class lawyers. All the three communities carried on the revolutionary movement by holding demonstration, leading processions and mobilising the masses. The climax was that on April 13, 1919 the Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy took place which lent a great impetus to the struggle for the freedom of country. According to J.P. Thompson, the Chief Secretary of Punjab, a total of 291 persons were killed in which there were 186 Hindus, 39 Muslims, 22 Sikhs and 44 unknown. Finally official sources estimated that 379 persons (337 men, 41 boys and a six weeks old baby) were killed and at least 1,200 persons were wounded. But according to the Indian's assessment, the total number of killed persons was about 530. Madan Mohan Malaviya estimated at least 1,000 deaths.39 Anyhow, Martial Law was imposed at Amritsar on April 15, 1919.40 Col. Dwyer, about whom the military members of the Army council held the view that he had saved India,41 was unanimously declared responsible for the Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy and was dismissed from service. Although the government was pleased with the efforts made by Lt. Governor Michael O'Dwyer, to improve the internal condition in the Punjab during the war, but his image was completely shattered on account of this Tragedy. It was due to this fact that the government rejected O'Dwyer's policy of repression and striking terror which deeply wounded the self-respect of the people. He was accused of inflicting unnecessary hardships and humiliations upon them. Respecting the sentiments of the Indians, the government sent him back to England. Moreover, the government decided to compensate those people whose families were killed at Jallianwala Bagh. Finally, to satisfy the revolutionaries, the government decided to repeal the Rowlatt Act, the Press Act, and the Seditious Meetings Act.

Although the revolutionary politician cooperated with each other in the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movements but according to M.A. Jinnah and Fazl-i-Husain, it was not the proper way to safeguard the national interest. In spite of their opposition to the Rowlatt Act, they were not in favour of revolutionary and extra-constitutional agitation because this kind of attitude

could never be in the best interest of the sub-continent. When in 1920, the Indian National Congress decided to cooperate with the revolutionaries he resigned from its membership. Same was the case with Fazl-i-Husain, when Congress and All-India Muslim League decided to cooperate with the revolutionaries, he resigned from both the political parties. At that moment Fazl-i-Husain was blamed that he was not sincere to the Congress and that he did not believe in it as Maulana Abul Kalam Azad believed. It was also said that he wanted to use the Congress "as an instrument for giving his own backward Muslim Community a chance in the political field of India.42 Anyhow, the progressive and revolutionaries wanted to adopt a full-fledged non-cooperation programme against the government but in the Punjab, Fazl-i-Husain as a moderate politician, generally avoided to follow this policy. As said earlier, in his opinion, the Non-Cooperation Movement was an unconstitutional step which was harmful to the Muslims' interest. It was due to this fact that on October 5, 1920, during the emergency session of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, Fazl-i-Husain, being fully aware of Muslim backwardness in different fields of life, rejected the non-cooperation programme. He advised the Muslims not to endorse the boycott of Legislative Councils and Law Courts and the resignation from the government jobs should not be tendered. He especially argued not to boycott the schools and colleges (run by the government). During the annual session of Indian National Congress, held at Nagpur, in December 1920, M.A. Jinnah also opposed the non-cooperative because "he thought the programme would invite chaos and lead to disturbance.*43 As a 'moderate politician', Fazl-i-Husain regarded the civil disobedience as an inexpedient mean of achieving political ends and desired to bring the revolutionaries and the moderates close to each other. According to Azim Husain:

He believed the 'freedom is the recognition of necessity' and no positive political achievement is possible except by a realization of limiting factors. He also believed that the non-cooperation leaders were impractical and that their programme was fraught with grave dangers to the masses who could not grasp of practice the idealistic doctrine of Ahinsa.⁴⁴

It shows that the moderate politicians were in favour of constructive rather than distructive measures. For achieving their demands they wanted to adopt the constructive measures through relevant roganizations such as — the amendment of land revenue rules, extention of irrigation, development of industry and railways, expansion of educational facilities, economic progress of backward classes and the improvement of medical relief and sanitation.

These welfare programmes could only be possible through cooperation between the masses and the government.

The Sikhs' revolutionary activities and later on Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movements ended in fiasco, which adversely affected the people of the Punjab. For the first time, they had enthusiastically participated in an anti-British movement and did their best to make it a success in urban and rural areas. Though this movement failed to protect the institution of Khilafat, it did a lot to politicize the Muslims of the Punjab. It is also important to point out that it made the government to realise that the cooperation and the loyalty of the landlords and the religious leaders at the time to trouble were of sterling value to meet such challanges. The government had also concluded that mutual comprehension, confidence and cooperation between government and the masses was very essential to create a healthy atmosphere. The government, therefore, on the one hand, decided to organize a political group which could be helpful to develop cooperation and confidence between the government and the masses and on the other hand on December 23, 1919, the government introduced the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and tried to satisfy the moderate politicians by introducing responsive measures.

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- 8. It was one of the causes of the unrest with a sense of degradation among the Punjabis. It was completely against the proclamation of Queen Victoria (1858) that "all the subjects irrespective of colour os creed, would receive equal treatment. It was not being maintained in the same spirit by her successors. N. G. Barrier, Purjab Politics and Disturbances of 1907", p. 169. According to him the Punjabee Prosecution was the product of official hostility towards urban politicians and critics.
- 9. Ajit Singh was a brave revolutionary leader of the Sikh community. He got political training under the guidance of Lala Lajpat Rai. After completing his political training he was employed at the orphanage under Lajpat Rai. In 1903, Kishen Singh another brother of Ajit Singh, was brought from Kashmir to take his place in order to enable the latter to devote himself entirely to political agitation. As a fiery orator, Ajit Singh addressed almost every procession taken out during the disturbances of 1907. In the Bharat Mata "meetings he used to visit Lajput Rai almost every might, and just before Lajpat's arrest, he took frequent counsel from him in private. Ajit Singh was working as his personal servent as he used to pay him Rs. 100/- monthly out of the Revenge Fund." Lajpat Rai had been careful throughout the agitation to keep himself as far as possible in the back ground. Extracts from Punjah Records, IOR, M/3/1168. Sytya M. Rai, op.cit., pp. 19-21.
 - 10. N.G. Barrier, op.cit., p. 456.
 - 11. Speech of Ajit Singh at Lahore on March 7, 1907, IOR, M/3/1168.
- G.K. Gokul to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, June 10, 1907, Extracts from Punjab Record, IOR, M/3/1168.
 - 13. N.G. Barrier, op.cit., p. 460.
- 14. Throughout the troubled days of 1907-1910, the Muslims in general with fine important exceptions under the guidance of Muhammad Shafi (Lahore) Fazl-i-Husain (Lahore), Mr. Abdul Aziz, the Editor, Observer (Lahore). Khawaja Yusaf (Ladhiana), Hakim Ajmal Khan (Drlhi). Sheikh Ghulam Mohammad, Editor, Vokil (Amritsar) and Mr. Sadiq (Amritsar), held aloof from the revolutionary movement and retained their traditional attitude of cooperation with the government.
 - 15. N. G. Barrier, Punjab Politics and the Disturbances of 1907, pp. 210-211.
 - 16. Tribune, Lahore April 25, 1907.
 - 17. Ibid., April 15, 1907.
 - 18. Punjabre, Lahore, May 1, 1907.
- 19. Early in 1914, the Government of India decided to pull down a part of the Rikab Ganj Gurdwara's enclosed wall during the building of the new capital. Actually, government wanted to suit the plan of the new Viceregal Ladge for which they had acquired it from the Mahant. By the end of 1914, it created a great hubble among the Sikhs. According to Komma, this statement was not correct, as 'it was only proposed to remove part of the outer wall of court yard of the Gurdwara, but the matter was treated as an outrage on the Sikhs who were called upon to form into groups to go to Delhi to protect the sacred place." But according to Sarfraz Khawaja, "the Government refused to respect the sentiments of he Sikhs because the Sikhs

themselves were not united on the issue." To meet this challenge on May 3, 1914, the Chief Khalsa Diwan held a large meeting at Amritsar and passed a resolution for the preservation of Gurdwara, Komma, op.cit., pp. 428-429; Sarfraz Khawaia, Sikhs of the Punish, 1900-1925, pp. 138-143.

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 - 24. S. C. Mittal, op.cit., p. 90.
- Idnu Joshi, "Khilafat Agitation in the Punjab," Proceedings of Punjab History Conference, Patiala, March 1981, p. 333.
- This Committee was composed of Fazi-i-Husain as President, Muhammad Ighal as Secretary, Mohy-ud-Din as Joint Secretary, and Shuja-ud-Din, Habibullah, Shahab-ud-Din, Haq Nawaz and Shah Nawaz were its members.
 - 27 Tribune, November 26, 1921.
- During the First World War 1,70,000 Muslims, 90,000 Sikhs, 90,000 Hindus and 4,000 Punjabi Christian recruits were taken from the Punjah. Muslim farmers, who were the 5/9 of the population, gave 48 per cent recruits. Nina Pari, Political Elite and Society in the Panjah, New Delhi, 1985, pp. 130-131.
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 - M. S. Leigh, The Punjab and the War, Labore, 1922, p. 285. 30.
- 31. Michael O'Dwyer to Chalmsford, Chelmsford Collection, October 26, 1916, Vols. XVI and XVII, IOR, MSS Eur. E. 264.
 - 32. Ibid.
 - 33. Nina Puri, op.cit., p. 32.
 - 34. fbid., p. 132.
- The Act was divided into five parts : Part I provided that without any sort of appeal, people could be sent to the gallows or to the Andamans; Part II gave power to the executive to place persons, suspected of (not convicted or charged with) complicity in anarchical or revolutionary movement under restraint and restriction of their liberty in various ways; Part III

empowered the executive authority to arrest and search without warrant; Part IV provided the powers of automatic continuance of the confinement or restriction of persons already confined or restriction under the Defence of India Rule; and Part V provided more drastic powers to the executive and restrict the liberties of the people." Chelsuford Correspondence with his Majesty the King-Emperor, Chemisford Papers, Vol. I, II and III, IOR/M/678.

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- Martial Law was imposed at Lahore, on April 15, and it was extended to Gujranwala on April 16, to Gujrat on April 19, and to Lyallpur on April 24, 1919. Ibid., p. 129.
- Lord Stamfordham, Private Secretary to His Majesty the King-Emperor, June 23, 1920, Chelmsford Papers, Vol. I,II,III, IOR/M 2/678.
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Pakistan's Foreign Policy in 1990s with Reference to Kashmir Dispute

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The aim of this paper is to focus attention on the foreign policy of Pakistan in 1990s with reference to Kashmir Dispute. This, however, cannot be appreciated unless we have a broad view of those objectives of Pakistan's Foreign Policy, which it set before itself as an independent and sovereign country. These objectives are invariably determined by geopolitics, strategic interests, historical urges and common aspirations of its people. Indeed, Pakistan is no exception. The Founder of Pakistan and its first Governor-General, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, outlined the foreign policy of Pakistan, when he said:

Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fair-play in national and international dealings, and we are prepared to make our contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its national and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter.¹

The Foreign Policy statement of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, by and large, continues to be the basis of Pakistan's relations with nations and countries of the world. It is, however, unfortunate that eversince the establishment of Pakistan, we are confronted with an hostile neighbour—India, which entertains evil designs against Pakistan. It is no denying the fact that India never reconciled to the establishment of Pakistan and has pursued a policy to weaken the defence of Pakistan and to strangulate its economy. It was for the fulfilment of its nefarious designs that India had conspired, first, to

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delink the Muslim majority State of Jammu and Kashmir and, subsequently, committed armed aggression there whose people wanted accession with Pakistan. Indeed, India's stranglehold over the major part of strategically important Muslim majority State of Jammu and Kashmir, the defence and economic life-line of Pakistan, has made the frontiers of Pakistan insecure and rendered vulnerable. Furthermore, with its military occupation of Jammu and Kashmir, India also wants to negate and falsify the 'Two-Nation Theory', the very basis of the creation of Pakistan and that of the historic struggle of the Kashmiri Muslims for freedom and accession with Pakistan. It can, therefore, be said that Jammu and Kashmir State is a battle ground, where the national ideologies of India and Pakistan are being tested. It has, therefore, been rightly remarked, "if Kashmir goes, the ideology of Pakistan goes. The liquidation of Pakistan as a state may then only be matter of time."

Before I offer my submissions on the Foreign Policy of Pakistan in 1990s with reference to Kashmir dispute, I would like to briefly discuss Pakistan's Foreign Policy on Kashmir till the present uprising started in the Indian occupied Jammu and Kashmir in early 1990. In this connection, I would like to make it clear that, despite the fact the people of Jammu and Kashmir wanted accession with Pakistan, Pakistan preferred the determination of the future status of this Muslim state in accordance with the principle as laid down in the Partition Plan of June 3, 1947. However, Indian aggression in Jammu and Kashmir in October 1947 thwarted Pakistan's efforts to seek a solution of the Kashmir dispute by peaceful means. In this connection, Quaid-i-Azam's personal efforts are a part of history. However, it is strange that, on the one hand, India committed aggression in Kashmir and, on the other, it took this dispute to the Security Council at a time when its major policy objective on Kashmir was achieved. Without going into details of the history of Kashmir dispute in the U.N. Security Council, it should however, be made clear that Pakistan's principled stand on this dispute has been that it should be resolved in accordance with the UNCIP and the Security Council's resolutions. These resolutions which were accepted by both India and Pakistan, constitute an international agreement between the two states and had guaranteed in clear terms, that :

The question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be decided by its people through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite to be held under the auspices of the United Nations.³

It is a matter of historical record that till 1957, the Security Council made many efforts to implement its resolutions to resolve the Kashmir dispute by peaceful means. Pakistan fully cooperated with the UNCIP and various Representatives of the Security Council appointed from time to time. However, the Security Council's efforts failed due mainly to Indian intransigence and its betrayal for the holding of U.N. supervised plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir.

I have no hesitation to say that failure of the Security Council to implement its resolutions on Kashmir and subsequent imposition of Martial Law in Pakistan in October 1958 by General Muhammad Ayub Khan relegated the Kashmir dispute to the background insofar as Pakistan's Foreign Policy objective on Kashmir was concerned. However, it was Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, then Minister of Commerce, who took the initiative and impressed upon President Ayub Khan that Foreign Policy of Pakistan should be directed in such a way as to achieve that solution of the two vital problems of Kashmir and Canal Waters with India. It is no denying the fact that Ayub Khan, who was then under the influence of the United States, did not wish to antagonize the U.S. administration. Mr. Bhutto had, however, warned Ayub Khan that "in case of war with India, USA was not going to help us."4 He had also emphasised that "we had to continue to press the Kashmir case and approach the U.N. General Assembly under Article 10 of the (U.N.) Charter because of Soviet Veto in the Security Council.*5 It may also be stated that in the beginning of his rule, General Ayub Khan took no interest and initiative to resolve the Kashmir dispute. However, by the beginning of 1961, he was convinced of the need to secure a settlement of the Kashmir dispute, because he had realised that this dispute posed a serious threat to the security of Pakitan in the context of possible world conflict and security problems with India. He was also convinced that India's Foreign Policy, in general, and its policy, especially in case of Kashmir, was offensive towards Pakistan. It was against this background that, in his address to the Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, General Muhammad Ayub Khan outlined the essentials of the Foreign Policy of Pakistan, which reflected a fundamental shift in the Foreign Policy of Pakistan insofar as the Kashmir dispute was concerned. In his address, Ayub Khan said:

There are three elements in this dispute. There are the people of Kashmir, there are the interests of Pakistan, and there are the interests of India. It should not be beyond human ingenuity to work out a solution that would reasonably satisfy all three elements. No compromise solution can ever give hundred per cent satisfaction to every one. The meaning of a compromise solution is that it is entered into in a spirit of give and take. That has not been acceptable to Mr. Nehru.6

It is thus evident that, despite being congnizant of the interests, security and territorial integrity of Pakistan, President Ayub Khan had made a major shift from Pakistan's principled stand on the Kashmir dispute. Notwithstanding other factors, especially India-China conflict of 1962, Ayub Khan agreed to enter into India-Pakistan direct negotiations under US and Westeren pressur. In this connection, a reference may be made to unfruitful six rounds of Bhutto-Swaran Singh parleys of 1962-63. However, Ayub Khan's efforts failed because, once the Chinese threat was over, India started talking about Kashmir as its integral part and Pandit Nehru refused to settle this dispute. What India did afterwards was that it took many initiatives to integrate the territory of Jammu and Kashmir under its forcible military occupation. India had thus chosen a war path with Pakistan which ultimately led to India-Pakistan conflict in Kashmir in August 1965 and subsequently an all-out war between the two in September 1965. It was as a result of this war that the Security Council stepped in. What the Security Council, however, did was that it only brought into effect a ceasefire between the two countries and made no efforts to assist towards the solution of the Kashmir dispute as was held out in its resolution7 of 20th September 1965, which was accepted by both India and Pakistan. However, it was the then Soviet Union which took the initiative of peacemaker that ultimately led to the signing of 'Tashkent Declaration's between India and Pakistan. This declaration was within the framework of the U.N. Charter, but India never entered into direct negotiation with Pakistan to settle the Kashmir dispute.

Instead of resolving the Kashmir dispute, India started interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan, especially in East Pakistan. During the period succeeding the Tashkent Declaration and preceding India-Pakistan War of 1971, no efforts were made by the Security Council to settle the Kashmir dispute. Indian aggression in East Pakistan in December 1971, resulted in its separation from Pakistan and ultimately the two countries—India and Pakistan, signed the 'Simla Agreement'9 to resolve the differences and disputes as a consequence of this war. Pakistan was then in a weaker position but Mr.' Bhutto's skillful diplomacy secured from India the recognition of Jammu and Kashmir as a disputed State. It was provided in this agreement that India and Pakistan would enter into direct negotiations at the highest level for a final settlement of the Kashmir dispute. The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto made many efforts to convince the Prime Minister of India for direct negotiations to settle the Kashmir dispute but failed due mainly to

India's non-cooperation. One must, however, admit that during Mr. Bhutto's period, he pressed, on the one hand, for the settlement of the Kashmir dispute under the Simla Agreement and, on the other pleaded for the right of Selfdetermination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. This approach is reflected in one of his articles which appeared in the Foreign Affairs. This gives an insight into his policy on Kashmir. He wrote:

There is another issue which would need to be resolved equitably if durable peace is to be established in the sub-continent. That is the dispute over the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The Indian attitude has been that there is no dispute concerning that State. This stand is clearly not tenable. Indeed, the Simla Agreement admits the existence of the dispute by providing that the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognized position of either side, and by requiring that the representatives of the two-Governments shall meet, preparatory to the next meeting between the Indian Prime Minister and myself, to discuss, among other things, 'a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir.' A settlement of this dispute has to be found, a settlement acceptable to the people of Kashmir. They have the right of self-determination. This is the position of the United Nations. This was also the position at one time of India herself. And this is the position to which Pakistan is pledged.10

With the imposition of General Zia's Martial Law in July, 1977, Kashmir dispute was put in the cold storage throughout, except his occasional references to the Simla Agreement. He was so unmindful of the significance of the Kashmir dispute with reference to the security and integrity of Pakistan that, when India committed aggression in the Siachin Glaciered Area of the State of Jammu and Kashmir in clear violation of Simla Agreement, he ridiculously remarked that "even the grass does not grow there." This is enough evidence to prove that during Zia's rule, Pakistan had kept the Kashmir dispute on a very low profile insofar as its Foreign Policy was concerned. In short, insofar as the Kashmir dispute is concerned, Pakistan took no major Foreign Policy initiatives.

Insofar as the people of Jammu and Kashmir were concerned, they were disappointed with the United Nations and had become restless to achieve freedom from the Indian yoke. In their urge for freedom, they were influenced by the events in Eastern Europe and the disintegration of Soviet Union as a result of its armed intervention in Afghanistan. The emergence of Central Asian Muslim Republics and unification of East and West Germany inspired

them to launch a movement against India. Their efforts to rise in armed revolt against India witnessed a large scale upsurge in late 1989 and the world came to know of the magnitude of this movement in early 1990.

At the time, the Kashmiris started their present uprising, a democratically elected Government had already been established in Pakistan, which could not ignore the sentiments and feelings of its people towards the people of Kashmir. It was then that one could see a shift in Pakistan's Foreign Policy with reference to Kashmir dispute. The Government of Pakistan, headed by Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, expressed complete solidarity with the people of Indian-occupied Kashmir in their heroic freedom struggle against India. To have a national policy on Kashmir, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto called a conference11 of the political leaders of Pakistan on 4th February 1990, and took them into confidence on the Kashmir dispute. Insofar as her domestic policy with regard to the uprising of the Kashmiris was concerned, she gave a call to the people of Pakistan to observe a country-wide strike on 5th February 1990 to express solidarity with the people of Jammu and Kashmir. As a manifestation of Pakistan's policy on Kashmir, a unanimous resolution12 was adopted on 10th February 1990 in a joint sitting of the Parliament of Pakistan. In its resolution, the Parliament of Pakistan gave a mandate to the Government of Pakistan to seek a peaceful solution of the Kashmir dispute in accordance with the U.N. Resolutions and under the spirit of the Simla Agreement, Indeed, I have no hesitation to submit that the Government of Pakistan took initiatives on Kashmir only after the Kashmiris' uprising started in the Indianoccupied Kashmir. However, the credit must go to Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto who took concrete steps to project Kashmir dispute at the national and international level.

In her address to the Joint Session of the Parliament of Pakistan on 10th February 1990, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto gave full support to the people of Kashmir and declared:

The people of Kashmir are our brothers and sisters. We are linked to them by ties of blood, culture, history and geography. We feel and think alike. Our destinies are linked. The week of solidarity with the people of Kashmir which concluded only yesterday has demonstrated the depth of emotions of the people of Pakistan for their Kashmiri brothers and sisters, and also that the entire Pakistani nation stands together on this issue.¹³

In her address, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto clarified Pakistan's position on Kashmir in the following words:

Pakistan does not seek a confrontation or a war with India. India and Pakistan have already gone to war twice on the issue of Kashmir. A just and lasting solution can be found only through negotiations, dialogue and peaceful means. Option for posses, however, does not imply that Pakistan will give up its position of proceiple. We cannot compromise on the right of the people of Jammu and Kashmir to self-determination. We will continue to support this right and the implementation of the U.N. resolutions for a plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir under U.N. supervision.¹⁴

In a rare demonstration of solidarity with the people of Jammu and Kashmir and to give encouragement to the freedom fighters across the border, Prime Minister Benazir Bhotto visited Muzaffarabad on 13th March 1990, where she addressed a big public gathering and challenged her Indian counterpart to visit Srinagar. She also addressed a Joint Session of Azad Jammu and Kashmir Assembly and the Council. In her public address, she declared:

We have supported the Kashmir's struggle for right of self-determination in the past. We support them today and will continue to support them till death. And even if we die our last words will be: fight for humanity, fight for right of self-determination, fight for Kashmir, fight for Palestine and don't recognise subjugation wherever the people are held in bondage. The honour of human being lies in freedom. A person cannot have honour in servitude. 15

In her address to the Joint Session of Azad Jammu and Kashmir Assembly and Council, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto spoke in detail on the question of Kashmiris' right of self-determination. She made it clear that:

We cannot give up our international, moral, legal and political obligations. Pakistan's elected government is fully aware of its responsibilities. Our Armed Forces are in the state of preparedness to defend the motherland. The people of Pakistan are fully ready to fulfil their spiritual, religious and moral responsibilities. 16

Giving a note of warning to India, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto declared:

I want to tell the Indian rulers from this platform today that they should respect the aspirations of Kashmiris. Even now there is time to honour their international commitments. Stop tyranny and repression in Kashmir. Accept the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir. Kashmiris should be given the opportunity to decide their own fate under the impartial auspices of the United Nations. If they don't learn a lesson from history, they will see that the brave people of Kashmir will attain this right themselves. No tank can deter them, no bullet can stop them, no gun can prevent them. No bomb explosion can daunt them because explosion of people's power is the loudest thunder.¹⁷

It is significant to note that, in her address at the National Defence College, Rawalpindi, on 22nd March 1990, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto spelt out major areas of Pakistan's policy. On the question of Pakistan's Foreign Policy, she highlighted her Government's resolve to safeguard the territorial integrity and independence of Pakistan. About Kashmir, she said:

Unfortunately, India's non-acceptance of Pakistan's legitimate needs has complicated our mutual relations as also relations with other countries. What is happening in Kashmir cannot remain a permanent fact of life. A people cannot be kept in permanent bondage. The consciousness of the world has to rise in the face of flagrant violation of human rights. It is essential that the regional problems are resolved politically. It is essential that the arms race between our two countries comes to an end. It is essential that the Indian Ocean is made a sea of peace. It is of vital importance that the countries of South Asia are kept free of nuclear war heads. All this is the basic requirements of our people's future. 18

The most important initiative taken by the Government of Pakistan, headed by Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, was the convening of Pakistan's Envoys Conference in Islamabad in March 1990. In her inaugural address to the Envoys Conference in the Foreign Office on 25th March 1990, she made it clear to them:

In Jammu and Kashmir, an indigenous movement has acquired both the shape and calibre of a popular upsurge and a freedom struggle for deliverance from decades of Indian occupation. India has rather predictably levelled baseless charges of Pakistan's involvement in Kashmiris' struggle and has held out specific threats to our country. Our responses to these threats have to be courageous, imaginative and realistic. The formulation of policies which ensure the management of our relations with India, not through confrontation, but by containment, represents the greatest challenge to our diplomacy.¹⁹

On the question of Kashmir, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto impressed upon the Envoy's Conference to concentrate their efforts to secure support of We must pay special attention to our relations with Muslim countries, particularly the Arab States. We need to create additional foundations upon which to consolidate our relations with the Muslim world. Ideological ties and religious affinities are, no doubt, fundamental, but exclusive reliance on them is not only inadequate but occasionally even shortsighted. This consideration has, I feel, been almost harshly driven home during our recent approaches on Kashmir to our friends, including Muslim countries. All too often, some fraternal countries, which fully identify with our stand on Kashmir, appeared hesitant to publicly affirm this identification in view of their extensive economic and commercial links with India. How vividly has it demonstrated the truth it has reflected upon our failure to buttress our historic and religious ties with many countries through the reinforcing bonds of mutually beneficial economic and commercial collaboration. I would, therefore, want this conference to identify steps for earliest implementation to provide our brotherly Muslim states with additional stakes and a permanently vested interests of priority in Pakistan and in our policies.20

It would indeed, be pertinent to point out that, in her concluding address at the Envoy's Conference at the Foreign Office of April 2, 1990, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto focused their attention on the Kashmir and spoke on the Foreign Policy of Pakistan with reference to Kashmir. She said:

The two issues which are the immediate and, indeed, urgent concerns for Pakistan, mainly Kashmir and Afghanistan, would require your particular attention in your Capitals. An effective strategies must be devised to project these issues in the international media, opinion-making circles and Governments in such a manners that they are persuaded of the righteousness and the principled nature of our causes.²¹

What Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto said demonstrated reorientation of Pakistan's Foreign Policy on Kashmir. However, it remains a fact that the Government of Pakistan took these initiatives only after the uprising of the Kashmiris and their unprecedented sacrifices in men and material. Once the Kashmiris had risen in revolt against India, the rulers and politicians in Pakistan woke up from their deep slumber. It was then that the Government of Pakistan extended its moral, political and diplomatic support to the Kashmiris. The credit must, however, be given to Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto that she undertook tour of more than fifteen Muslim countries and personally pleaded

the Kashmir case. She ultimately succeeded, for the first time, to secure a unanimously adopted resolution on Kashmir from the OIC Foreign Ministers' Conference, held at Cairo in the first week of August 1990. It was, however, unfortunate that soon after the adoption of this resolution, her Government was dismissed and the National Assembly and all the Provincial Assemblies were dissolved by the then President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. Indeed, this was a serious below to the Pakistan Government's efforts to support the ongoing uprising of the Kashmiris in the Indian-occupied Kashmir.

Pakistan's official policy on Kashmir during the Prime Ministership of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif witnessed no change. It remained the same as was followed during the Prime Ministership of Benazir Bhutto. In this connection, reference may be made to Mian Nawaz Sharif's 45th independence day address to the nation on 14th August 1991, in which he said:

*In Kashmir, our elders, mothers brothers, and sisters are engaged in a supreme struggle for securing their right of self-determination. They are facing an armed might with their bare bodies to blaze a new chapter of liberation struggle. We cannot stand aside and watch them whether in pain and anguish. We shall continue giving them full support at the diplomatic, political and human level. This is our duty and we owe it as a debt to our Kashmiri brothers.*22

The Government of Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif also succeeded to secure an OIC resolution on Kashmir. However, like that of the Benazir Bhutto's Government, no concrete steps were taken to pursue a determined policy on Kashmir commensurate with the requirements of the security and integrity of Pakistan. However, one thing was made clear during the Prime Ministership of both Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif and that was that Pakistan's Nuclear Programme should continue as a deterrent against India to safeguard Pakistan's security and solidarity. They continued to support Kashmiris uprising, politically, diplomatically and morally and made efforts to seek a peaceful solution of the Kashmir dispute by peaceful means through direct negotiation.

Here, it would not be out of place no mention that the crises, which emerged after the dismissal of the Government of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif, respectively in 1990 and 1993, had an adverse affect on the uprising of the Kashmiris in the Indian-occupied Kashmir. Whether it was deliberate or otherwise, the political crises in Pakistan did damage the Kashmir cause when unity and political stability was needed most.

It should be acknowledged at all levels that no Government could ignore the sentiments and feelings of the people of Pakistan on the question of Kashmir and its related significance to the security and economic well being of Pakistan, besides their complete solidarity with the people of Kashmir. It was, therefore, but natural that during the election campaign of October 1993, both the major political parties — the Peoples Party and the Muslim League (Nawaz Group), made special mention of Kashmir in their election manifestoes. However, they failed to devise any concrete policy in case India refused to settle the Kashmir dispute, which, of course, India does not want by peaceful means under the UN resolutions and in the spirit of the Simla Agreement. In fact, both have paid more of a lip service than to take effective measures for the solution of this long-standing issue. Had they considered Kashmir as a security and economic problem as an objective of Pakistan's Foreign Policy, they would have done much more than the mere rhetoric of extending moral, political and diplomatic support to the Kashmiris.

Now, coming to Benazir Bhutto's present Government policy with regard to Kashmir dispute since she became Prime Minister in October 1993, she seems to be more determined, notwithstanding the fact that, so far, the international community has not responded positively to the extent, which could bring an early settlement of the Kashmir dispute. This is because, besides extraneous factors, the political confrontation between her Government and the Opposition, led by Mian Nawaz Sharif, has been a major source of unclear policy on Kashmir in so far as the UN forum is concerned. Its evil effect has been that neither in the UN Human Rights Commission have we succeeded to secure support for the Kashmiris nor there seems to be any such support coming in the current session of the UN General Assembly. However, it must be acknowledged that eversince Benazir Bhutto was elected as the Prime Minister of Pakistan in October 1993, for the second time, her Government has been active on the Kashmir front. Immediately after taking oath of office as the Prime Minister, in response to a message of felicitation by the Indian Prime Minister, she made it very clear to him that :

Jammu and Kashmir issue is the main obstacle in the way of better relations between our two countries and that its solution must be based on the aspirations and legitimate rights of the Kashmiri people. My Government is prepared to engage in serious and purposeful discussions in order to resolve this issue, as well as all other problems between our two countries, through peaceful negotiations.²³

Immediately after taking oath of office as the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto attended the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting at Limmasol in Cyprus. Before her departure, she made it clear, that:

Pakistan would raise the issue of Kashmir at the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Limmasol in Cyprus in the context of Commonwealth value in the light of emergence of new humanitarian global order. Pakistan would stress that the continued human rights violations of the people of Kashmir contravened the fundamental values of Commonwealth and that the Association shoulder its responsibilities in promoting a world order which respects human rights and the fundamental freedom of all without discrimination.²⁴

In her address at the third executive session of the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting on 22nd October 1993, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto said that "Kashmir has a special importance and symbolism for Pakistan and its people. We believe that such dispute must be settled through peaceful negotiation.²⁵

As a follow up of her Kashmir policy, the Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto concentrated her Government's efforts within and outside the Parliament to take steps for a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute. In her address in the National Assembly on 27th October 1993, after obtaining the vote of confidence, she "appealed to the United Nations and International community to take notice of the grave situation in the occupied Kashmir before it deteriorates further and take steps for the solution of problem at the earliest." She also wrote to UN Secretary General on 6th November 1993 and drew his attention to the serious situation in the Valley of Kashmir. In her meeting with US Assistant Secretary of State, Mrs. Robin Raphel, on 7th November 1993, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto discussed the Kashmir situation and "reiterated Pakistan's position of the urgent need to find a negotiated peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute in accordance with the UN resolutions and in the spirit of the Simla Agreement. 27

Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto also urged the world leaders to use their influence to persuade India to end its repression in occupied Kashmir and engage in a substantive dialogue with Pakistan to resolve the Kashmir dispute in accordance with UN resolutions. In this connection, special messages were addressed to the leaders of a number of friendly countries. Among those whom these messages had been sent, included the Heads of Government of "Bangladesh, China, Egypt, France, Germany, Indoneshia, Iran, Japan,

Malaysia, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Senigal, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States of America and the UN Secretary General. *29

To project the Kashmir case and secure support on Kashmir, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto visited some friendly countries in December 1993. During her visit to Iran, "the Iranian President reaffirmed Iran's support for the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir. He stressed that the solution of the Kashmir dispute should be achieved in accordance with the UN resolutions. He said there had been no change in the Iranian stand on Kashmir issue.²⁹ It may further be stated that during her visit to Iran (8th to 10th December 1993), Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto made it clear that:

Pakistan wants resolution of the Kashmir dispute through grant of right to self-determination. We will continue our endeavour secure the right to plebiscite for the Kashmiri people, who have continued valiant struggle for their birth-right. Pakistan has a special concern for Kashmir but it has always supported the freedom movements all around the world.³⁰

Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto also visited Turkey after her visit to Iran, where she emphasised the need for a solution of the Kashmir dispute on the basis of UN resolutions. It is a matter of great satisfaction that "Turkey extended full support to the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir.* After her return from visits to Iran and Turkey, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto addressed a Press Conference, where she said:

We believe the question of Jammu and Kashmir should be solved according to UN resolutions. There can only be peace if nations conduct themselves according to recognized principles of International Law. International Law must be the denominator for the solution of Jammu and Kashmir. Repression is no solution. And this is what is happening now. The repression, torture, the destruction have all been documented by International Agencies.³²

As a matter of her Government's policy, she reiterated her resolve before her Cabinet Colleagues to continue political, moral and diplomatic support to Kashmiri freedom fighters in their struggle for achieving the right of selfdetermination. She informed the Cabinet that "her Government had stepped up its efforts for mobilizing international support on Kashmir issue." She also expressed the view that "Kashmir issue should be resolved according to the wishes of the people of Kashmir and in accordance with the UN resolution.

The most important feature of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's Government's Foreign Policy objective with reference to Kashmir dispute was Governments of Pakistan and India and the international community through United Nations resolutions. The struggle of the people of Jammu and Kashmir for achieving their fundamental right continues unabated despite brutal violations of the human rights in the Indian-beld Valley. Pakistan will continue to extend political, diplomatic and moral support to the people of Kashmir. The world must bring pressure to bear upon India to honour its commitment under the UN Security Council resolutions. It is also incumbent on the international community to pressurise India into stopping the orgy of killing of innocent men, women and children and join Pakistan in a constructive and meaningful dialogue to find a just and lasting solution to this problem.⁴²

In her address at the Command and Staff College, Quetta, on May 4, 1994, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto spoke on many important issues. On the question of Kashmir, she said:

While we speak on Kashmir, others will seek to create troubles within our ranks. We must zealously guard our integrity. We must vigilantly defeat the machination of our opponents. Our opponents who till today do not recognize the Two-Nation Theory, who, in 1994, can mock Pakistan's Prime Minister for believing in what they term is the myth of the Two-Nation Theory, our opponents who are adamant at violating human rights in Kashmir which the whole world knows is not a part of India. It is the disputed territory of the UN agenda. Colonialism ended all over the world, it was not possible for imperial powers to sustain their economies as well as the economies of the colonies after the Second World War. India too will have to end its colonialism in occupied Kashmir.⁴³

The Government of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto continued her efforts to impress upon the world community and the people of Pakistan that we cannot ignore the people of Kashmir. In her 48th Independence Day address on 14th August 1994, she said:

It is a pledge of the Government of Pakistan and this is our pledge with history that, come what may, 120 million people of Pakistan would never abandon their support of the Kashmiris. I want to warn the Indian Government that it is not possible that under Indian pressure we may not tell the whole world what shameful crimes are being committed by the Indian Army in Kashmir. We want a peaceful solution of the Kashmir dispute. What the basis of this solution is the same self-determination which is the basis of the freedom of India and Pakistan.

There is a relationship of loyalty between the people of Kashmir and Pakistan. We have a sacred pledge in the context of the right of the Kashmiris which we shall always fulfil. This relationship has a price which Pakistan has always paid. That price is those dangers confronting the security and solidarity of Pakistan from which we can never be unmindful even for a movement.44

And last but not the least, I must say a few words about the ongoing controversy with regard to Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's Government's Foreign Policy on Kashmir with particular reference to its debacle in the Human Rights Commission and in the current session of the UN General Assembly. In my view, the criticism against Benazir Bhutto and her Government is partially unwarranted, because insofar as its decision to withdraw or defer the resolution in the Human Rights Commission is concerned, the Prime Minister personally and forcefully pleaded the case of violations of the human rights in the Indian-occupied Kashmir. India was fully exposed before the international community. Why the Government deferred or withdrew the resolution to be moved in the Human Rights Commission was that some of the Members of the Commission, Muslim and other friendly countries, did not wish to support Pakistan, not because they have no sympathy for the Kashmiris but because their own record of human rights in not praise worthy. They feared retaliation from amongst the members of the Commission for their own violations of human rights. Moreover, in my opinion the case of the people of Jammu and Kashmir is not primarily that of human rights but essentially that of their internationally recognized right of self-determination. I believe the opposition has unduly raised an hue and cry on this issue. We must admit that India is committing violation of human rights in Kashmir because the people there demand the exercise of the right of self-determination. One may ask : would the Kashmiris get their right of selfdetermination if India stops violations of human rights? What we should do is to pursue the case of the Kashmiris in relation to the achievement of their right of self-determination for the exercise of which they are giving unprecedented sacrifices in men and material.

As regards Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's Government decision to be a party with the OIC Contact Group not to move the resolution in the First Committee of the UN General Assembly, in my view, the UN General Assembly is not the competent forum to discuss or pass any resolution on Kashmir which could bring any relief to the people of Kashmir. Even if an impotent resolution, as was to be moved by the OIC Contact Group, it would not have helped to achieve the desired results. I do, however, disagree with

Government's initiative to move the General Assembly under domestic pressure. What the Government should have done and should do is to move the Security Council which is the competent forum and the principal executive organ of the United Nations to fulfil its responsibilities to implement its own resolution and those of the UNCIP for a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute.

I am sorry to say that the opposition in Pakistan has thought it fit to condemn the Government without extending any cooperation to the national cause of Kashmir. They have said nothing against those permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations and even against India who do not wish to fulfil their responsibilities on Kashmir.

In the end, I would express the view that the Government of Pakistan should take new initiatives on its Foreign Policy objectives on Kashmir, because our so-called principaled stand has failed to help resolve the Kashmir dispute. Should we continue to follow the beaten track, Kashmir issue would remain unresolved not for years but for decades to come.

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Regional Keynesianism and Obsolescence : Special Reference to Pakistan and Central Asia

TOSEEF AZID and AYAZ MOHAMMAD

INTRODUCTION

Professor Mathur's Hypothesis stated that in a growing economy, layers of techniques with different productive efficiency exist and are employed simultaneously. That is what is called a state of flux. A successful innovation lowers the variable cost per unit of output and an entrepreneur's decision on whether to continue to production or not is dependent on variable cost per unit of output. The introduction of a new and most efficient technology can cause variable cost per unit of output for the existing technologies to increase, forcing the least efficient one(s) to become obsolete. The marginal techniques, the techniques which are on the verge of obsolescence, will determine the price.

Technological progress mostly comes about by the installation of new equipment, embodying more profitable techniques at the current price structure. If demand is not increasing pari passu with the increase in the level of production, the technique which works at the highest cost becomes economically obsolete. Because once capital is installed, its opportunity cost becomes equal to zero. In this mutable economic milieu, a flood of techniques enters in the market, so only that technique can survive which has lower variable cost per unit of output than prevailing price structure. The only remedy for the obsolescence is to increase the demand of that product. The solution which is suggested by Professor Mathur is International or Regional Keynesianism, i.e., to formulate the common market, through which the demand level will be increased and the economically obsolete technology again will start to work.¹

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Most of the CARs (Central Asian Republics) have not the modern technology to compare with the Western Europe, North America and the Far Eastern developed countries. It is difficult rather impossible for them to compete these nations because of their cost disadvantage. The only way out for them is to formulate a policy of common market with the other states of the region. As it is observed from the past as well as present that these states have social, cultural, historical and religion based relations with Pakistan, Iran and Turkey. The common market with these countries is also beneficial for them because these states are not working with the advanced technology. Hence the formulation of common market is likely to have an effect on the rate of obsolescence of these economies and their capital can economically survive for a longer spell.

The main objective of this study is to analyse the economic relationship of CARs and Pakistan with reference to the past, present and future perspective (after the disintegration of former Soviet Union).

SECTION I

Economic relations between Pakistan and Central Asia can be divided into two phases, i.e., pre 1947 (with Indo-Pak sub-continent) and after disintegration of former Soviet Union, in between these two periods no major economic development took place.

Pre 1947

- (i) In the First Century A.D., both regions were part of a single state under the famous Kushan dynasty. At that time various trade routes connected the two regions.²
- (ii) In the beginning of the 11th Century, skilled craftsmen, people from different trades, professions and applied arts migrated from Central Asia and Persia to the sub-continent.³
- (iii) In the 14th Century, the famous Bibi Khanum Mosque erected by Taimur had its stone and masons imported from the sub-continent.⁴
- (iv) An Indian envoy went to Russia around 1530 to see Grand Prince Vasile III with a proposal from King Babar "to live in friendship and brotherhood with him" and to carry a mutual trade and other exchanges.⁵

- (v) In 1567, attempts were made to trade with Mughal India via the Persian city of Hormuz to which a special mission of Moscow merchants was sent.⁶
- (vi) In 1669 a mission headed by Symor Malkeney was received by the Mughal Emperor and granted permission to trade.⁷
- (vii) In the 17th Century there are some Serais built along the Caspian Sea which were commonly known as the Multani Serais.⁸
- (viii) During the time of Peter The Great at the end of the 18th Century there were more than hundred Indian merchants in Astrakhan.⁹
- (ix) In the late 19th Century (Annexation of the Central Asia by Zars), trade between the two regions suffered a set-back, however some concessions were given to items like tea, muslin and indigo, and despite curbs, e.g., Central Asia imported 700,00 puds of tea and 180,00 puds of indigo annually.¹⁰

Exports from sub-continent to Central Asia were tea, muslin, indigo, despite curbs, Kashmiri shawls, brocades, spices, medicines, corals, Arabic and Persian literary texts copied by Kashmiri calligraphists.

Imports from Central Asia to sub-continent were : gold coins, roubles and coarse cotton goods.

The above review shows the extent of a reservoir of good economic relationship and friendship between these two regions.

Trade Relations between Pakistan and former Soviet Union (1979—86)

Table 1 depicts that except 1979-80 and 1980-81, in all the other fiscal years Pakistan has the surplus in trade with Soviet Union. Even in the above mentioned years the deficit is not remarkable, especially in 1980-81 is negligible.

TABLE 1
Trade between Pakistan and former Soviet Union

(Million Dollars)

Year	Exports from Pakistan to USSR	Imports from USSR to Pakistan	
1979-80	424	512	
1980-81	448	456	
1981-82	485	308	
1982-83	689	332	
1983-84	983	551	
1984-85	951	438	
1985-86	1168	511	

Source: Pakistan Economic Survey 1985-86 (Statistical Supplement), Government of Pakistan, Islamahad, p. 140.

After Disintegration of former Soviet Union

Central Asia as a whole is rich and have a surplus oil, gas, gold and mineral resources. These states also possess variety of other major natural resources, including coarse cotton (the white gold of Central Asia). These states hold impressive foreign exchange reserves. 11 As now these states are independent and sovereign countries in their own rights, they are in desperate search for over land routes for continuing trade and commercial activities. At this time there is a consensus on further improvement of bilateral relationship between Pakistan and CIS, especially the expansion of commercial and trade links. Central Asia is composed of six states, i.e., Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. After the disintegration of former Soviet Union there is a lot of improvement and development in their cultural, political, religious and economic relations of these two regions (Pakistan and Central Asia). The basic fact about CARs are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2
The Central Asian Republics
(Basic Facts)

States Azerbaijan	Population (Million)	Area Sq. Kma. 537,519	Capital Baku	Resources Oil Grain Cotton Rice	Percentage	
					Muslim Russian Others	80
Kazakhstan	17	2,717,300	Alma Ata	Oil Grain Cotton Livestock	Muslim Russian Others	50
Kyrgyzstan	5	198,500	Bishkek	Zinc Coal Uranium Livestock	Muslim Russian Others	55 20 20
Tajikistan	5	143,100	Dushanbo	Iron Gissar Sheep Agriculture	Muslim Russian Others	70 10 20
Turkmenistan	4	485,100	Askehad	Cotton Wool Natural Gas	Muslim Russian Others	70 13 17
Uzbekistan	20	447,400	Tashkent	Intensive Cultivation with artificial irrigation, cotton rice.	Muslim Russian Others	70 11 19

Source: Moosi Razz, "Central Asian Republics," Economic Review, Karachi, Vol. XXIII, No. 3, March 1992, p. 10.

In this part we only intend to discuss the improvement in economic relations between these two regions. It will be more reasonable for us if we discuss the above relations separately with each state.

Kazakhstan

(1) General Economic Conditions:

- (a) Kazkhstan is a very rich state, it has 90 different minerals, such as copper, cobalt, titanium, manganese, zinc, coal, marble, gold, silver, lead, oil, etc.¹²
- (b) Its industries include synthetic fibre plants, sugar refineries, grain milling, brewing and wine making.¹³
- (c) It produces approximately 13 per cent of the total grain output of the former Soviet Union.¹⁴

(ii) Relation with Pakistan:

- (a) President Nurulsutan Nazar Bayev's visit to Pakistan in February 1992 is very important. During this visit both countries agreed to build a solid economic cooperation and decided to strengthen the trade relations. A Commission was set up for the promotion of economic relations. He expressed his desire to promote cooperation in the sector of transport and tele-communication. He also proposed rail-road link system between his country and Pakistan through other Central Asian States and Afghanistan. This is the first Asian Republic where Pakistan Embassy has been opened.
- (b) Pakistan has also been connected with Kazakhstan by telephone. This whole project was supervised by Pakistan Tele-Communication Corporation, code number for Kazakhstan is 07 and charges per minute are Rs. 52.
- (c) In the results of bilateral visits, three agreements were signed between the two countries which included: A Construction of fivestar hotel in Alma Ata; Cooperation in the banking system and an agreement on transit trade.
- (d) They also signed another agreement for the formulation of a permanent working group.
- (e) On the visit of Pakistan Foreign Minister in January 1994, Kazakhstan indicated its interest in transit trade. It, however, desired to examine the existing transit trade agreement which was signed by Pakistan-China-Krygyzstan and Tajikistan in Islamabad in 1993. Pakistan Foreign Minister assured them that every effort would be made to make the KKH (Karakuram Highways) an all weather road and that by the end of 1994 this route should be fully operational. China border is only 200 Kilometres from Alma Ata which is linked by a good road.
- (f) Additional 20 million dollars worth of credit was announced by Pakistan following Kazakhstan's request. This allocation is in addition to 10 million dollars given earlier which the republic had utilized.¹⁵
- (g) Meeting with a delegation of Pakistani businessmen at the Pakistan Embassy in Alma Ata on January 13, 1994, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan impressed upon them to mobilise their own resources to

import goods from Pakistan and not to draw on the credit supplies given by Pakistan to the Central Asian Republics. 16

(h) Foreign Minister of Pakistan observed that at the end of 1994, Pakistan would be linked with Central Asia by two overland routes—Karakuram Highways and the Chaman-Kandhar-Herat route, about which he had held extensive discussions during his visit.¹⁷

There is a great potential available for economic collaboration between Pakistan and Kazakhstan. First, it is the only Central Asian State which has a well-developed infrastructure to facilitate economic cooperation. Secondly, it has a well-developed industrial base of ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgical industry. In this way Kazakhstan can use its old technology without fear of obsolescence, because of increase in demand due to common market.

Tajikistan

(i) General Economic Conditions:

Tajikistan is a land locked, quite rich in minerals, and hydroelectric energy and is a producer of raw cotton. It needs help and assistance from Iran, Turkey and especially from Pakistan in developing its cotton textile industry which is now in doldrums. Moreover, short of service industries, economic managers and food and consumer goods, it needs foreign assistance.

(ii) Relation with Pakistan :

- (a) Tajikistan is nearest to Pakistan. It is separated from Pakistan by 15 to 20 Kilometres strip of Afghanistan territory known as the Wakhan corridor.
- (b) Pakistan has agreed to provide a credit of 500 million dollars for the construction of a big hydroelectric dam in Tajikistan. Russia and Pakistan will participate in the construction work. In return, Tajikistan will supply from 1977, 150 to 180 MW of electricity to Pakistan up till 30 years to overcome its energy shortage.
- (c) Other agreements also have been signed with Tajikistan, in addition to trade relations between the two countries. Pakistan will supply expertise and guidance for project construction activities. Pakistan is likely to supply to Tajikistan cement, medicines and other consumer goods.

- (d) Pakistan also agreed to link Tajikistan with the outside world through a tele-communication system. The Tajik students are likely to get technical training in Pakistani educational institutions. Some private businessmen of Pakistan are likely to build a five-star hotel in Tajikistan.
- (e) During the visit of President of Allied Bank of Pakistan, it was decided that Allied will invest 25 million dollars in Tajikistan and agreement was signed with the financial institutions of Tajikistan.¹⁸
- (f) A transit trade agreement was signed between Pakistan, China, Tajikistan and Kyrgizstan in 1993 in Islamabad.

Turkmenistan

(i) General Economic Conditions:

It is the poorest of the Central Asian states. It is famous for its carpets and Karakul wool and has only one commodity to export—annually some 85 million cubic meters of gas. 19

(ii) Relations with Pakistan:

- (a) Understanding in principle with Turkmenistan is also reached on the gas pipe line project from Khushka — a border town of Turkmenistan in south to Chaman in Pakistan. The cost of this project is estimated around 2 billion dollars. Its funding will come from the multilaterals under joint efforts by Pakistan and Turkmenistan.
- (b) During the visit of Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Turkmenistan desired an expanded economic relationship with Pakistan in the fields of communications, transport, transit trade and defence. It desired close bilateral cooperation in the area of agricultural as well. During this visit, it was noted with satisfaction that credit supplies from Pakistan had generally been utilised judiciously.
- (c) Pakistan's offer of 10 million dollars credit was accepted by the republic of Turkmenistan. Both countries also agreed to contribute 20 million dollars for development work in each other's country.
- (d) Turkmenistan is also interested in the expansion of railway connections through the Quetta-Zahidan-Khushka link and showed keen interest in the gas pipe line project proposed by Pakistan.

(e) Pakistan and Turkmenistan have been directly connected by air. PIA started direct flights from Karachi to Ashkabad from February 2, 1994.

Uzbekistan

(i) General Economic Conditions:

Uzbekistan is rich in mineral and agricultural resources and produces one third of gold output of the former Soviet Union. It is the main producer of cotton in the world. Owing to its rich resources Uzbekistan is engaged in nearly 43 joint ventures with different foreign countries.²⁰

(ii) Relations with Pakistan:

- (a) During the visit of Foreign Minister of Pakistan in January, 1994, understanding in principle was reached with Uzbekistan on the construction of Quetta-Herat Road in order to facilitate overland links for transit trade and provision of facilitates to Uzbekistan at Karachi port.
- (b) Uzbekistan desired to open its Consulate in Karachi to handle imports from and to South Asia and the Far East.
- (c) Uzbek government showed a lot of interest in organizing tourism from Pakistan to Muslim Holy places such as visits to Samarkand and Bokhara.
- (d) A treaty has been signed on the principles of cooperation for developing and promoting economic, scientific, cultural, political and other links in 1992.
- (e) A separate agreement was also signed for mutual cooperation in the field of economics and trade, health care, science and technology. Karachi and Tashkant are linked by air.

Azerbaijan and Kyrgyzstan have also signed on a number of treaties with Pakistan for economic cooperation, transit trade, and joint investment ventures.

SECTION II

The centralised remote controlled economic system operated by Moscow has nearly rendered these states helpless. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, they are quite eager for the professional guidance and financial support to evolve their own system and institutions. Some of business concerns are still forced to use the Moscow channel for world trade. The enormous benefits can be to all the countries in the region, if Pakistan can speed up follow-up work on a series of measures and agreement made with the different Central Asian States. In this section we explore those corners which will depict the importance of common market between Pakistan and Central Asian States.

Common Market : A Quest

After discribing the economic conditions of these states it has come to light that there is an economic need of these states to have an economic organization for cooperation in the region especially with Pakistan. The following few suggessions are made to bring the states together.

- (i) Historically, politically, economically, and socially these states are dependent on Russia and Ukrain; and have also common infrastructure. If alternatives are not provided to these states, there are strong possibilities that exploitation of these states by Russia will be continued. In this situation Russia can compel them any time to join any military alliance. The future of these states is more dependent on the economic cooperation from the members of ECO (Economic Cooperation Organization).
- (ii) As landlocked countries, they are in sheer need of land and sea routes for their exports and imports. The major problem is transit trade for them, in this respect again Pakistan, Iran and Turkey can facilitate in this task.
- (iv) This cooperation may be beneficial for Western Europe and USA, because this will reduce the possibility of their re-integration with Russia and re-emergence of Russia once again as a superpower. It may be of interest to add here that European and American multilaterals have already move in Kazakhstan. As a matter of fact quite a few major European companies are already in the region eagerly exploring projects and partnership in joint ventures.

On the other hand this cooperation will also reduce the tension between Pakistan and India, because ultimately India have to utilise this transit trade. In this regard Pakistan will feel more security and good relations could be established with India. In this connection, the analysis of Reetz (1993) would be the more appropriate. Reetz reviews Pakistan's declining post-cold war strategic value and it quest for a "strategic consensus of all regional states" as an alternate mutual arrangements. He notes, "Pakistan's influence in Central Asia may not become effective very soon because considerable obstacles it has to overcome. India feels threatened by attempts to create an Islamic Block at its northern borders. The pull factors to draw Pakistan deeper into an Islamic Middle Eastern security arrangement could only be reduced if the differences with India are solved and, particularly, the Kashmir question is put on the negotiation table."

Regional Keynesianism

As already pointed out, all of the Central Asian States and Pakistan are not producing advanced technology. The survival of the old technology is dependent on the volume of demand. With the formulation of economic integration, the overall demand in the region can be increased.

The production of the commodities is organised in two ways. One where immediate demand is met from stocks and production is in response to the stock holders demand for replacing their stocks. These have been designated as Fix-Price commodities as the level of demand does not effect the prices directly. The other group consists of these commodities where production decisions are taken in advance of the known demand and are based on the command resources. This will be mostly the case with natural resource based production such as agriculture, plantations and mining. These have been termed as Flex-Price commodities. For them, in the short period, both supply and demand are given and the changes in prices act as equilibrium force.

Changing in autonomous demand will affect the two types of commodities differently. If autonomous demand decreases, the demand curve of Flex-Price commodities will shift downwards reducing the prices in its turn. For Fix-Price commodities it will imply less orders by stockholders. And they in turn will order from the cheapest (least price) supplies. The fixed capital embodies the technology of the time when it was newly installed and this technology remains almost same up to the equipment embodying it is a scraped.

(i) Nearly, all of these states and Pakistan are the major producers of agricultural and minerals (primary commodities), whereas primary product markets follow mainly the Flex-Price system which relies on variations in prices for keeping demand and supply aligned to one another, both in the short-run and in the long-run. In the short-run price stability depends crucially on the professional traders willingness to absorb stocks or to release them in response to small variations in market prices. In the long-run it crucially depends on the correct forecast of future demand sufficiently in advance of creating new capacities, which may be quite a while in natural resource based industries. These conditions, by and large, not been satisfied in the present century in large price fluctuations in their prices. These price fluctuations are in no way conducive to economic development of the producers, even their well-being is jeopardy (Mathur P. N. 1983).

- (ii) In the result of economic integration, the demand of their industrial product should be increased. This increase in demand will lead to the survival of that technology which is on the verge of obsolescence as these are following the Fix-Price system.
- (iii) Owing to this regional cooperation the prices of their own industrial product will increase (otherwise it is impossible for the producers to use those technologies having high variable cost per unit of output), in return the level of employment will increase, and enhance the demand level.

Recapitulations

A new activity has begun in the Central Asia. Every one is trying to get benefit from it. This is the proper time for Pakistan to play its role very carefully. It is best for Pakistan to look after the interest of these states. In case, some countries face some losses in the common market, there should be some arrangements to provide compensation them. Obviously, this compensation will come from countries gaining from the economic cooperation. Therefore, with right policy actions, there is a great possibility of expand intra-regional trade and to increase growth rates of all the member countries in this region. For the measurement of their technological achievements, a marginal input-output table can be constructed, which depicts the coefficients of every region and every existing technique, on the bases a policy for autonomous demand can be formulated.

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Pakistan Movement and Quaid-i-Azam : Professor Ikram Ali Malik's Rejoinder to Abdul Wali Khan

SHER MUHAMMAD GAREWAL

The Pakistan movement was most striking, unique and significant in nature and spirit. It had great impact on modern world history. On one hand, it played a vital role in changing the course of history and destiny of men in South Asia, while on the other, it considerably influenced the contemporary freedom movements particularly in the Far East and North Africa.¹

The Pakistan movement, however, has basically meant to achieve independence for all the inhabitants of India while at the same time it was intended to secure a safer future for the Indian Muslims. Which was not possible without carving out a separate state, as was emphasised in the Pakistan Resolution.²

The Pakistan Resolution, which embodied the scheme for a separate Muslim state was not passed on the spur of the moment. The idea of a separate Muslim state, in fact, had a long history. The Muslim leaders and statesmen had been very anxious about the future of their co-religionists in India since the second half of the 19th century when the British had started to introduce the British democratic institutions in India, which meant the rule of majority (the Hindus).³

But any sort of Hindu majority's domination could not be acceptable to the Indian Muslims, who, though in a minority, were themselves a great political factor in India, having a glorious past — a fact which mainly gave birth to the idea of Muslim separatism which gradually flourished in India since Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's days and provided basis for the Pakistan Resolution.⁴

Sher Muhammad Garewal, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Government College, Labore. The Pakistan Resolution, was therefore, the outcome of our intelligenstia's decades continuous anxiety, thinking and working. Again it was the logical result of the political constitutional process, that had started after the war of independence.⁵

Viewing it from its true historical perspective the Muslims demand for a separate state was logical and genuine. Despite the fact the success of the movement in achieving its goal could be attributed to the gigantic role of Ousid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

The Quaid really played a dynamic role in making the Pakistan movement a success. He was a superb leader. Sterling patriotism, integrity of character, honesty of purpose, courage, perseverance, far-sightedness and statesmanship were the main characteristics of his personality. He strongly believed in fairplay in politics. A man of determination, no force on earth could compel him to deviate from the right path. He had many difficulties in his way but he did not lose heart. He bravely faced the challenges, gallantly weathered the storms and wisely led his nation to its destination. And ultimately succeeded in achieving national goal: Pakistan — an achievement, unprecedented in the whole range of modern history.

The Quaid was certainly a unique, striking, fascinating and charming personality. His mission was noble, just and righteous. With the passage of time, the world scholars and historians have started to realise the Quaid's greatness as well as the importance of his mission.⁷

Even the Indian writers have now started to admire his role in the Indian politics. Recently H. M. Seerai, has appreciated Quaid's constructive contribution in the struggle for freedom in India. But no better comments on Quaid's achievement can be made than those of S. Wolpert: "Few Individuals" writes Wolpert, "significantly alter the course of history. Fewer still modify the map of the world. Hardly anyone can be credited with creating a nation-state. Mohammad Ali Jinnah did all three. Hailed as Great Leader (Quaid-i-Azam) of Pakistan and its first Governor-General virtually conjured that country into statehood by the force of indomitable will. His place of primacy in Pakistan's history looms like a lofty minaret over the achievements of all his contemporaries in the Muslim League." "He was" writes Wolpert further, "one of the recent history's most charismatic leaders."

But it is a matter of great regret that some Pakistani critics of the Pakistan movement and Quaid-i-Azam like Wali Khan of Charsadda still do not understand the importance of Pakistan movement, nor do they recognise Quaid-i-Azam's constructive role.

Wali Khan recently wrote a book in Pushtu, which was translated into Urdu and English respectively by his wife Begum Nasim Wali Khan and Sayida Saiydidain Hameed. The English version published from Delhi under the title Facts are Facts and from Peshawar under the caption Facts are Sacred.

The Delhi version spreading over about 200 pages contains 22 articles including: "British and the Politics of Communalism," "Different Interpretations of Pakistan," Jinnah's Status in British Eyes," "Mullahs, Khans and Muslim League," "Muslim League withdraws its Demand for Pakistan," "Repudiation of the Two-Nation Theory."

The gist of his discussions is as follows: The Indian National Congress was the only representative body of the Indians. The Khudai Khidmatgars were the chosen men of God who on the side of Indian Muslims, only played heroic role in the Indian struggle for freedom, while on the other hand, the All-India Muslim League was the product of the British who often used it for their own designs. The Congress leaders namely, M. K. Ghandi, (1969-1948), Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) and Abdul Ghaffar Khan (1891-1988) were great statesmen and benefactors of India while Muslim Leaguers were great offenders. Particularly, M.A. Jinnah did not occupy any place in Indian history. He was simply 'a stooge of the British,' who frequently used him for their imperialistic designs. The nationalists movement which believed in united India was a righteous one, while on the contrary, the Pakistan scheme, which meant division of India, was dangerous one. To him, the scheme was engineered by the British. And thus the Pakistan Resolution was rather a command performance. 10

When this took was published, sharp reaction was shown by all thinking quarters in Pakistan. Rebutting Wali Khan's charges, speeches were made, statements were issued, articles were published, editorials were written. Yet no comprehensive scientific effort has been made to stultify Khan's allegations. Prof. Ikram Ali Malik's recent effort on the subject is, however, appreciable. Professor Malik (Department of History, University of the Punjab) is well trained in modern historical research and methodology. He has a deep insight into modern British Indian history on which he has already produced a number of scholarly books. The Truth is Trust, now under review, is his latest work, which has been designed as a rejoinder to Wali Khan's book: Facts are Facts. It was recently published by Book Service of Lahore. Consisting of about 116 pages (Text, pp. 66, Bibliography and Appendices, pp. 60), it is well researched and well documented. The learned author has consulted the same original sources as were claimed to be seen by Wali Khan. Professor Malik has tried his best to refute the allegations levelled by the Khan of Charsadda against the Pakistan movement as well as Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, as is evident from the following discussion:

Wali Khan asserts that All-India Muslim League created hurdles in the way of elections which, in his opinion, were to be held in 1939. Prof. Malik rejects Khan's assertion by remarking, "Apparently the writer has confused General Elections with the Act of 1935. As pointed earlier, no elections were due in 1939, nor were these an issue for or between any parties. The Viceroy's declaration of 18 October, 1939 (which became the basis of Wali Khan's argument) nowhere made a mention of the General Elections. Its main emphasis was to secure co-operation within the general framework of the Act of 1935 and to assure the minorities of their consultation in case of its amendment.*11

And explaining League's attitude towards the Government of India Act, 1935, Prof. Malik writes, "The Muslim League considered the Act of 1935 as an inadequate arrangement to safeguard Muslims' interests and had, therefore, passed resolution against it. On 18 September, 1939, its Working Committee, in response to Viceroy's announcement suspending the Federal Scheme as embodied in the Act, demanded that the Act should be completely abandoned and that 'no declaration regarding the question of constitutional advance for India should be made without the consent and approval of the All-India Muslim League nor any constitution, be framed and finally adopted by His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament without such consent and approval'." 12

The Government was willing to re-examine the Act, but "it was" says Professor Malik, "not prepared to vest Muslim League with a veto or authority to determine the future constitution of India. Adbul Wali Khan's comments based on the subject are, therefore, totally wrong and baseless." 13

Professor Malik emphasises that it was not the Muslim League but the Congress which created hurdles in advancing the democratic process in India after the election of 1937. "The Congress" writes he "refused to enter into negotiations or reform their provincial ministries until the Government announced its war aims and their application to India. The provincial governments, therefore, remained suspended due to Congress obduracy to force the government to accept its own demands without taking into confidence of satisfying the minorities, particularly the Muslims." 14

The political democratic process could not be advanced in India without the co-operations of minorities. But the Congress did not believe in this thesis. Its hostile attitude particularly towards the Muslim minority provinces, it perpetrated untold atrocities on the Muslims. The Muslim League strongly protested against Congress ministers' high-handedness. Wali Khan intentionally tried to conceal this fact. But Prof. Malik brings out the fact by remarking, "The Muslim League had, on several occasions, protested against the high-handedness and anti-Muslim policy of the Congress ministries and had heaved a sigh of relief at their resignation." The Congress' he remarks further, "under the grab of its demands and struggle for independence, believed in its own self-righteousness and failed to realize the difficulties and fears of the minorities. Therein lay the major reason for Hindu-Muslim estrangement and continuation of Governor's Rule in Congress majority provinces." 16

In the course of his narrative, Wali Khan sarcastically remarks that the Viceroy had maintained personal contacts with some leaders like Sir Sikandar Hayat (1892-1942) of Punjab and Maulvi Fazlul Haq (1873-1962) of Bengal and usually sought political advice from them. 17 Commenting on Wali Khan's remarks, Prof. Malik writes, "A number of leaders (including Hindus) also met the Viceroy. It was a normal practice and there was nothing wrong in Sikandar Hayat's and Fazlul Haq's meetings with the Viceroy. The author's pin-pointing their names as if they were go between or political parasites is, therefore, wholly unjustified and insinuating. "18

Wali Khan has described Muslim League as a sand-bag which the British had been using as a buffer against the Congress. "Quite contrary to that," remarks Prof. Malik, "the British, during the period, seem to be non-committal and even anxious not to displease or antagonize the Congress." Prof. Malik quotes lengthy letters and statements of the British policy markers by which he concludes that Muslim League could hardly be described as a sand bag against the Congress.

Prof. Malik emphatically rejects Wali Khan's thesis that British provided patronage and encouragement to All-India Muslim League. "As regards the Muslims or the Muslim League," he says, "it were not the British who were offering their patronage or even encouragement but it was the Muslim League leadership particularly Quaid-i-Azam who was struggling hard and repeatedly meeting the Viceroy and other officials to convince them without immediate response of the justness of Muslim's demands and grievances. *20 As a matter of fact, the League, he continues, "was engaged in a fierce struggle to safeguard Muslims' interests against Hindu hegemony in the future constitutional frame-work of United India. It believed that in any federal structure, given the communal differences and character of Indian society, the Centre would be dominated by Hindus, which in practical terms meant maltreatment, injustice and bondage of Muslims, as experienced in Congressgoverned provinces over the past two and a half years (1937-1939). It was not opposed to Indians' freedom but demanded Muslims' independence alongwith that of the rest of India. *21

Explaining his point, Prof. Malik further writes that "the Muslim League did not support the civil dis-obedience movement (1942) by the Congress as it was believed to be aimed at putting pressure upon the government for acceptance of its demands. The purpose was not to lend support or ally with the government for any base motive but to limelight Muslims' own position and demands. The League Council, therefore, in a resolution on 23 February, 1941, threatened the British Government that if any concession was made to Congress, which Muslim League would resist it with all power it could command and would not besitate to intervene and play such part in struggle as might be necessary for protection of Muslims' rights and interests. It is thus apparent that Muslim League wished to assert the position of the Muslims as the second political power of the country, and not to exchange India's independence for the 'chain of slavery' for the Muslims." 22

The Pakistan Resolution, as we have already indicated, was the logical result of the circumstances. Particularly, it was the immediate result of the high-handedness of the Congress ministries during 1937-39. But Abdul Wali Khan insists that the Resolution was passed at the instigation of the British. Prof. Malik emphatically rejects this thesis of the Khan. He maintains that the British were mentally perturbed over League's passing of the Resolution. "The British officials, contrary to Wali Khan's claims", writes Prof. Malik, "also deprecated the Pakistan scheme of Muslim League. *23 *The Home authorities including both Secretaries of State, i.e., Lord Zetland, and L. S. Amery", Professor Malik remarks further, "also disfavoured the Lahore Resolution." Professor Malik quotes their long letters to substantiate his point. And he continues to say that "on 18 April, spokesmen of almost all the British parties, opposed the Muslim League demand for separate Muslim state. *24 But Wali Khan insists that the Pakistan Resolution was no less than a command performance. He makes Zafarullah Khan's Note the basis of his argument which is quite contrary to historical facts. Zafarullah Khan's Note embodied a scheme for establishing All-India Federation, which had no concern with the League's Lahore Resolution. Commenting on this point, Prof. Malik writes, "The Resolution was the result of the efforts and deliberations by several leaders. Chaudhry Zafarullah Khan's Note was neither presented nor discussed or even mentioned during proceedings of the Subjects Committee. He might have sent its copies to Quaid-i-Azam and other leaders as mentioned in Viceroy's letter of 12 March, 1940 but it had no impact on the proceedings or the final drafting of the Resolution." Professor Malik continues, "Moreover, the Resolution completely differed from his Note. While he devoted more than half of his Note to the establishment of an All-India Federation circumspent with certain conditions, which could be acceptable to the Muslims also, the Resolution enunciated a simple principle that geographically contiguous Muslim majority units as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India 'should be grouped to constitute independent States in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.' It also authorised the Working Committee to frame a constitution 'providing for the assumption finally, by the respective regions, of all powers, such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary," Professor Malik remarks further "Hence Abdul Wali Khan's wild claim that the Muslim League adopted Zafarullah Khan's proposal at the League Session, is totally untenable and baseless. *25

Thus continues Prof. Ikram Ali Malik to comment on Wali Khan's baseless claims and assertions. His style, as we see is simple, approach is scientific, arguments are cogent, conclusions are convincing. But the writer of these lines is constrained to point out that the scope of Truth is Truth remains confined only to a few points raised by the free thinker, Khan of Charasadda. When the fact is that there are many more critical points found in Facts are Facts which ought to have been discussed by our learned critic, Professor Ikram Ali Malik. But regrettably he has thought it better to overlook them.

In a chapter of his book, Wali Khan has criticised the role of some of the pro-Muslim League *Ulama* and passed degrading remarks about them simply on the basis of Cunningham's diary of which authenticity is liable to be easily challenged on various grounds, Cunningham, Governor of NWFP, it is said, had personal and close relations with Khan's family, for which he had all favours and sympathies, while on the contrary, he was opposed to Muslim League. And no wonder, he passed derogatory remarks about pro-Muslim League *Ulama*. Prof. Malik could be justifiably expected to have brought this point to light but he remained silent in this regard.

Second, Wali Khan's book opens with a serious attack on Quaid-i-Azam's political career. And that is that, in Wali Khan's opinion, Jinnah suddenly left India on the arrival of Willingdon as Viceroy of India because the former was afraid of the latter whom he had annoyed many years back in Bombay. This is totally a false assumption on the part of Wali Khan. The Quaid was not afraid of Willingdon. Though during Willingdon's Viceroyalty, the Quaid left India and settled in England, he visited India many times and played even more bold and constructive role in Indian politics than before. But Professor Ikram Ali Malik again remains silent on this issue.

Thirdly, in his narrative, Wali Khan has shamelessly called Quaid-i-Azam 'as the stooge of British'. This is completely distortion of the facts. Weigh him by any standard of historical criticism, the Quaid could not be described as stooge of the British. On the contrary, as we have indicated earlier, he was a dominating factor in Indian politics. He was a remarkable and unpurchasable leader, who was destined to change the entire course of history in South Asia. No stooge could do such miracles in modern history. Much could be said on this point. But again regrettably our learned critic took Wali Khan's allegation

very lightly and could not defend the Father of the Nation in a proper manner. In this regard, however, Slahuddin is comparatively bold and comprehensive as is evident from his attempt Had there been no Jinnah, which was also published recently, as a rejoinder to Wali Khan, from Islamabad. Anyhow, taken as a whole, Prof. Ikram Ali's book, Truth is Truth with all its limited scope, is a valuable contribution, which invites scholars and historians to further highlight the salient features of Pakistan movement as well of Quaid's personality so that unbridled critics like Wali Khan cannot mislead our coming generations by recording our national annals according to their own wishes and whims.

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Nagri Resolution : Its Implementation and Muslim Reaction

SYED IQBAL PERVAIZE

The Nagri resolution was implemented in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh on April 18, 1900 by Anthony Macdonnell, (the Lieutenant Governor of the Province). It made the knowledge of both Urdu and Hindi languages compulsory for entry into Government offices, except purely English ones. Though this development was taken as a great victory by Hindus, it went a long way in embittering the already strained relations between Hindus and Muslims. It further confirmed the view that there existed no room for the incorporation of socio-cultural trends of Muslims in the future built-up of Indian nationalism. The Nagri resolution also prompted the Muslims to shun away the policy of relying upon the government. The Muslims organized themselves. Ultimately a political party was set up to advance their objectives.²

The question of Urdu-Hindi controversy in one context or the other has been dealt with by writers like Rafique Zakaria, Francis Robinson, Paul Brass and Farman Fateh Puri. The account of Farman Fateh Puri is comprehensive and covers an exhaustive account from the origin of the Urdu-Hindi controversy and events upto the creation of Pakistan. While doing so he discussed the evolution of Muslim separatism in South Asia as well. Nagri Script issue requires extensive dealings, Raising of the issue of Hindi language in 1895 by Macdonnell cast doubts on the sincerity of its author as the fate of Hindi seemed to have settled after the publication of Education Commission's report in 1882. Whether he was merely interested in providing relief to the Hindu population or intended to stem the growing socio-political influence of the Muslims in this province, needs to be determined. How far Curzon (the Viceroy of India), who is often described as a benefactor of Muslims, espoused the new move? And on the other hand, how did the Aligarh leadership led by Nawab Mohsin ul-Mulk, the successor to Sir Syed respond to this challenge?

In the present article, besides giving a brief history of the Urdu-Hindi controversy since its beginning, endeavour has been made to discribe the impact of the Nagri resolution upon the Muslims. The Muslim reaction, which took an agitational form under the guidance of Nawab Mohsin ul-Mulk, has been discussed in detail, substantiating further that Lucknow Meeting (August 18, 1900) represented a popular Muslim reaction rather than the view point of feudal lords as has been claimed by Zakaria. The study also dispels the rumour advanced by some newspapers of that time that Nawab Mohsin ul-Mulk did not remain steadfast to the movement and succumbed to the pressure of Macdonnell⁵— a view which is still held by many writers verbatim or with slight alterations. The study further helps in unfolding the undercurrents of Macdonnell's policy (ably supported by Curzon), which determined to promote Hindus at the expense of Muslims, whom he thought more loyal and dependable.

The present study has been made with the help of Elgin Papers, (Viceroy of India 1884-1899), Curzon Papers, Macdonnell Papers, Home and Judicial Proceedings of Government of India, The Pioneer, the United Provinces Native News Paper Reports (hereinafter UPNNR), The Aligarh Institute Gazette and other contemporary newspapers. The official and semi-official record help in understanding the British policy towards the Muslims on the language issue. The rest of the material is a useful source of information to comprehend the language question in its true perspective. Besides this, Maktubat-i-Sir Syed, Makatib and Majmua Lectures wa Speeches of Nawab Mohsin ul-Mulk provide a useful information for understanding the concern of Aligarh leadership to resolve the issue amicably with Hindus without sacrificing the interests of Muslims.

The language conflict which sparked into life in North India in second half of the 19th century, like Indian nationalism received its early norishment from the Hindu elite in Bengal. This elite intended to enforce Devanagri script in India to unite the Hindus for whom the Nagri script had religious connotations. For that purpose, Hindi written in Nagri script was promoted in place of Urdu written in Persian script, even though the latter was not only widely understood in India but was also a living symbol of Hindu-Muslim cultural accord which had evolved as a result of the efforts of both communities spreading over centuries. No consideration was given to this aspect. Instead Urdu was branded as a foreign language and was solely attributed to the Muslims. The pioneer of Hindi movement was Raja Ram Mohan Roy, who started a Hindi Journal Bangdut in 1826 to promote the cause of Hindi. This task, as Ram Gopal writes, was taken up by several

men from Bengal. Prominent amongst those were Keshub Chandra Sen, Raja Narain Bose, Bhudev Mukhurji and Narain Chandra Roy. 11 Influenced by these men, the leaders of Arya Samaj, Dayananda and Lala Lajpat Rai looked towards Hindi as the foremost factor along with religion to foster unity among the Hindus for raising the edifice of nationalism in India. 12 Hindi, in which the revivalists envisaged the political solidarity of India, hardly existed in its developed form at that time. In fact, it was, as leading scholars on language studies in India like Keay and Frazer contended, a nineteenth century phenomenon that had emerged with the establishment of Fort Willian College, Calcutta (1800). 13 Contrary to this, Urdu was a developed language. This is evident from the fact that in 1837, it was adopted by the East India Company in place of Persian as an official and court language in Bihar, the Central Provinces and North Western Provinces and in the Punjab after its annexation to British India in 1849. 14

It was, however, after the upheaval of 1857 that the Hindus started a campaign to oust Urdu from the offices and the courts and substitute Hindi. They seemed to be encouraged by post 1857 British policy of disapproving state-encouragement of the cultural heritage of the Muslims. 15 The initiative came from the literate Hindus of Banares, who since 1861 had been engaged in advocating the cause of Hindi through the Banares Institute of Hindi. 16 In 1867, they urged the Government to banish Urdu from the courts, offices and schools on the ground that it was an unintelligible and difficult language to learn, and introduce Hindi, instead. 17 Their task was further taken up by Babu Shiva Prasad and Raja Jai Kishan Das. Shiva Prasad submitted a memorandum in 1868 to the Provincial Government, asking it to substitute Hindi for Urdu in the courts. He further called Urdu written in Persian script a foreign language which did not suit the majority of the population of the province. 18 Jai Kishan Das went one step further and asked the Government to set up a Sanskrit College in Banares. This was an answer to Sir Syed's proposal to set up a Vernacular University in the North Western province or to establish a faculty of Urdu in Calcutta University, on which besides other Hindus, Jai Kishan Das had also agreed and had affixed his signatures. 19 What then moved these men to switch from conciliation to confrontation. Robinson had linked it with the rising tide of Hindu nationalism. From his account, it also appears that Shiva Prasad (who was Inspector of Schools under Kempson, the Director of Public Instructions of the North Western Provinces 1862-1878) might have been influenced by Kempson to change his opinion regarding Urdu as Kempson was "indisposed towards Urdu and held it a 'Muslim creation." This change in the Hindus greatly disappointed Sir Syed who saw in it a sign of communalism

likely to create division between the two communities. Before his departure to England, in order to solve the script controversy, he entered into dialogue with Babu Saruda Prasad Sandal. From Sir Syed's letters, it appears that he was not biased towards adopting Nagri or Roman script and was willing to find out the way to overcome this problem.21 But this effort did not bear fruit as Hindus did not show equal response. Instead, they continued their campaign unabated. Their efforts were fruitful on December 4, 1872 when the use of Nagri script was allowed in certain division in Bihar by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, George Campbell.22 The Muslims resented this order and in a public meeting held on December 9, 1873 urged the Government to withdraw its orders. The meeting also resolved to set up an organisation for the defence of Urdu at Allahabad, Sir Syed being its Secretary.23 This move on the part of the Muslims provided a counter-balance to the Hindi Institute, which up till then had been manoeuvring the situation unchallenged. It was perhaps on account of this pressure that Campbell's successor, Richard Temple remained indifferent towards the movement for the promotion of Hindi. But his successor Ashley Eden could not resist the pressure, which had been mounting outside Bihar and issued the order on May 14, 1880, by which the use of Urdu and Persian script was completely abolished in Bihar and was replaced by Nagri script. A prominent role was again played by the Benglis. The Bengalee of Surendranath Benarjee was the strongest organ to give a lead to the protagonists of Hindi.24 A. K. Majumdar gives credit to Bengali civil servants in Bihar for this change.25 This explanation seems to be plausible as Bengalis, because of their inability to read Urdu in Persian script, were more interested to see the change effected in order to maintain their hold in Government employment.

The change in Bihar brought a fresh wave of resentment among the Muslims, especially from North Western Provinces and the Punjab who felt threatened by this move. The eminent Bengali Muslim leader Saiyid Amir Ali, who had remained indifferent to the language controversy so far, also opposed the new order, calling it 'inadvisable' and urged upon the Government its immediate withdrawal. The opposition of the Muslims, however, proved a cry in the wilderness, as the Government showed no signs of retreat. However, this development greatly encouraged the Hindus, who now concentrated their energies on North Western Provinces and the Punjab. The immediate opportunity to ventilate their antagonism against Urdu came up with the appointment of the Education Commission in 1882. The Arya Samaj and its leader Dayananda "participated to the fullest extent in the campaign and urged his followers in North Western Provinces, the Punjab, Bombay and Rajputana to submit memorials to the Commission in favour of Hindi. In

these memorials, Hindus repeated most of the arguments already made on numerous occasions, but with more intensity. Urdu was linked with a "pure and simple survival of old Muslim tyranny in India," whose learning was held too cumbersome, alien and difficult for Hindu boys in schools.²⁹ The Education Commission, however, did not agree to the suggestion that Urdu was impeding the growth of education in those provinces. It remarked;

In reality they (Hindus) had no grievance for Urdu being the language of the Courts and Government service which brings to the vast majority alike of Hindus and Musalmans the great incentive for education, the requirements of all were best met by the adoption of Urdu as a medium of instruction.³⁰

From the publication of the report of the Education Commission in 1882 till 1895, we do not find any active campaign for Hindi in North Western Provinces. Zakaria has attributed this to the formation of the Congress, as a result of which the educated Hindus, who remained busy in constitutional and political issues could not afford time for the language problem.31 This view does not sound convincing as the pioneers of the Hindi movement in this province, i.e., Shiva Prasad, Jai Kishan Das and Babu Fateh Narain Singh had never been in the forefront of the Congress sufficiently to have kept them away from the Hindi movement. As a matter of fact, Shiva Prasad was one of the bitter opponents of the Congress and even demanded of the Government that it should hold immediate trials of all Congress leaders as public criminals.32 It was instead the report of the Education Commission that led the protagonists of Hindi to believe that Urdu was no longer a serious question to be contended with. Another factor which might have disheartened them was the indifferent attitude of the provincial authorities. After the departure of Kempson in 1878, they did not find anyone advocating the cause of Hindi with the same zeal and interest as Kempson had done. This is evident from the fact that immediately after the arrival of Macdonnell in the North Western Provinces as Lieutenant Governor in 1895, the Hindi movement sprang up again with all its vigour.33 This was because of Macdonnell's favourable disposition towards Hindus, whom he regarded formidable ally for the continuation of British-rule in India. He had already displayed his liking for them by instrumenting changes in the use of language during his collectorship in Bihar in 1872.

Inspired by the favourable circumstances, Madan Mohan Malaviya, the life and the soul of the Congress in North Western provinces, took upon himself the task of guiding the movement. He gave a lead by producing a voluminous report in 1897 under the title Court Character and Primary Education in N.W.P. and Oudh. In it, besides identifying the progress of

primary education of the Province with the introduction of Hindi, he also collected opinions against Urdu on a large scale, which indiscriminately condemned the use of Urdu in the Province. Matterwards, he organised a deputation that waited upon Macdonnell on March 2, 1898, demanding the exclusive use of Nagri script in the Province. Macdonnell, in his reply showed his sympathies with the demands of the deputation and assured them that justice would be done at an appropriate time. The, however, as a goodwill gesture towards the Hindus, with the concurrence of the Government of India, made an annual grant of Rs. 400 to the Nagri Prachari Sabha, for the promotion of the Hindi language.

This appears to have been a systematic effort to encourage Hindus and weaken the Muslims' position in this Province. From a study of the Macdonnell's Papers, it is evident that he was ill disposed towards the Muslims, in whom, according to Lance Brennan, "perceived the analogues of the dominant landlords and protestants of Ireland" which he was unwilling to tolerate. He distrusted the Muslims and held them disloyal, "too hostile to be encouraged." The principles on which he laid down his policy could well be read from the following excerpt of his letter to Elgin:

I consider that the entire English education section are more or less satisfied with the existing order of things. They belong to the Congress Party, and their object is to alter the Government on Congress lines, not to destroy it. I do not regard them disloyal. . . . I can not speak of the good disposition of the Mohammadans with the confidence, I feel regarding the Hindus. . . . It seems to me certain that Sunni Mohammedans in India do owe a double allegiance, they do practically speaking, regard the Sultan of Turkey as the Head of Islam (Amir al-Mominin and Padisha-i-Mosalmanan or King of Mohammedans). 38

This shows he was opposed to placing any reliance upon the Muslims³⁹ which in turn necessitated bringing down the number of Muslims in public office. He held the opinion that the Hindus were disregarded in this Province, a situation which was politically and administratively injurious for the Government.⁴⁰ He introduced competitive examinations in the Province for the posts of Tehsildars and Deputy Collectors in order to stop free entry of the Muslims into the Government service.⁴¹ When a list of candidates for the Deputy Collectorship was submitted to him for his approval, he rejected it on the ground that it included too many Muslims.⁴²

This view does not appear to be well based if we consider it in the light of the statistics of 1897. According to this the representation of the Muslims in Government service in the North Western Provinces was 18 per cent and in the population in general 14.5 per cent, thus having a representation only 3.5 per cent higher than their proportion of the population.⁴³ This was not such an alarming situation as to warrant drastic steps to reduce the number of Muslims in Government offices. Moreover, it was the only Province where the Muslims enjoyed an advantageous position, whereas, in other provinces, their representation fell far short of their population.⁴⁴ Even in this Province, Muslims were under-represented in some of the departments. The following table sheds light on this.

Representation in Departments

Name of Departments		Name of Posts	No. of Hindu Employees	No. of Muslim Employees
1.	Education	Assistant	7	1
		Professors	6	1
		Headmasters (First Grade		0
		Headmasters (Zila School	ls) 27	5
2.	Postal	Postmasters Superior Mail Service	46	1
		Employees	7	0
			94	8 4

From this standpoint, the introduction of Nagri script would have reduced the number of the Muslims in the Government service. Realizing the imminent danger, during the annual meeting of the Muhammadan Educational Conference held in 1899 in Calcutta, Mohsin ul-Mulk viewed the question of Urdu-Hindi controversy. He said that the adoption of Nagri script would sanskritize the existing language of the province which both Hindus and Muslims had used up till then. This would bring no difficulty for the Hindus as they were used to Nagri script but for Muslims, it would amount to learning a new language. And this would seriously affect the entry of the Muslims into Government service. He further remarked that the change of script was not so simple a matter as was generally thought. Instead, it would have serious repercussions on the fortunes of the nations. He continued that it was the result of the change of script that the Muslims had lost Government jobs in the provinces of Bihar, Bengal, Bombay and Mudras. And if the script was changed in North Western Provinces, it would bring the same results for the Muslims there. He, therefore, appealed to the Hindus that they should not insist on changing the script as they were very well familiarized with the

Persian script. At the same time, he urged the Muslims to convey their opposition to the Government regarding the change as it would greatly prejudice their chances of entering Government service. 46 On his initiative, the Conference also adopted the resolution which demanded the Government not to alter the status quo of Urdu language or Persian script in the province. 47

Disregarding Muslim views, the Government of the North Western Provinces, issued the Nagri resolution on April 18, 1900. This embodied the following orders:

- All persons may present their petitions and complaints either in the Nagri or the Persian characters, as they shall desire.
- All summons, proclamations, and the like in the vernacular, issuing to the public from the courts or from revenue officials, shall be in the Persian and the Nagri characters, and the portion in the latter, shall invariably be filled up as well as that in the former.
- No person shall be appointed, except in a purely English office, to any ministerial appointment henceforward unless he can read and write both the Nagri and Persian characters fluently.⁴⁸

The first rule of the resolution claimed to provide relief to those people who did not know Urdu, so that they would be able to present their petitions, complaints in Nagri script. This seems a superficial contention as has been pointed out by Hamid Ali Khan as "whatever the character and the language, the court-going population will always depend upon the assistance and advice of the lawyers.40 Moreover, by 1900 Urdu was a widely accepted language in the province which was spoken and understood by all sections of the society. This is evident from the fact that in 1900, out of a total of 1,882 candidates who sat in the middle class examination in this province, 1,353 took their examination in Urdu, compared to 529 who took theirs in Hindi. Out of 1,353 students who used Urdu, 1050 were Hindus.50 Urdu was also more widely used in the newspapers and periodicals. Brass writes that in 1900, 69 newspapers or periodicals were published in Urdu compared to 34 in Hindi. 51 The second and third clause of the resolution required a fluent knowledge of Nagri script on the part of all those who intended to remain in the Government service or wished to enter it. The practical effect of the sudden introduction of clause three was to place the Muslims "who were not at all acquainted with the Nagri script," under disadvantage in respect of public employment for quite a while.52 It meant that they would be left behind by the Hindus, who suddenly had a decided advantage as the majority of them were well-versed in Persian script.53 The Government of India itself realized the severity of implementing

this rule. It remarked that "His Excellency in Council fears that in its present form the rule is too strict, and that it may act with unnecessary harshness on certain classes of applicants for Government employment. 54 The Government of India proposed this amendment to the rule that: "No one shall be appointed except in a purely English office to any ministerial appointment after one year from the date of the resolution unless he knows both Hindi and Urdu and any one appointed in the interval who knows one of these languages, but not the other shall be required to qualify in the language he does not know within one year of appointment. 55 This modification, no doubt provided relief for one year, but at the same time, changed the whole issue, from script to language. Ironically, Macdonnell, who had made it clear in the resolution that "he did not contemplate altering the court language of the provinces," 56 readily accepted the suggestion of the Government of India.

The resolution received widespread approval from the Hindus, barring a few exceptions, who believed that the resolution instead of promoting learning and religion amongst Hindus would cause further discord and schism between the two communities.⁵⁷ But these voices were not heard in the midst of religious emotionalism. The resolution was perhaps taken as a victory against Islam. It was held as a milestone in the history of India, unparalleled in its nature and consequences. 58 The genius behind this resolution, Macdonnell was paid the greatest tribute of his life. It was suggested to Hindus that they adorn their houses with his photographs in order to pay eternal reverence to him.59 Some of the comments in Hindu newspapers were insulting towards the Muslims and their culture. 60 This sort of campaign obviously aggravated the already strained relations between the two communities and began to alarm the Muslims about their future after the exit of the British from India. This was a time when the Muslims could have been won over by showing sympathy towards them. They asked the Hindus for compromise, suggesting that "if the Hindus would enter into an agreement along the lines that in future nothing would be done to abolish Urdu from the courts, they would give up their agitation against the resolution. *61 But little consideration was given to this proposal.

Mohsin ul-Mulk, who had so far followed the policy of Sir Syed towards the Government, now felt forced to give up the policy of inactivity. He thought that silence on this issue would put the interests of the Muslims at a perpetual disadvantage because the resolution was practically tantamount to depriving the Muslims of educational and economic benefits. Another factor which might have motivated Mohsin ul-Mulk to take up the cause of Urdu was his desire to keep intact the credibility of Aligarh and its leadership in the eyes of the Muslims. As a first step, he called a meeting of influential Muslims of the Aligarh district at his residence on May 2, 1900 to consider the Nagri resolution in detail and take appropriate steps to safeguard the Urdu language. The meeting unanimously rejected the resolution holding it decidedly injurious to the interests of the Muslims. It also agreed to organise a public meeting at Aligarh on May 13, 1900 to show their resentment against the introduction of the Nagri resolution. 62

This measure gave a lead to the Muslim press in Bengal, Punjab and the United Provinces, which unanimously condemned the resolution, calling it 'inadvisable', 'inconsistent' and 'inconceivable'.⁶³ It was also regarded detrimental to Muslims' interests which aimed to reduce them to a subordinate position similar to that of he Muslims of Bengal, who had suffered as a result of a change in their language. The Muslim press urged the Government of India to intervene in the matter by asking the Provincial Government to withdraw the resolution. The press also urged the Muslims to launch a forceful campaign in favour of Urdu so that the resolution would be annulled, which would ensure them a permanent guarantee of their cultural, political and economic rights.⁶⁴ It was because of this publicity that a large number of Muslims from the Punjab, Meerut, Bulandshahr, Badaun, Hatras and from other districts of the United Provinces turned up to participate in the meeting held in Aligarh on May 13, 1900.⁶⁵

Speaking on this occasion, Mohsin ul-Mulk made it clear to the audience at the very outset that though the Nagri resolution had caused widespread alarm and dissatisfaction among the Muslim community, they should in no way act in disfoyalty while giving vent to the anxiety which they had suffered perhaps to keep low profile.⁶⁶

He then highlighted the ill-effects, which the resolution was likely to bring upon the Muslims. He said that :

The measure had a fallacious air of simplicity about it which was likely to disarm criticism, but in reality its consequences were likely to prove most far-reaching and serious. It appeared at first sight to be merely the substitution of one script for another, a comparatively trifling matter, but as would be seen on further examination, it meant much more. In reality, it meant that a stimulus would be given to the study of Nagri at the expense of Urdu, and that the most widespread means of communication, and the chief literary language of India would be placed in a distinctly disadvantageous position, a change whose ill-effects would ere long be manifest in education, in commerce, and in social relations.⁶⁷

In the end, he ruled out the notion that Muslims should not launch a campaign against the order because they had not taken up the matter earlier:

"That was not sufficient reason why they should not do so now, in fact they were by the instinct of self-preservation, and by the duty which they owed to posterity, bound to raise their voices in respectful but vigorous protest against the change.

The meeting rejected the introduction of the Nagri resolution and urged upon the Government to withdraw it or amend it, keeping in view Muslim aspirations.⁶⁸ The meeting also decided to hold another public meeting at Lucknow. It authorized Mohsin-ul-Mulk to communicate its decisions to Macdonnell and also make necessary arrangements for holding the meeting at Lucknow in collaboration with the Urdu Defence Association.⁶⁹

In pursuance of this decision, Mohsin ul-Mulk sent a detailed telegramme to Macdonnell, wherein he explained the concerns of the Muslims regarding the resolution. He stated that the question of the language had been decided with unnecessary haste without taking the Muslims into confidence. This would bring blows to the future prospects of Muslims in Government employment as they would not be eligible for it without learning another language besides English. Mohsin ul-Mulk also criticized that part of the resolution which proposed providing relief to the public at large. He wrote that:

The litigants and applicants will not in actual practice receive the relief apparently aimed at by the Government resolution, because in all matters connected either with litigation or with public forms the need of a skillful professional writer will continue and the petitions or the litigating parties concerned will receive no relief by going to a Hindu-writer instead of an Urdu one.⁷¹

The telegramme also made it clear that the resolution virtually meant the replacement of the well established Urdu language, which would ultimately result in depriving India of a well-organised and appropriate language. The telegramme thus demanded that "the resolution be either annulled, amended or modified so as to preserve and safeguard the social, political and educational interests of the Muslims."

Macdonnell felt very much perturbed over the public agitation and the campaign which was carried on by the Muslim press in favour of Urdu. Three days after the Aligarh meeting, in a letter to Curzon, he re-emphasised the importance of retaining the Nagri resolution, perhaps apprehending that Curzon might review the question in the wake of Muslim protests.⁷³ He put

the entire responsibility for engineering the agitation on Aligharians, who wanted to keep Urdu intact for maintaining the political solidarity of the Muslims, a proposition unacceptable to Macdonnell: "If the far-fetched idea of political solidarity is imported into the discussion, we are far more interested in a Hindu predominance than in a Mohammedan predominance, which in the nature of things, must be hostile to us. "74 Henceforth, Macdonnell took the agitation as a personal rebuff to his policies. He planned to frustrate the efforts of the Muslims in this regard. He refused to meet Mohsin ul-Mulk, when the latter sought an audience to explain in person the grievances of the Muslims and also to remove the doubts arising as a result of their campaign against the enforcement of the resolution.75 Macdonnell also met the Muslim landlords of the province and asked them to withdraw from the agitation. The majority of them assured him not to support it any longer. Even Nawab Lutf Ali Khan, who chaired the Aligarh public meeting, succumbed before the pressure and left the campaign for Urdu on the plea that he was misled by Mohsin ul-Mulk on this issue.76 Macdonnell also visited some parts of the province to invoke the support of the people for the Government measure. He addressed a public meeting at Banares, the centre of the Hindi movement. In his speech, he reiterated his support for the resolution and condemned those who opposed it.77 These tactics were intended to harass the Muslims, so that they would not organise further public meetings, particularly the one at Lucknow.

Mohsin ul-Mulk, however, undaunted went ahead with his programme of holding a public meeting at Lucknow. It was necessary to thwart the Government plans of sabotaging the movement and to keep up the pressure on it to reconsider its decision. The meeting was held in Lucknow on August 18, 1900 under the presidentship of Mohsin ul-Mulk, who by then had become a popular leader of the Muslims. The meeting was a great success from the point of view of its representative character and attendance. More than two thousand people, including some Hindus, mostly belonging to the middle classes, turned up to attend the meeting. They came from the Punjab, the United Provinces, Bombay, the Central Provinces and Hyderabad. The contral Provinces and Hyderabad.

The meeting unanimously adopted several resolutions, two of which were either proposed or seconded by Pandit Kedar Nath of Banares. They declared the use of Nagri script in the public courts inconvenient and impracticable, and demanded its immediate withdrawal. 80 Mohsin ul-Mulk in his long presidential address which was described as 'strong and telling'81 repeated most of his earlier criticism of the resolution, which he had made at the Aligarh meeting, further remarking that it was inconsistent, unintelligible, ambiguous and

unworkable and that it had failed to bring any good to the large part of the population during four months. In his address, Mohsin ul-Muilk for the first time, publicly criticized Macdonnell's recruiting policy, calling it unfavourable to the interests of the Muslims. In his address. Mohsin ul-Mulk, however, made it clear that the protest against the implementation of the Nagri resolution should not be taken as a revolt against the Government. Instead, it was an expression of their honest opinion against an injurious measure of the Government, whilst remaining within the constitutional limits. 82.

The Oudh Akhbar of August 18, 1900 reported that Mohsin ul-Mulk also proposed a compromise to the effect that if only such persons were allowed to file their petitions and complaints in Hindi, who knew only Hindi and wrote them with their own hands, and did not get them prepared by legal writers, the Muslim would cease their agitation.

13 It was an answer to Macdonnell's contention that the resolution was enforced to provide relief to those people who did not know Urdu at all. Mohsin ul-Mulk further argued that the change in script would not make the ordinary people independent of petition-writers or legal advice, as it would be mere change from Muslim writers to Hindu writers. Instead, it was meant to deprive the Muslims of a slightly advantageous position, which they enjoyed over the Hindus in the courts and other public offices.

14

During the Lucknow meeting, Mohsin ul-Mulk tried to keep a low profile in the meeting. He suggested that the participants should keep their protest within the constitutional means. Macdonnell, however, was not prepared to tolerate even this innocuous protest. He took it as a challenge to British authority in India and found in it a reason to portray the Muslims as traitors in the eyes of Curzon. He was particularly severe on Mohsin ul-Mulk, whom he found deviating from the policy of Sir Syed which was "based on reliance and obedience to the British Government." He linked Mohsin ul-Mulk with the Hyderabad school of thought, which was disposed towards Pan-Islamic sentiments and held a militant attitude towards the British Government, deriving its basis from "conservative and ultra-orthodox theories". He also told the Viceroy that the speech of Mohsin ul-Mulk was fulsome, insincere, contradictory and covertly threatening to himself, which would make it unwise to put any trust in him. He proposed to oust him from the office of Secretary and if necessary to discontinue the grant of the Government to the College:

I intend to have a say in the matter. While I am quite ready to help from the public funds, as I am doing, a great Mohammedan educational institution. I am not prepared to continue the contribution if it is used for the purpose of political propagandism. If I went down tomorrow to Aligarh and called the trustees together, I have no doubt I could turn Mohsin ul-Mulk out of his Secretaryship.⁸⁷

These remarks, in fact, were intended to create distrust regarding the Muslims and their leadership in the eyes of Curzon and the Government of India, so that they should not be moved by the protests of the Muslims to suggest the revocation of the resolution. This had the desired results, as both Curzon and the Government of India, 28 did not sympathise with the demands of the Muslims. Curzon even went to the extent of calling it "the Howls of the Muslimans." 89

This policy of the Government frightened some of the Trustees of the Aligarh College as they lacked the courage to withstand the pressure. This was because they were nominated on the basis of their influence rather than merit. They were under the impression that any future association with the Urdu movement would harm the College, and started-opposing Mohsin ul-Mulk covertly. Realizing the gravity of the situation, Mohsin ul-Mulk decided to step down from the Secretaryship of the College so that he could take part in the Urdu movement without causing damage to the College. 91

The resignation of Mohsin ul-Mulk aroused widespread concern among the Muslims of India, who held it a disaster for the growth of the College; some apprehended the demise of the College with the exit of Mohsin ul-Mulk, as they feared that no one would be able to fill the vacuum. 92 Public meetings were held to express their regret over the decision and show their full confidence in Mohsin ul-Mulk's leadership. The Trustees were asked to reject the resignation.⁹³ The seriousness of the problem was also realized by the colleagues of Mohsin ul-Mulk. Syed Mahmud, who had earlier abhored his participation in the movement, made a personal appeal to him to reconsider his decision. Syed Muzammalullah Khan, the Joint Secretary of the College also urged him to withdraw his resignation. He termed it a death blow to the College and a calamity for the Muslim nation. He threatened to resign from his own post if Mohsin ul-Mulk persisted with his resignation.94 This prompted some of the well-wishers of the College to seek a reconciliation between Mohsin ul-Mulk and Macdonnell so that Mohsin ul-Mulk should be prevailed upon to resume his duties. For this purpose, Morison met Macdonnell, but the latter refused to accept this proposal. Instead, he seized this opportunity to "read the Trustees a lesson as to impropriety of identifying the College with political agitation. *95 It reads as follows:

 . . . that in the subsisting relations between the Government and the M.A.O. College, it does not become the accredited representative of the Trustees to take the lead in an organised agitation against the Government measure without previously representing the Trusteen' view to the Government.

It is not the way that Sir Syed Ahmad would have acted. Before leading a public agitation he would have entered into direct communication with the Government, would have pointed out the objections he had to the course the Government was following, and invited, in all truth and confidence in the Government's good intentions, that careful consideration of his arguments which was never refused him.

It is in Sir Antony Macdonnell's opinion highly undesirable that his policy of trust and confidence in Government should be abandoned by those who desire to continue Sir Syed Ahmed's work or essay to fill his place. His honour is well assured that the College will not commend itself to the majority of the Trustees, some of whom it has been indeed already placed in a false position. 96.

Macdonnell followed this advice with a personal visit to Aligarh, where he met the Trustees and harangued them not to associate with the political agitation any more. The Trustees responded favourably to Macdonnell and assured him that they would keep the College outside politics. Some of the Trustees might have talked against Mohsin ul-Mulk as is suggested by Macdonnell's conclusion that "Mohsin ul-Mulk was an intriguer, who desired to pose himself as a politicican and fill Sir Syed's place with a mission less illintended than Sir Syed. *97 During his visit, he made it clear to the Trustees that Mohsin ul-Mulk would not be allowed to remain in the office of Secretary unless he severed his relations with the Urdu agitation. This placed these Trustees in an awkward position: despite pressure from the Government, they found it difficult to accept Mohsin ul-Mulk's resignation, because they feared losing the support of the Muslims for the College, who would never condone such a decision. In this tense situation, the Trustees thought it better to keep Mohsin ul-Mulk's resignation pending; however, requesting him to perform the duties of Secretary in the meantime, to which he agreed without compromising his position over the Nagri resolution or abandoning the movement for Urdu. This stop-gap arrangement, which was made to please both Macdonnell and the Muslims, however, caused a rumour in the press to the effect that Mohsin ul-Mulk had severed his relationship with the Urdu Defence Association or had given up its Presidentship.98

Before analysing the question, it needs to be made clear that Mohsin ul-Mulk was never chosen President of the Urdu Defence Association, but was

only asked to preside over the Lucknow meeting of August 18, 1900. Hence there was no question of stepping down from the Presidentship of the Urdu Defence Association. As far as the question of his withdrawing from the Association is concerned, we have at least four contemporary pieces of evidence which suggest that Mohsin ul-Mulk did not resign from the Association. Firstly, the testimony of Syed Ali Raza, a contemporary student of the College, who also took an active part in the Urdu movement. He wrote that Mohsin ul-Mulk, who did not feel it necessary to rebut the rumours of his resignation, maintained his relationship with the Association and did not resign from its membership⁹⁹ Secondly, the Macdonnell Papers, in which, we do not find any reference to Mohsin ul-Mulk's resignation, which if it had occurred would have naturally been mentioned to Curzon to prove his point that agitation was started without good reason. Thirdly, the private correspondence of Mohsin ul-Mulk with Waqar ul-Mulk on this issue, clearly tells us that, (i) Mohsin ul-Mulk did not withdraw his resignation. (ii) He was not at all interested in becoming Secretary of the College again. Instead he asked Wagar ul-Mulk to take it up. (iii) However, he showed his willingness to run the affairs of the Mohammadan Educational Conference and the Sir Syed Memorial Fund Committee, which he regarded best suited to his temperament. 100 Fourthly, the meeting of the Trustees in January 1902 and subsequent developments indicated that the Trustees, ignoring Mohsin ul-Mulk's excuses, turned down his resignation and re-elected him for another term of three years. Mohsin ul-Mulk consented to honour their decision only if his freedom to take part in politics was not tampered with. 101 The matter was referred to LaTouche, who succeeded Macdonnell in October 1901. Accepting Mohsin ul-Mulk's point of view, he declared that the rules which prohibited civil servants' participating in politics were not applicable to the Secretary of the College, who served in an honorary capacity. 102 Following this Mohsin ul-Mulk accepted the position of Secretary. From the above evidence it is clear that Mohsin ul-Mulk neither severed his relations with the Urdu movement nor surrendered his right to participate in politics. To give permanence to the movement, he laid the foundations of two different but inter-related organisations to safeguard the interests of Urdu and to provide a sound and orderly basis for its growth, i.e., Urdu-i-Mu'alla103 May 15, 1900 and Anjuman-i-Taraggi-i-Urdu, January 4, 1903. 104

It appears as if the Urdu movement ended in fiasco; this seems true if taken in its immediate perspective. But if taken in prospective terms, it succeeded in meeting its objectives. The campaign was launched to ensure that no further damage was done to the economic and cultural interests of the Muslims. After the departure of Macdonnell, both these aims were achieved to a great extent. LaTouche ignored Macdonnell's advice, contained in his Minute Strictly Confidential, for continuing his policy towards the Muslims, perhaps finding no validity in Macdonnell's arguments. Another factor which influenced LaTouche's opinion was the Hindi-text books prepared by Hindu writers, which contained many Sanskrit words, totally unintelligible to those Hindus, who did not know Sanskrit. He wrote: "Just as in Bengali, the efforts of Hindi Priest is to create a language which no Muhammadan and Hindu except a Pandit understands." ¹⁰⁵ This proved the Muslims' point of view that the resolution would wipe out the Urdu language from the province. LaTouche also agreed with the Muslims by remarking that "Macdonnell went too far in acknowledging Hindi as a language, ¹⁰⁶ as there existed no Hindi language. Henceforward, we do not see any change in the British attitude towards Urdu till the partition of India in 1947.

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Pakistan's Relations with South Asia 1993 -- 1995

NADEEM SHAFIQUE MALIK

Being a major partner of the South Asian political scenario, Pakistan's foreign policy makers have always paid special attention for enhancing cooperation and friendly ties on bilateral as well as regional levels with countries of this region. In the following pages, an attempt has been made to present country wise major foreign policy initiatives taken by the Peoples Party of Pakistan during 1993–1995. It is hoped that this attempt would portray Pakistan's concern for the regional security and peaceful co-existence in South Asia.

BANGLADESH

During 1993-1995, the PPP Government tried to further enhance the present existing cordial association with Bangladesh. These efforts got a tremendous support when the Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Begum Khaleda Zia in her position as Chairperson of SAARC toured Pakistan from April 24-25, 1995. During the visit, both the countries discussed bilateral and governmental questions besides considering ways and means to increase mutual cooperation between SAARC countries.

As a consequence, an accord on Reciprocal Promotion and Protection of Investment and a Memorandum of Understanding in the field of Agriculture were endorsed. The Accord for Promotion and Protection of Investment was aimed at improving of economic collaboration and to develop favourable circumstances for joint ventures in the two states while the Memorandum of Understanding visualized that the present congenial bonds between the two states should further breed in the spheres of Agriculture, Science and

Nadeem Shafique Malik, Personal Staff Officer, Prime Minister's Secretariat, Political Wing, Islamabad. Technology, Agriculture Production involving Livestock, Fisheries and Forestry.²

Soon after the Khaleda Zia's visit to Pakistan, Minister for Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs, Professor N. D. Khan, as a special representative of the Prime Minister of Pakistan visited Bangladesh from May 29-31, 1995.³ The Special Envoy held meetings with Prime Minister, Begum Khaleda Zia and Ministers for Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs and Law and Justice. He also met delegates of Human Rights associations and other NGOs, media personnels and informed them about Government of Pakistan's response towards Charar Sharif episode and prevailing situation in Kashmir.⁴ The visit achieved a marked success as the Government of Bangladesh circulated two declarations which inter-alia denounced the Charar Sharif event and called for symbolic penalty for those who were responsible of that nefarious act.⁵ Professor N. D. Khan was also assured by the Bangladesh Prime Minister of its persistent backing against Human Rights infringements in the held Kashmir.

Another significant happening in Pak-Bangladesh affinity was holding of the sixth sitting of Pakistan-Bangladesh Joint Economic Commission (JEC) which was held in Islamabad from July 25-26, 1995. Bangladesh Minister for Commerce and Information Mr. M. Shamsul Islam led his country's deputation. The JEC analysized the current economic trade and commercial association which among other things included creation of trading homes, holding of exclusive country exhibitions, financial and economic collaboration, technical cooperation in small scale enterprises, production of automobile, agriculture, tourism, education and population welfare. On the whole, one can easily state that Pak-Bangladesh bonds are strengthened by every passing day and both the states could benefit a lot from each other's experiences.

PAK-INDIA RELATIONS

Unfortunately, during the said period, Pak-India relations could not be termed as friendly, chiefly due to India's bid to display its hegemony. Time and again, Pakistan reiterated that she is not reluctant for having talks with India at Foreign Secretaries' level or at any other level as long as the discussions were aimed at resolving the key question of Jammu and Kashmir. But the main pre-requisite for any useful deliberation on this issue is the need that India must put an end to its cruel repression of the Kashmiri inhabitants and discontinue her hegemonistic policies on various occasions. Pakistan repeatedly pointed out to Indians that the solution of the Kashmir dispute would lead to tremendous benefits to both the states. Now all specialists on

international relations agree that the onus for making any progress on the Kashmir issue lies with the Indians.8

SRI LANKA

Pakistan's relations with Sri Lanka remained always cordial and every Government has given top-priority to reinforce friendly and cooperative relations with Sri Lanka. These ties were fortified further when Senator Kamal Azfar paid a four-day visit to Sri Lanka, from October 20-24, 1994 as an Exclusive Messenger of the Prime Minister. This was the first high level communication between the two states since the inauguration of the new Government of Mrs. Chandrika Kumaratunga in Sri Lanka.

Pak-Sri Lanka friendly relations got a tremendous boost when the Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka, Mr. Lakshman Kadirgamar escorted by Foreign Secretary Mr. R. C. A. Vandergert paid a four-day official visit to Pakistan from July 30 to August 2, 1995. 10 The Sri Lankan Foreign Minister held meetings with Prime Minister Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto, Chairman Senate, Speaker National Assembly and Minister for Defence. During these conversations the main stress was laid upon improvement of bilateral ties, enhancing SAARC cooperation and evolving of consensus regarding regional matters. Pakistan availed that opportunity to cultivate bilateral determination and confidence in mutual attachment and to increase economic, commercial and technical collaboration. Moreover, Pakistan informed Sri Lankan delegation on current predicament in held Kashmir.

NEPAL

Pakistan's fraternity with Nepal also solidified during 1994-95. The Prime Minister Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto visited Nepal form May 24-26, 1994 at the request of the Nepalese Prime Minister. Her visit was meant to, and did, emphasize Pakistan's fortitude to intensify political comprehension and increase operative collaboration in the economic and cultural fields with Nepal. The Prime Minister deliberated with King Birendra and Prime Minister Koirala on all aspects of bilateral bonds and territorial-cum-universal advancements. During the visit, a memorandum of understanding on Cultural Exchanges for the years 1994-96, containing technicalities of collaboration in educational, scientific, and cultural fields was also endorsed. 12

MALDIVES

Maldives is depicted as a sign of nonviolent co-existence and sound heritage among the South Asian areas. With a view to boosting congenial affiliations with Maldives, the President of Pakistan invited President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom to visit Pakistan. The Prime Minister of Pakistan also received an invitation from the President of Maldives to visit Maldives. The dates for these two visits would be decided through diplomatic channels.

A new dimension to Pak-Maldives ties were added when the Maldivian Minister of State for Defence and National Security, Mr. Abdul Sattar Anbaree visited Pakistan from June 18-25, 1995. 13 The visit was on reciprocal background which provided an opportunity to strengthen bilateral collaboration in several fields, including defence. He also held talks with Minister for Foreign Affairs and discussed bilateral defence and economic issues. 14

SOUTH ASIAN ASSOCIATION FOR REGIONAL COOPERATION (SAARC)

The Government headed by Prime Minister Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto has taken a number of steps designed at the advancement of collaboration in South Asia. The Prime Minister visited the SAARC Secretariat during her visit to Nepal in May, 1994. During her visit she assured its Secretary-General of Pakistan's firm support to the regional participation under SAARC.

Pakistan's deep concern for the SAARC was highlighted during the visit of its Secretary-General Y. K. Silwal, in January, 1994. During his visit Mr. Silwal called on the Prime Minister, the President as well as the Foreign Minister. Extensive conversations covered wide-ranging areas of cooperation. The Prime Minister assured Mr. Silwal that the Government of Pakistan would coatribute as much as it could to fortify relations in socio-econo nic areas amongst SAARC member-states. 16

Positive contribution for the Eighth SAARC Summit which was held in New Delhi on May 2-4, 1995, was made when the President of Pakistan Mr. Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari led the Pakistan delegation. The leaders of the seven member countries held talks on several significant matters of intimate concern under the SAARC such as Regional Cooperation, Poverty Abolition in South Asia, Liberalization of Trade under the SAPTA Agreement, status of Women and matters relating to Children, Youth, Disabled Persons, Shelter, Literacy, Environment, Terrorism and Drug Trafficking.¹⁷

At the end of the three-day summit, the Delhi Proclamation was issued which covered all the above fields between the SAARC Member States besides expressing its concern for security of small states in the region and international economic and social issues faced by the world. President Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari also met leaders of other SAARC Member States and discussed bilateral issues and matters of mutual interest and stressed the need for peace and security in the region. The President also met the Indian President and the Prime Minister. He exchanged views with them on bilateral and regional issues as well. 18

A brief look on the foreign policy of Pakistan during 1993-1995 in the South Asian region indicates that Pakistan worked for resolving issues which would help to establish new peaceful atmosphere. All its efforts were directed to bring about normalcy in the region with a view to cooperate with each other for the prosperity of the peoples of South Asia.

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D.D. Khanna and P.N. Mehrotra, Defence Versus Development

A case study of India, Canada, 1993, pp. 189.

The subject has not been given due recognition. Defence expenditure has been regarded as non-developmental. There are three ways to view this area; (i) Defence-expenditure has a positive impact on the overall growth rate of the economy (ii) Defence-expenditure retards economic growth (iii) Defence burden and G.D.P.. growth are uncorrelated.

The authors hold that the Indian defence expenditure has two main components. They are economic wherewithal and the threat perspective. India had to fight four wars since independence and it could ill-offord to make defence-cuts. The disruption of Russian and the unipolar situation whereby the U.S.A. emerged as the super power created new situation which demand strong Indian defence. China's hostility, Pakistan's role in the Indian Punjab and India-held Kashmir pose threats to the Indian security. Even Pakistan's relations with the Muslim world are looked upon with suspicion. The authors assert: "The defence expenditure of a nation has a meaning in relation to the defence efforts of its neighbourse" These factors, therefore, "do not suggest any possibilities of cuts in defence expenditure in India.

Existing defence policy of India responded to the situation in Pakistan and has not been worked out 'independently.' The authors argue that the Indian army should be restricted to handle matters which are specifically related to the defence. It would not be asked to undertake such activities which could well be carried out by other establishments. The authors are unwilling to lend support to the reduction of defence-expenditure as already it is not that 'high' and also because the 'hostile strategic environment' suggest against such a decision. They rather proposed that India should develop its defence weapons

to avoid the crisis of stoppage of weapons in the emergencies. It has also been stressed that India, as planned, should meet the target of exporting defence material to the tune of Rs. 500 crores in 1992-93 instead of Rs. 78/- crores in 1990. They take the position that those who believe that the defence-expenditure is 'waste' is give 'fallacious' argument.

The authors identified a number of areas where the expenditure could be lowered. But the entire study concludes: "Ultimately, the defence sector also stands for the attainment of the basic values; freedom from aggression and peaceful existence. We must evolve a concept of sufficient defence to our needs which finally relates to our economy. Then the defence efforts will blend harmoniously with economic and social development."

The authors exhibited a posture in the study which is basically intended to attack the defence policy of Pakistan. Indians are portrayed as innocent people who are left with no option but to defend themselves against Pakistan's aggressive policies. Kashmir is mentioned as a dispute, but no solution, or even a desire to make a bid at its solution, is suggested. From all aspects, the defence-expenditure has been justified. This research is an eye-opener for those who, out of ignorance, attach high hopes to the Indian pronouncement of maintaining peace. Such studies should be taken as sufficient evidence to strengthen defence capability of Pakistan, even at the cost of reduction of expenditure in other sectors.

PROF. DR. M. ASLAM QURESHI

WORKSHOP ON APPROACHES TO ENVIRONMENTAL LEGISLATIONS

New Delhi, India: January 4 - 15, 1994

A Workshop on Approaches to Environmental Legislations in SAARC Countries was held in New Delhi on 4—15 January, 1994.

The participants to the 10-day workshop were able to exchange instruments and notes to enable a comparative study of environmental legislations of SAARC countries and understand the organizational structure established in different countries to deal with the problem of norm-setting and enforcement. The workshop also facilitated dialogue amongst the participants who were environment officials, scholars and activists in Member Countries and identified ways of promoting closer cooperation towards developing environmental legislations and enforcement mechanisms at the regional level.

The activities of the workshop were organised around a series of lectures on different aspects of environmental law, with lively interaction and discussions.

SAARC COLLECTIVE POSITION FOR THE WORLD CONFERENCE ON NATURAL DISASTER REDUCTION

New Delhi, India: March 30-April 2, 1994

In order to formulate a collective position by SAARC countries on issues to be discussed at the World Conference on Natural Disaster Reduction to be held in Yokohama (Japan) in 1994, the participants from all the SAARC Member States attended a workshop in New Delhi on March 30 — April 2, 1994.

These statements have been prepared by Syed Karim Haider, Pakistan Study Centre, University of the Punjab, Quantai-Azam Campus, Lahore.

The recommendations of the workshop covered the important areas of disaster and development; application of science and technology; community participation, awareness promotion; education and training; role of NGOs; role of private business sector; differential vulnerability; disaster reduction and sustainable development; risk assessment and vulnerability analysis; documentation, evaluation and research; regional cooperation; and international cooperation and media support.

Under regional cooperation the workshop made the following specific recommendations:

- Institutional arrangements under SAARC exclusively focussing on natural disasters may be established.
- (ii) Networking research institutions for sharing fruits of research and undertaking of joint research projects may be promoted.
- (iii) The SAARC Chairs, Fellowships and Scholarships Scheme may be utilised in the area of disaster reduction.
- (iv) Countries in the region may undertake demonstration projects through bilateral and multilateral arrangements.
- (v) The knowledge about traditional practices in disaster reduction and management with potential for replication may be shared.
- (vi) Institutions having facilities for training in various aspects of disaster reduction management may provide increasing opportunities for its utilisation by countries of the region.

It also prepared an Action Plan for the countries in the region. The workshop pointed out that the Action Plan would help in spreading the message of disaster reduction and pave the way for taking up more ambitious programmes with regional and international assistance. The workshop also agreed that countries in the region could also draw lessons from their experiences to improve the planning and implementation of future disaster reduction programmes. The collective position evolve at the Workshop was presented at the Yokohama Conference.

SEMINARS ON SAPTA

Kathmandu, Nepal: April 10, 1994

Following consultations with the Secretary-General, Y. K. Silwal, an initiative was taken to organise National Seminars in the Member States to

clarify and analyse the scope of SAPTA. These Seminars on SAPTA were organised this year under the auspices of SAARC Chamber of Commerce and Industry (SCCI) by the National Units of SCCI in collaboration with Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung (FNSt) in Kathmandu (10 April 1994), Karachi (11 May 1994) and in New Delhi (18 May 1994). The participants from Bhutan attended the seminar in New Delhi. Similar seminars will be organised soon in Dhaka, Colombo and Male'.

Ram Krishna Tamrakar, Minister of State for Industry and Labour of Nepal; Chaudhry Ahmed Mukhtar, Minister for Commerce of Pakistan; and Pranab Mukherjee, Commerce Minister of India inaugurated these seminars in Kathmandu, Karachi and New Delhi respectively. Secretary-General, Y. K. Silwal addressed the Seminars in Kathmandu and New Delhi, while R.M. Roy, Director, SAARC Secretariat contributed discussion papers as a resource person for the seminars.

These seminars where well attended by several members of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry, journalists and private entrepreneurs, which resulted in fruitful interaction among them and promoted understandings of scope of SAPTA. The proceedings of these seminars have been brought out by the organisers. Copies of the discussion papers and final documents can be obtained from them.

TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE

Islamabad, Pakistan: April 17-18, 1994

The Thirteenth Meeting of Technical Committee on Agriculture was held in Islamabad on April 17—18, 1994. The meeting inaugurated by Dr. Zafar Altaf, Secretary, Ministry of Food and Agriculture of Pakistan, was attended by participants from all SAARC countries. Director, Prabal S.J.B. Rana represented the SAARC Secretariat.

The Committee decided that the project proposal regarding exploration and collection of germplasm of agri-horticultural crops in Nepal and Bhutan, should be undertaken as proposed under the SAARC-Japan Fund.

The Committee reviewed the progress in preparation of two proposals namely (i) Production of Bio-Fertilizers with special reference to Rhizobia of Biological Nitrogen Fixation (BNF) in India, Nepal and Pakistan and (ii) Income-generation projects such as bee-keeping, sericulture and mushroom production for low-income groups in urban and rural areas in SAARC Member States to be forwarded to the Council of SAARC Fund for Regional Projects (CSFRP).

As regards cooperation for 1990s, the Committee considered the project proposals namely (i) Promotion of the "Bio-Villages, and (ii) Reaching the Million - Training of Farmers and Farm Women by 2000 A.D. submitted by Bangladesh had India and decided future course of action.

It also considered a proposal for revision of salaries and allowances of the General Services Staff (GSS) of SAIC, and decided that the Director, SAIC, may convene a special meeting of the Governing Board for this purpose. It also considered the SAIC Budget for 1994-95.

The Committee formulated its Calendar of Activities for 1994-95, which includes workshops on small ruminants production, bio-fertiliser, bio-tech vaccine production, fisheries and aquaculture, post house technology for perishable commodities, and sustainability issues. A meeting of counterpart scientists on crop disease and viruses; rust in wheat and blight in chickpeas is also scheduled for 1995.

TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON METEOROLOGY

Colombo, Sri Lanka: April 27-29, 1994

The Twelfth Meeting of the Technical Committee on Meteorology was held in Colombo on April 27—29, 1994, with participation from all Member States except Bhutan. SAARC Secretariat was represented by Director, Tahir Iqbal Butt.

The meeting was inaugurated by H.A. Wimalagunawardana, Secretary, Ministry of Science and Technology of Sri Lanka. It reviewed the work of the Committee since its last meeting, and noted with satisfaction that all activities scheduled under the Calendar of Activities for 1993 had been held.

The meeting approved by acclamation the nomination of M.H. Khan Chowdhury, Director of the Bangladesh Meteorological Department to the post of Director of the SAARC Meteorological Research Centre (SMRC), Dhaka.

The Committee decided on the recipients of the Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh Young Scientist's Awards, Y.E.A. Raj of India was given the Ninth Award for his paper on "Statistical relation between Winter Monsoon rainfall and the preceding Summer Monsoon." The Tenth Award was to M.K. Soman and K. Krishna Kumar of India for their paper on "Some aspects of daily rainfall distribution over India during Southwest Monsoon season" and the

Eleventh was to Dr. Qamar-uz-Zaman Chaudhry of Pakistan for his paper on "Pakistan Summer Monsoon Rainfall's association with global and regional circulation features and its seasonal prediction." The Committee also recommended similar annual awards to be presented to working scientists above the age of 45 years.

The Technical Committee also proposed programmes/activities to be conducted during 1994-95, which include seminars on radar meteorology, climate change and its possible impact on environment, predictability of monsoonal rain and flooding, and tropical cyclones and forecasting.

SEMINAR ON BOOK PRODUCTION AND MARKETING

Dhaka, Bangladesh: May 3-5, 1994

A Seminar on Book Production and Marketing was held in Dhaka, from May 3-5, 1994. All Member Countries except Bhutan and Maldives participated in the seminar.

The seminar was inaugurated by Professor Jahanara Begum, the State Minister of Cultural Affairs of Bangladesh. The session was presided over by M. Mokhiesur Rahman, Secretary, Ministry of Cultural Affairs of Bangladesh.

In her inaugural address, the State Minister said that Bangladesh is the first country in the South Asian region to develop and adopt a comprehensive national book policy.

Secretary of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs of Bangladesh and the Chairman of the inaugural session urged the delegates to consider the idea of bringing out a SAARC Year Book of New Publications, a SAARC Directory of Publishing Houses and a SAARC Journal highlighting new publications.

The theme of the "Seminar was State of the Book Industry in South Asia: An Agenda for Cooperation and Understanding." The Agenda included the topics as such:

- (i) Existing situation with regard to book production and distribution, particularly in view of the recent phenomenal growth of the book trade.
- (ii) Situation regarding copyright convention and provision for protection to intellectual property in Member States.
- (iii) Role of publishers in promoting South Asian writing and promotion of translations of major authors in major languages of South Asia both intra regionally and to the international audience.

- (iv) Development with regard to National Book Policy within the region and the formation of regional book trade associations through national publishers associations.
- (v) Role of libraries and territory institutions in providing increased book capacities intra-regionally and possibilities for co-publishing and other forms of cooperation.

Delegates presented their country papers stating book production, promotion and marketing situation in their respective countries. The workshop, after careful deliberations and discussions, made 21 recommendations.

TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON COMMUNICATIONS

New Delhi, India: May 4-5, 1994

The Second meeting of the Technical Committee on Communications was convened in New Delhi on May 4—5, 1994 to review the work programme of the Committee since its last meeting. The meeting inaugurated by T.B. Raman, Secretary, Department of Posts, Ministry of Communications of India, was attended by all Member Countries. SAARC Secretariat was represented by Director, Ms. Nima Ome.

Within the overall objective of providing telecommunication services to majority of the rural population by the year 2000, the Committee focused on efforts to promote technological and human resource development in the field.

The Committee noted that digitalization of inter-country links for achieving better quality of services and for provision of new types of services was now being undertaken by all the Member Countries. It decided that digitalization whether it be on existing route or on an alternate route should be completed by 1995-96. The other topics given priority by the meeting were those relating to the operation and maintenance of communication links, adoption of uniform currency for accounting rate and the revision of this rate among SAARC countries, and transit facilities.

Towards bringing about an overall improvement in the postal services in the region, a number of training programmes/seminars/workshops/study tours have been included in the annual Calendar of Activities under the Postal Services.

Recently two studies, one on Concessional Mail Tariff and the other on Mail Transmission in the SAARC region were successfully completed by two experts who visited the Postal Administrations of the Member Countries. The studies highlighted the need for concessional mail tariff for postal mail both for growth in traffic as well as a symbol of cooperation and determining norms and its monitoring by the respective administrations to ensure expeditious transmission of mails in the region.

In order to address the perpetual problems relating to mail/parcel loss, a concept paper on "Electronic Tracking and Tracing for EMS" including domestic EMS and inter-country EMS in being prepared by the Committee for submission to the Council for SAARC Fund for Regional Projects (CSFRP) as a possible project idea.

The Committee also formulated its Calendar of Activities for 1994-95, which includes workshops and seminars relating to postal services in rural, remote and hilly areas, monitoring mail transmission, customer care, acceptance testing of telecom network and equipment, interfacing and signalling. In addition, the annual letter writing competition will also be held in 1995.

MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE ON YOUTH IN SOUTH ASIA

Male', Maldives: May 9-11, 1994

A Ministerial Conference on Youth in South Asia was held in Male' on May 9—11, 1994 to address the problems of the Youth and focus on the broad theme of youth and development in South Asia, as decided by the Seventh SAARC Summit. Inaugurating the three-day Ministerial Conference, President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom said that "the problems facing the youth are in fact the problems of a nation in its entirety." We must, therefore, give the young every opportunity to assume their vital role in society, so that they will become the primary agents of constructive change and development," the President added. The Chairperson of the Conference, Minister of Youth, Women's Affairs and Sports, Mrs. Rashida Yoosuf and SAARC Secretary-General Y. K. Silwal addressed the conference at the inaugural session.

The Conference deliberated in detail on the present status of youth in the region, challenges faced by them, and drew up an Agenda for Action for youth.

While discussing the status of youth and challenges faced by them, the Ministers were of the view that a large proportion of youth in the region faced limited access to formal and non-formal educational opportunities; inadequate vocational guidance and career counselling; pressures and conflicting expectations from family and/or society which are often difficult to meet; increasing threat to their health and well-being due to drug abuse and consumption of alcohol and tobacco; increasing vulnerability to the scourge of AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases; and rapid population growth which results in shrinking opportunities, especially in employment, health and education.

Under the Agenda for Action, the Ministers made 17 recommendations for implementation by Member States. The recommendations include, interalia, providing educational and vocational training opportunities in market responsive trades for youth; opportunities for broad based participation of youth in community development activities; expansion of SAARC Youth Volunteers Programme; implementation of the provision contained in the SAARC Convention on Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances; eliminating the gender bias in the region; promotion of population education and family planning and to combat AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases; encourage and facilitate self-employment for youth to make them self reliant, productive and responsible citizens; formulation of a SAARC Youth Charter; instituting a scheme of SAARC Youth Awards.

SECRETARY - GENERAL DELIVERS KEYNOTE ADDRESS AT THE APT - UNCTAD SEMINAR

Mali, Maldives: May 14, 1994

SAARC Secretary-General, Y. K. Silwal delivered the keynote address at the inaugural session of the APT-UNCTAD Seminar on Trade and Telecommunications held in the Maldives on May 14, 1994. In his address, the Secretary-General informed the meeting that the SAARC Technical Committee on Communications has identified specific measures and finalized technical details for improving inter-country links, and the recommendations of the Committee on collection of charges as well as on media-independent tariffs have been implemented by all Member States. He emphasized the need to develop closer cooperation for development of trade and telecommunications and greatly appreciated the initiatives taken by APT and UNCTAD in this direction. The Secretary-General also referred to the MOU between APT and SAARC and said that as a leading telecommunication organization in the Asia Pacific region, APT had made commendable efforts to ensure balanced growth of telecommunication sector in order to promote economic and social development of the region.

SDC FORMULATES WORK PROGRAMME FOR 1994-95

New Delhi, India: May 13-14, 1994

The First Meeting of the Governing Board of SAARC Documentation Centre held in New Delhi on May 13—14, 1994 and finalised its work programme for 1994-95. The two-day meeting was attended by Board Members from all the Member Countries. Director, Tahir Iqbal Butt from the SAARC Secretariat also attended the meeting.

The programme includes creating databases, analyzing the data and offering value-added services on development matters and science and technology. In the area of development matters it was proposed to develop a bibliographic database on all GATT related articles/documents on and from the SAARC countries and also a value-added database product on trade relating to the SAARC region. It was also recommended that agriculture and agro-processing industry, aquaculture may be taken up initially. Under Science and technology, a database on any significant technology of current interest, e.g., biotechnology, food technology, energy, petroleum would be developed and value-added services offered.

The work programme also includes holding a seminar, a short-term course and attachment training in the fields of technology and resource transfer amongst the SAARC Member States, computer applications for library/documentation/information activities, and information handling. The meeting also decided that a quarterly newsletter of SDC will be published beginning from November/December 1994.

The Governing Board approved the nominations of Prof. T. Viswanathan as Director of SDC, and Mrs. Aruna Karanjai, as Coordinator of SDC.

SECRETARY - GENERAL ADDRESSES AT THE CONFERENCE ON SHAPING SOUTH ASIA'S FUTURE: ROLE OF REGIONAL COOPERATION

Kathmandu, Nepal: May 19-20, 1994

Secretary-General, Y. K. Silwal delivered the key-note address at the Conference on "Shaping South Asia's Future: Role of Regional Cooperation," held in Kathmandu on May 19—20, 1994. The two-day conference organised by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung was inaugurated by Prime Minister of Nepal, G. P. Koilrala and attended by nearly 100 participants from all SAARC

Member Countries and a few distinguished personalities from outside the region as well.

In his key note address the Secretary-General said that: "Over the years, the scope of regional cooperation under the SAARC Integrated Programme of Action (IPA) has broadened considerably and now embraces the whole gamut of functional areas. There is a broad consensus that there should be a qualitative transformation in the nature of IPA Programme." He added that, "It is imperative that we move beyond exchange of information, sharing of experience, joint studies to training, transfer of technology, design and implementation of regional projects."

THREE FORMER SECRETARIES-GENERAL VISITED/SECRETARIAT

Kathmandu, Nepal: May 21, 1994

Former Secretaries-General Abul Ahsan, Kant Kishore Bhargava, and Ibrahim Hussain Zaki visited the SAARC Secretariat on May 21, 1994. They were in Kathmandu to participate at the Conference on "Shaping South Asia's Future: Role of Regional Cooperation," held in Kathmandu in May 1994. They met the Secretary-General, Y. K. Silwal and exchanged views on issues relating to regional cooperation in South Asia.

Other Visitors to the Secretariat

- A team from the Asia Society based in New York, visited on April 4, 1994.
- S. M. Inam, Convenor, SAARC Chamber of Commerce and Industry, visited on April 11, 1994.
- Canadian Delegation comprising Andre Gingras, Mission Leader, Evan Due, CIDA Analyst and Dr. Elliot Tepper, Canadian Advisory Consultant visited on June 22, 1994.

CSFRP APPROVES FOUR ADDITIONAL PROJECTS

Kathmandu, Nepal: May 24, 1994

Members of the Council for SAARC Fund for Regional Projects (CSFRP) met at Kathmandu on May 24, 1994 at their Eighth Meeting and reviewed progress in their on-going efforts to identify and develop regional projects to be financed under the Fund. Director, Prabal S.J.B. Rana from the SAARC Secretariat also attended the meeting.

The Council approved the minutes of its Seventh Meeting held on December 28, 1993. It decided on the following four projects and the consultants to carry out the feasibility studies as follows:

- (a) Hydel Power Project in Bhutan and Nepal M/s Metcon Consultants, Kathmandu, Nepal.
- (b) Dolomite Based Project M/s ENAR Petrotech Services Pvt. Ltd., Karachi, Pakistan.
- (c) Zinc Oxide Project M/s Dharmasi Morarji Chemical Co. Ltd., Bombay, India.
- (d) Gum Rosin and Vegetable Gum Turpentine Projects M/s Dalal Consultants and Engineers Pvt. Ltd., Ahmedabad, India.

With the approval of the above four projects, the Council has now assigned a total of 13 projects to various consultants to complete the feasibility studies. In addition to the above projects, several new project ideas were also discussed by the Council.

PRIME MINISTER BENAZIR BHUTTO VISITS SAARC SECRETARIAT

Kathmandu, Nepal: May 25, 1994

Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto visited the SAARC Secretariat on May 25, 1994, during her recent three-day official visit to Nepal.

SAARC Secretary-General, Y. K. Silwal, received the Prime Minister and briefed her on the activities of the Association. Welcoming the Prime Minister, the Secretary-General made particular reference to her role as the Chairperson of the Islamabad Summit in 1988. In her reply, the Prime Minister said that "SAARC embodies the will of the South Asian Nations to increase cooperation in a regional framework." She also commended the progress made by SAARC in the past and expressed the hope that the Association would be able to achieve even greater success in the future.

While visiting the Secretariat's Library, the Prime Minister offered to contribute a number of books for the library. She presented two beautiful Pakistani hand-made wall carpets to the Secretariat. On behalf of the Secretariat, Secretary-General also presented the Prime Minister a souvenir on the occasion of her visit.

JAPAN INCREASES ITS CONTRIBUTION TO SAARC - JAPAN SPECIAL FUND

Japan: 1994

Government of Japan has released contribution to SAARC-Japan Special Fund to US\$ 500,000.00 for the year 1994, as compared to US\$ 300,000.00 for the year 1993.

The Fund, established in 1993 with contribution from Japan, consists of two components intended to finance respectively, selected SAARC activities and intellectual exchanges between SAARC countries and Japan.

TRAINING PROGRAMME ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC TECHNIQUES

Islamabad, Pakistan: May 29-31, 1994

A Training Programme on Socio-Economic Techniques to identify Constraints of Agricultural Production was held in Islamabad from May 29—31, 1994. Participants from India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka attended the Training Programme.

The programme incorporated presentations by experts in the field on related topics and discussions of case studies among the participants. The topics covered include informal, formal and diagnostic surveys to identifying constraints, techniques of analyzing yield constraints, techniques to identify constraints in livestock production.

SPECIAL MEETING OF THE GOVERNING BOARD OF SAIC

Dhaka, Bangladesh: May 30-31, 1994

A Special Meeting of the Governing Board of SAARC Agricultural Information Centre (SAIC) was held in Dhaka on May 30—31, 1994 to consider the proposal for revision of salaries and allowances of General Services Staff (GSS) of SAIC.

The meeting was attended by all board members from Member States except the Maldives. Director, Prabal S. J. B. Rana from the SAARC Secretariat also attended the meeting. The meeting recommended that a team of three experts on Agricultural Information Science, on each from Bangladesh, India and Pakistan should visit SAIC in the middle of September 1994 for a period of ten days to evaluate SAIC's functioning as well as the present salary structure and allowandes of its officials.

In this context, the Government Board formulated the Terms of Reference for the evaluation team. The recommendations of the Special Meeting of the SAIC Governing Board would be considered by the Standing Committee at its Nineteenth Session.

The team of experts is to present its report to Director, SAIC for circulation to all Member States and to Technical Committee on Agriculture for consideration.

WORKSHOP ON INVOLVEMENT OF COMMUNITY IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Karachi, Pakistan : June 13-16, 1994

Participants from Bangladesh, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka attended the SAARC Workshop on Involvement of Community in Rural Development, held in Karachi on June 13—16, 1994.

During the four-day workshop, the participants deliberated in detail on the subject and made several recommendations. The participants stressed that the community should be involved effectively in every stage of the rural development process. They further emphasized that there should be proper training of the government employees to ensure participatory development.

SRI LANKA RATIFIES SAPTA

Colombo, Sri Lanka: June 6, 1994

The Instrument of Ratification of SAARC Preferential Trading Arrangement (SAPTA) signed on June 6, 1994 by Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sri Lanka Abdul Cader Shahul Hameed has been received by SAARC Secretary-General Y.K. Silwal. SAPTA will become operational after the seven Member States of SAARC complete the formalities of ratification. Nepal was the first country to ratify the Agreement in September 1993, while Sri Lanka is the second Member State to do so.

The rest of the Member States are in the process of completing the formalities to ratify the Agreement. However, according to the procedures prevailing in some of the Member States, the trade concessions under SAPTA have to be finalised before the agreement can be ratified.

At present, all Member States are engaged in trade negotiations to finalise their schedules of concessions under SAPTA. An Inter-Governmental Group on Trade Liberalisation has been established in order to carry out the trade negotiations. So far this Group has held two meetings for this purpose, one in Colombo in November 1993 and the second in Male in April 1994 where substantial progress has been achieved. The next meeting of the Group is scheduled to be held in July 1994 in Islamabad to finalise the trade concessions which would expedite the process of ratification by other Member States.

It may be recalled that the framework agreement on SAPTA was signed at the Ministerial level by all SAARC Member States in the presence of Heads of State or Government during the Seventh SAARC Summit in Dhaka in April 1993.

SEMINAR ON TRAFFIC ENGINEERING AND HIGHWAY SAFETY

Islamabad, Pakistan: June 5-7, 1994

A SAARC Seminar on Traffic Engineering and Highwary Safety was held in Islamabad from June 5-7, 1994. The Seminar was attended by participants from Bangladesh, India, Maldives and Pakistan.

Eight technical papers on topics such as road safety, pedestrian safety, transport strategy, road accidents reduction strategy, traffic improvement at urban intersection, were presented and discussed in the seminar. The seminar made the following recommendations to improve highway safety and traffic engineering in the SAARC Region:

- Road Safety Council at federal, state and local government levels should be created and all, road safety efforts should be coordinated at national level.
- Non Government Organisations (NGOs) should be involve to support government efforts in road safety at all levels.
- Pedestrians are most vulnerable to road accidents in SAARC region, therefore facilities should be provided by way of zebra crossings, foot paths, cross walks, subways and overhead bridges.
- Efforts may be made to create safety awarencess among road users through education and publicity campaigns.
- It was observed that major cause of road accidents is lack of enforcement. Enforcement agencies should be strengthened to enable them to effectively implement the traffic laws.

- Permanent and temporary ancroachments are traffic safety hazards.
 Member States should consider giving magisterial powers to the road authorities for speedy removal of encroachments.
- In view of resource constraints, low cost traffic engineering and safety measures should be adopted instead of capital intensive measures.
- Information regarding activities in the field of traffic engineering and road safety should be shared on regular basis between the Member States.

SECRETARY-GENERAL'S KEYNOTE ADDRESS AT APT SUB-REGIONAL MEETING

Colombo, Sri Lanka: June 8-10, 1994

At the invitation of the Asia Pacific Telecommunity, Secretary-General, Y. K. Silwal attended the Sub-Regional Meeting on Planning and Development of Telecommunication Networks for South Asia and some neighbouring countries, held in Colombo on June 8 — 10, 1994, at which he delivered the keynote address at the inaugural session on June 8, 1994.

The Secretary-General in his keynote address emphasized the need to strengthen cooperation between APT and SAARC for improving the telecommunication facilities in South Asia. He referred to the vital role of telecommunications in promoting trade and development activities, he said that the global telecommunication infrastructure was growing at a very fast rate and South Asia should not be left behind. South Asia has excellent in-house technical and managerial skills which can be well utilised for improving the telecommunication facilities in the South Asian region. The Secretary-General also said that the close cooperation between APT and SAARC would be highly beneficial for promoting the accelerated growth of telecommunications.

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Chronology of Important Events SOUTH ASIAN REGION

January to June, 1994

BANGLADESH

- January 24 Bangladesh's top political leaders, including Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia, had begun touring city slums in campaign battle ahead of key municipal elections.
- February 16 Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's special envoy, Khalid Saleem, called on Bangladesh Prime Minister and delivered a letter from Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto to her Bangladesh counterpart. The letter contained a request seeking Bangladesh's support for a Pakistan sponsored resolution on the human rights violations in the Indian-held Kashmir, to be moved at the current session of United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva.
 - Morch I It was reported that, Burmese border guards tortured 23 Bangladeshi woodcutters to death after kidnapping them from the Bangladeshi side of the border.
 - Prime Minister of Pakistan Benazir Bhutto discussed over telephone the latest situation in Kashmir and other issues with her Bangladesh counterpart Begum Khalida Zia.
 - July 19 It was reported that two Bangladeshi Deputies paid a secret visit to Israel.

INDIA

- January I India Foreign Secretary J. N. Dixit, talking to newsmen in Islamabad, admitted that Kashmir was an outstanding issue between Pakistan and India and had been recognized so in Article 6 of the Simla Agreement.
 - 2 Pakistan and India began formal talks in Islamabad on the Kashmir issue after over thirty years. Foreign Secretary Shaharyar M. Khan told Dawn that Kashmir had been discussed as a dispute between the two countries for

This Chronology has been prepared by Syed Karim Haider, Pakistan Study Centre, University of the Punjah, Quaid-i-Azam Campus, Lahore.

South Asian Studies

the first time in three decades. According to diplomatic sources, India wanted Pakistan to adopt a 'step by step' approach to resolve the Kashmir issue.

- Inidan Foreign Secretary J. N. Dixit called on President Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari in Islamabad and discussed with him matters of mutual interest. The President told Mr. Dixit that Pakistan was very keen to see a just and honourable solution of Kashmir problem but there existed a great deal of anguish over the suppression of human rights in the Indian-held Kashmir.
 - 2 Indian Foreign Secretary J. N. Dixit called on Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in Karachi. Prime Minister reaffirmed Pakistan's position on Kashmir and asked Mr. Dixit to take visibel steps regarding improvement of human rights situation in the Indian-held Kashmir.
 - 3 Pakistan and India failed to make any headway in their Foreign Secretary-level talks on Kashmir. According to a brief statement issued at the end of the talks, both the sides reiterated the need to engage in a meaningful dialogue with a view to addressing all outstanding issues.
 - 24 Indian Minister of State for External Affairs R. L. Bhatia announced that India would send a set of proposals to Pakistan seeking a rational and peaceful solution to the lingering Kashmir problem.
 - 27 Foreign Secretary Shaharyar M. Khan said, while briefing the press in Islamabad, that Pakistan did not have nuclear weapons and therefore to make an agreement with India not to strike first was a grave contradiction.
 - 30 The Government of Pakistan categorically rejected the assertion which appeared in the Indian press that a rocket attack by Pakistan troops took place in a border township of Poonch.
- wary 4 Foreign Office spokesman said in Islamabad, the Government of Pakistan strongly protested against the personal attack on Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto by the Indian President. "This personal attack was not only unwarranted but is in violation of the norms relating to civilized conduct between sovereign states."
 - 9 A Foreign Office spokesman said in Islamahad, India is fast emerging as the "Sickman of Asia" commented while strongly protesting against the venomous attack on Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto by the Indian President and Minister of State for External Affairs.
 - 19 According to a Foreign Office spokesman in Islamabad, the Government of Pakistan would not participate in a seminar on peace to be hosted by China. Some retired government officials and Pakistan's High Commissioner to India is expected to attend the seminar.

- February 22 The Indian Parliament in a resolution passed unanimously by both the houses asked Pakistan to vacate "the area of the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir" which according to it Pakistan had occupied through aggression.
 - 23 A Foreign Office spokesman reacting to Indian President's address to Parliament said: "The Government of India must stop its persistent resort to escapism and instead acknowledge the reality of the rejection of Indian rule by the people of Kashmir."
 - March 4 It was reported that the Indian police arrested four alleged Pakistani intelligence operatives in New Delhi.
 - 5 According to an official statement Pakistan described as baseless the Indian claim to have arrested four Pakistani spies in Delhi.
 - 9 India welcomed Pakistan's withdrawal of a resolution tabled at the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva condemning the human rights situation in the disputed state of Kashmir. Indian Minister for External Affairs Dinesh Singh said that "we hope Pakistan will now be ready to discuss all our differences hilaterally."
 - 19 The Indian High Commission, S. K. Lamba, was called to the Foreign Office in Islamabad and informed about the decision. Pakistan decided to close down its consulate in Bombay with immediate effect.
 - 21 A spokesman for the Indian Ministry of External Affairs described Pakistan's decision to close down its Consulate in Bombay as a "negative action," not "conducive to good neighbourly relations."
 - April 11 Indian Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao warned that tensions on the sub-continent would escalate if the United States went ahead and delivered F - 16 fighter planes to Pakistan.
 - 20 According to a Foreign Office spokesman, Pakistan had not received any proposal for meeting either at the summit or ministerial level with India.
 - May 18 A Foreign Office spokesman said in Islamabad, that Pakistani travelling to India would henceforth had their papers scrutinized by the Indian police. "After the Bombay blast incident, the harassment of Pakistan nationals in India has gone up considerably."
 - 18 The Indian High Commission refuted the statement of an official spokesman that Pakistani nationals visiting India were being harassed and hundreds of them had been arrested. A press release of the Commission said, "This information is without any basis. There has been no change in respect of travel regulations for Pakistani nationals visiting India, which are in the line with the India-Pakistan Visa Agreement."
 - 28 Addressing a select gathering in San Francisco, President Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari said that the Indian military buildup had created a dangerous situation for its neighbours, and an accidental war remains a possibility.

- May 30 In an interview to Khaleej Times, the Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto said that she was leaving the door open for talks with India on Kashmir. She, however, expressed her determination to internationalize the issue.
- June 5 A Foreign Office spokesman, expressing Pakistan's serious concern over the final trial launch of the Prithvi missile by India, repeated the warning to the International community that India's development of Prithvi and development of longer range Agni missiles would lead to an arms race in South Asia.
 - 15 Pakistan strongly condemned India for its ceasefire violations along the Line of Control in Kashmir.
 - 18 President of Pakistan Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari, talking to a group of Pakistani journalists in Islamabad, said that India's development of Prithvi missile was 'country specific' and targeted Pakistan considering its range and objectives.
 - 25 According to the Times of India, India carried out strategic development of regiment's strength of Prithvi tactical buttlefield support missile on its border with Pakistan.
 - 29 Indian High Commissioner to Pakistan S. K. Lambah, speaking to reporters at the Japanese Civil Defence Day reception in Islamabad, said that India had not deployed its Prithvi missile as it was under trail.
 - 29 The Government of Pakistan lodged a protest with New Delhi over what was described as 'narco-offensive,' a new front opened by the Indian Government by sending through its agents on the Pakistan-India border a chemical known as acetic anhydride, which was used in converting opium into heroin.

NEPAL

- March 10 Nepal is the first country of South Asia to ratify the South Asian Prefrential Trade Agreement (SAPTA) and had announced to give tariff concessions to all imports from the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).
 - May 24 Speaking at a hanquet hosted in her bonour by the Nepalese Prime Minister, Girija Prasad Koirala, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto said that Pakistan and Nepal should join hands to strengthen the foundations and structures of peace in the region on the basis of sovereign, equality, mutual respect, non-interference in internal affairs and establishment of tension-free and cooperative relations amongst neighbouring countries.
 - 25 Addressing members of Federal Nepalese Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FNCCI) in Kathmandu, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto called upon the government and private sector of Nepal to step up efforts for economic collaboration as Pakistan had opened its door to expand trade and industrial ties to an optimum level.

- May 25 At the formal talks in Kathmandu, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and Nepalese Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala discussed bilateral and regional issues. Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto stressed that regional blocs should carry forward the process of economic development within the framework of SAARC.
 - 26 According to a joint communique issued at the conclusion of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's three-day visit to Kathmandu, Pakistan and Nepal agreed to expand economic cooperation.

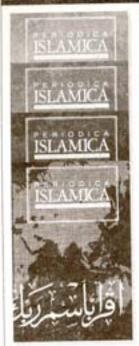
SIR LANKA

- January 5 Sri Lanka's main opposition leader demanded an impertial commission of international human rights group to investigate the discovery of mass graves belived to contain the remains of state terror victims.
 - May 26 At the end of the sixth session of Pakistan-Sri Lanks Joint Economic Commission (JEC), the two countries signed an agreement for cooperation in the fields of trade, industry, communication, fisheries, livestock and education.

SAARC

- January 31 The Speakers of SAARC countries had ruled out the possibility of forming a SAARC Parliament in the immediate future.
 - 31 Shaikh Razzaque Ali, who is also Chairman of the Council had said the Council had decided to publish a quarterly bulletin, which would contain important decisions of different Parliaments of SAARC countries.
- February 5 Speaker of the Pakistan National Assembly, Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani said that the next meeting of Council of Speakers of SAARC Nations would be held in Pakistan.
 - 7 The Seven-Nation SAARC Chamber of Commerce and Industry was launched with the aim of forgoing business links between member states and improving living standards of South Asia's one billion people.

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