

SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES

RAFIQ AHMAD

Editor

South Asian Studies seeks to provide a forum for discussion of issues and problems primarily relating to South Asia. We welcome contributions by researchers, administrators, policy makers and all other interested in promoting better understanding of South Asian Affairs.

Published bi-annually by the Centre for South Asian Studies, University of the Punjab, New Campus, Lahore, Pakistan.

Views expressed in the *South Asian Studies* do not necessarily reflect the views of the Centre or the Editors. Responsibility for the accuracy of facts and for the opinions expressed rests solely with the authors.

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UNIVERSITY OF THE PUNJAB
QUAID-I-AZAM CAMPUS, LAHORE
PAKISTAN

ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS SHOULD BE SUBMITTED TO THE EDITOR

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Political Motive of Administrative Reform in Bangladesh from 1972 to 1981

MUSLEHUDDIN AHMED TAREK
and
FIROWZ AHMED

Introduction

The evolution of administrative system in a country spans over time and is also conditioned by environments and nature of government which vary not only from nation to nation but also between one period and another. This generally happens in all the countries of the world, though their frequencies vary widely and most frequently in the politically unstable ones. Bangladesh is an appropriate case in point. Since its birth through a baptism of fire in 1971, a number of reform attempts have been made to reorganise and to change the existing so-called colonial administrative system for the well being of the masses.¹ The objective was to make it an efficient and effective instrument of development administration to encourage the participation of the people in development activities and to replace the colonial legacy. After several reforms and efforts for reorganisation the present structure of administrative system has emerged.

This study is mainly intended to identify and analyse the factors responsible for the appointment of administrative reform committees from Mujib regime to Zia regime. It also seeks to highlight briefly the

Muslehuddin Ahmed Tarek, Lecturer and Firowz Ahmed, Assistant Professor, Department of Public Administration, Dhaka University, Bangladesh.

contents of recommendations given by the committees as well as the consequences and the subsequent changes in the administrative system of Bangladesh.

Bangladesh inherited its administrative system just after the war of liberation in 1971 which was nothing but the legacy of the British colonial administration which ruled this country for more than two hundred years. Since independence, several reform and reorganization attempts have been made to change the existing administrative system of the country to replace the colonial legacy and to make it the most effective instrument of development administration under the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the founder of the nation and the first President who led the country's liberation struggle. But no remarkable change occurred during Mujib's reign and he was toppled by a bloody coup on August 15, 1975. Until the army took over the formal power directly on November 3, 1975, no important change was made by Khandakar Moshtaque Ahmed, a short term civilian President and a rightwing member of the ruling Awami League in the administrative system, except for the abolition of P.O. 9 of 1972 (President's Order No. 9) enacted by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, which was a threat to the service security of the civil servants and through which they could be removed from service any time by the government without a show cause notice.² It was seen as a great relief by them. However, General Ziaur Rahman assumed power on November 7, 1975. This seizure of power by army not only demolished the political development of the country but also paved the way for the civil servants to ensure their dominance over state affairs, ranging from public policy-making to its implementation.³

The major reorganisation/reform committees / commissions appointed in Bangladesh are shown in the table 1.

TABLE 1
Administrative Reform Commission/Committees from
1972 to 1989.

S. No.	Title of the Commission/Committee	Chairman of the Commission/Committee	Years
1.	Administrative and Services Reorganization Committee (ASRC)	Prof. Muzaffar Ahmed Chaudhuri	1972-73
2.	National Pay Commission (NPC)	M.A. Rab	1972-73
3.	Pay and Services Commission (PSC)	M.A. Rashid	1976-77
4.	Committee for Administrative Reorganisation/Reform (CARR)	Rear Admiral M.A. Khan	1982
5.	National Pay Commission (NPC)	Kafiluddin Mahmud	1989

Other Administrative Committees and Commissions

In addition to these major Commissions/Committees, some other small committees were also set up for partial reorganisation of the administrative system and to execute the recommendations made by the above Commissions/Committees. Those were : (1) Council Committee on Pay and Services ; (2) Martial Law Committee for examining organisational set up of Ministries ; (3) National Implementation Committee for Administrative Reform (NICAR) ; (4) Martial Law Committee on Administrative Reorganisation ; (5) Special Committee to recommend the phase of creation and set-up of new districts, etc. These commissions and committees were constituted over a period of 10 years. Each of the major governments in the country did not go without appointing one reform committee or another. All these Committees/Commissions accordingly submitted their voluminous reports, identifying anomalies and recommending solutions. But only few had been implemented. Some recommendations were not even made public.⁴

In Bangladesh, reform was first initiated by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the founder of Bangladesh, who had led the nation to independence and became the country's first President. He had set up the Administrative and Services Reorganisation Committee in March 1972 under the Chairmanship of Professor Muzaffar Ahmed Chaudhuri, the then Vice-Chancellor of Dhaka University, to suggest all-encompassing measures of reorganisation coping with the national and constitutional philosophy.⁵

Later, in 1976, the Pay and Services Commission was appointed by President Ziaur Rahman under the chairmanship of M.A. Rashid to recommend measures regarding pay and service structure.⁶

Administrative Reorganisation under Political Government (1972 to 1975)

In March 1972, the Administrative and Services Reorganization Committee (ASRC) was set up to recommend all possible measures to reorganise and revamp public administration system and service structure of the country which would be politically accountable and people-oriented.⁷ As the 1972 Constitution was adopted before the submission of the report, the Administration and Services Reorganisation Committee had a clear political direction and it was formed concurrent with the task of constitution framing.

The Committee made its recommendations covering most carefully all the correlated avenues of administration such as reorganise secretariat system, ministerial and departmental organisation, pay and service and unified grading structure, local administration, promotion criteria, etc., in accordance with the constitutional provisions. It recommended the democratisation of civil service at all levels and establishment of elected local government system at all tiers headed by elected representatives. Giving much emphasis to the separation of judiciary from the executive, it reallocated the functions of the Deputy Commissioner and Zilla Parishad and identified Thana Administration (now Upazila) as the basic unit of administration in

Bangladesh to be controlled by the elected Zilla Parishad as in the case of the district.⁸ It recommended that the existing subdivision be converted into district and suggested the abolition of divisions as a unit of administration. It also recommended that the number of ministries with supervisory functions should be minimum. In respect of service structure, it proposed a single classless unified grading structure covering all the services in ten grades in line with appropriate skills and responsibilities. The Committee also suggested that a central personnel agency be established and recruitment made on merit basis. Except for the post in lower echelons where length of service would be considered, all the promotions should also follow merit system. It called for the grouping of top three grades as senior policy and management posts, which were to be filled by specialized personnel through competition.

Shaikh Mujibur Rahman appointed the Administrative and Services Reorganization Committee (ASRC) under Chairmanship of Professor Muzaffar Ahmed Chaudhuri, the renowned political scientist of Bangladesh, in March, 1972, for a new administrative system accountable to the political authority.⁹ The Committee accordingly suggested a unified service structure, abolishing the former class system prevalent in the Pakistan Civil Service. It also recommended for representative form of field and local administration. But the deprived bureaucrats of the Pakistani regime were not ready to accept the political domination and classless service structure,¹⁰ because, as is said earlier, they had always the image of the top class civil bureaucrats of Pakistan in their mind and naturally were more interested to see themselves very powerful in the state machinery, but not within the grip of political control.¹¹ Moreover, the enactment of P.O. 9 of 1972 made them very much anxious about their position in the bureaucracy and united them to resist any attempt designed to change their position.¹² On the other hand, the government could not also impose any decision on them or change the administrative system curtailing the interest of bureaucracy due to the lack of indoctrinated political cadres.¹³ As a result, the report of the ASRC was shelved.¹⁴

Pay and Services Reform under Military Regime (1975 to 1981)

With the beginning of the rule of General Ziaur Rahman, the bureaucrats became powerful and they also got an offensive stand. In this period, the country experienced increasing economic inflation and the salary structure of the civil servants became incompatible with the market prices. They demanded a revision of pay scales. In February, 1976 Ziaur Rahman appointed the Pay and Services Commission under the Chairmanship of M.A. Rashid to recommend possible reform in existing pay and services.¹⁵

The Committee for Administrative Reorganization / Reform briefly identifies the cause behind the appointment of the commission and says, "... the intention probably was to remove the anomalies that existed, and still exist, in the national administrative system in so far as they relate to the personnel policy, more specifically, to recruitment and promotion in the higher civil service.¹⁶ Actually the situation was very much complicated. Within-the-service tension was not accommodatable." The intra service rivalries, that is between the members of the provincial civil service ... and the former Pakistan Civil Service ...¹⁷ became tense. Probably the interservice rivalries between the civil services and the functional services got momentum towards the same direction. Different functional cadres demanded due position in the policy making posts in the secretariat through their service associations. During the period of Rashid commission an important development is "the growth of different service associations as well as the constitution of a co-ordination committee of almost all functional cadres except the administrative cadres.¹⁸ These realities exerted considerable influence over the performance and recommendations of the Pay and Service Commission.

Recommendation and Implementation of the Commission Report

The Pay and Services Commission submitted its report in May

1977. It recommended political supremacy over administration for ensuring public accountability. The other major important recommendations are: ¹⁹

1. Except military all other services of the government should be included within civil service.
2. A superior policy pool should be created consisting of posts having all round experience and administrative leadership.
3. Discrimination between CSP and other technical and non-technical services should be removed.
4. Specialist functional groups should be given higher pay and status.

After the submission of the report of PSC, the government introduced the new national grades and scales of pay in 1977 but about the report remained silent for two years.²⁰ The new pay structure created many administrative chaoses and conflicts. Being dissatisfied with their new scales of pay, service unions launched frequent strikes, protests and demonstrations. Political parties also availed of these opportunities for their own goal achievements. However, on the basis of the recommendations the following changes were made in the civil service.²¹

1. The grade and pay structure is altered which becomes effective from July 1, 1977.²¹ Hierarchical grades are introduced on the basis of the nature of work.
2. Twenty-eight services are created within fourteen main cadres on September 1, 1980.
3. A Senior Service Pool (SSP) is constituted under Senior Service Pool order in August 1979.

Evaluation and Conclusion

In Bangladesh, since liberation in 1971 several administrative and services reorganization efforts were made with the Constitution of Administrative and Services Reorganization Committee (ASRC) under

political government of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in 1972 and Pay and Services Commission under the military government of Ziaur Rahman in 1976. But the report of the ASRC under political government was shelved as secret material. Some changes in the service structure were of course made. For example, twenty-eight services had been created within fourteen main cadres to reorganise the civil services into a classless bureaucracy.²² But Awami League government did never make any official statement endorsing the unified service grades recommended by ASRC.

The causes behind the shelving of the recommendations of ASRC for desired administrative reorganisation lay in the existing realities of the country. The very zeal with which the government started working soon diminished for many reasons. The spirit of socialism was lost. Lack of indoctrinated political cadre created severe problems for the government and pushed it towards ideological bankruptcy and inefficiency, and the government functionally took sharp turn towards capitalism. Government raised the ceiling of private investment from Taka 25 lakh to 3 crore.

It was astonishing that on the part of the revolutionary government committed to bringing about drastic change in all spheres of life in the country inconsistent with the socialist philosophy, for which it nationalized industrial and commercial enterprises in 1972 but failed to achieve the goal of socialism. The reasons behind the failure are many and varied. Undoubtedly, the government created administrative and services reorganisation committee to reorganise and revamp the existing system, but the political authority in power could not possess that much subjective development to implement the committee report. Politics could not become institutionalised and it naturally increased government's dependence on bureaucracy.²³ Like politicians, those bureaucrats who sincerely worked in favour of the emergence of Bangladesh preferred to see themselves as powerful as the civil servants of Pakistan in the post liberation period. They were not mentally prepared to implement the recommendations of the

reorganisation committee. The government nationalised industrial and commercial sectors with the socialist spirit inspired by the constitutional basis. But the social condition in general and the socio-economic elite in particular were upholding different objective conditions than those perceived by the government. All the elites, in fact, were alienated from the governmental objective. On the contrary, they unitedly and most tactfully tried to recast the government policy from the path of socialism to capitalism.

As the bureaucrats were the powerful components of the ruling party due to lack of political institutions, they easily succeeded in achieving their goals. It became clear when government changed the ceiling of private investment within a period of almost one year from Taka twenty-five lakh to three crore. It was the best testimony to the objective condition against the implementation of the recommendations by the Mujib government. Thus the recommendations were thrown into the back shelf of the archive as secret materials. It proved the self-denial characteristics of the Mujib regime. The measures were inevitable for upholding the interest of the dominating elite in the administrative sector. Lastly, it can be said that all these realities virtually strengthened the power of bureaucracy and increased government's dependance on it. As a result, the issue of drastic reorganisation was left untouched.²⁴

But under the recommendation of the Pay and Services Commission, the Government of Ziaur Rahman created Senior Service Pool to serve the interest and to accommodate the demand of top level bureaucrats. It is almost similar to the grouping of the top three grades as senior policy and management posts proposed by the Administrative and Services Reorganisation Committee earlier. But the creation of the pool is the most significant outcome of the committee. The entry into senior service pool, i.e., the position of and above Deputy Secretary was open to all cadres. All the members of various services who held the position of Deputy Secretary before 1979, were made automatically members of Senior Service Pool. As a result the interest of erstwhile CSP and EPCS officers was safeguarded.

Though apparently SSP seems to be a democratic institution but functionally it reinstitutes elitism in civil service in a revised way. Regarding a legal aspect of Senior Service Pool, M.A. Khan Committee holds. "The government tenaciously clung on to the principle of length of service, by-passed the requirement of the consultation with the Public Service Commission and set in a process of selection to higher civil service on the basis of rule by personal discretion."²⁵

The most important lapse on the part of the committee is that it did not pay any attention to the personnel policy. The civil administration thus constituted came to exist without appropriate, consistent and uniform personnel policy with regard to recruitment, promotion and training of public servants. The most unchallenged reorganisation measure initiated by the committee was the reorganisation of some of the ministries and departments. But it increased costs and overlapping of functions.²⁶

But irrespective of its limitation, the recommendations of the Pay and Service Commission fully satisfied the demand of the traditional bureaucrats.²⁷ Though the class system, like Pakistan Civil Service does reappear, but through Senior Service Pool the civil servants consolidate their position and become stronger after a decade of independence.²⁸ It has been said earlier that during Mujib regime several attempts had been made to bring bureaucracy under political domination, under which it got a crushing blow. The defence posed by the civil servants was only successful in opposing the legal political dominance and keeping shelved the recommendations of ASRC even by the popular political government, but the introduction of unified grading structure functionally curtailed their power to a great extent.²⁹ In the second phase of the fight, which started with the military regime, they became able to hold a structurally stronger position through the installation of Senior Service Pool. At this stage contradictions between politicians and bureaucrats like those of the Mujib regime have existed but a new avenue of contradictions within the bureaucracy, appeared on the scene.³⁰ The field level and

functional sub-cadres of Bangladesh Public Administration are agitated at the almost automatic inclusion of the erstwhile CSP and EPCS officers in the Senior Service Pool and thereby their dominating authority over public administration. This agitation, later on, works as one of the casual factors of the administrative reforms in the subsequent regime.

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Pakistan's Quest for Pan-Islamism: 1947-1977

PROF. KHAN ZAMAN MIRZA

INTRODUCTION

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan is an ideological State. It is the heartland of Muslim Asia and an integral part of the Muslim world. Eversince the Muslims entered South Asia as conquerors, they zealously guarded their separate and distinctive entity and identified themselves with the rest of the Muslim world. The decline of Muslim political power, however, relegated them to a status where they became subjects of another alien nation and were reduced to a very low position. As regards the Muslims of other countries, they had also suffered the same fate. This had ignited a fire of self-consciousness among them for national independence and for the renaissance of Islam and to regain its pristine glory. It was against this background that in his historic presidential address at the twenty-first session of the All-India Muslim League, held at Allahabad on 29-30 December, 1930, the poet-philosopher of Islam and animator of the idea of Pakistan, Allama Muhammad Iqbal, stressed: "We have a duty towards Asia, especially Muslim Asia."¹ In the concluding part of his address, Allama Iqbal had impressed upon the Muslims that :

"One lesson I have learnt from the history of Muslims. At critical moments in their history, it is Islam that has saved Muslims and not *vice versa*. If today you focus your vision on Islam and seek inspiration from the ever-vitalizing idea

embodied in it, you will be only reassembling your scattered forces, regaining your lost integrity, and thereby saving yourself from total destruction."²

It was with this aim in view that the Muslims of South Asia, under the inspiring and dynamic leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, organized themselves and reasserted their national individuality. They fought against the caste-ridden-Hindu domination and struggled to ward off the supremacy of British imperialism. They succeeded in achieving their sacred goal of a separate State. Thus, Pakistan emerged on the physical map of the world on 14th August, 1947, as the biggest and the only ideological nation-State of the Muslims. Even before the establishment of Pakistan, the Muslim of South Asia, in general, and those of the areas forming the State of Pakistan, in particular, had aspired to and made sacrifices for their unity and solidarity of the Muslim world. What the people and the successive governments of Pakistan contributed towards the realization of this ideal is briefly discussed in this paper. Their quest for Pan-Islamism and efforts to translate the ideal of Muslim solidarity cannot be properly understood and appreciated unless we have a knowledge of the origin, scope and significance of Pan-Islamism.

However, before discussing the topic it can hardly be over-emphasised that Pakistan is situated in the most strategic and vulnerable area of South Asia. This is an area which has become the vortex of super-power politics. It also forms a corridor to the Muslim Middle-East. As an Islamic and Ideological State, Pakistan has a duty towards the Muslim countries of this region. As such, "it is also a part of our ideology to work for the unification of the Muslim world. Such a unification is not only an article of faith with us but is also essential for our defence."³

Notwithstanding their different socio-political systems, the fraternal peoples of the Muslim countries have, by and large, demonstrated their solidarity with one another. They have the common urge for Islamic renaissance. As a result thereof, it has re-inforced

the Pan-Islamic Movement. The establishment of the Organization of Islamic Countries, popularly known as the Islamic Conference, is the culmination of the ideal of Muslim Solidarity.

As regards Pakistan, its people and governments have consistently supported and advocated the cause of Muslims throughout the world. In this behalf, the role of Pakistan within and outside the United Nations has been positive. In this connection, Pakistan's historic role in supporting the cause of Muslim peoples, especially those of the Middle-East, Asia and Africa, for their national independence is a part of history. Pakistan and its people have also demonstrated their complete solidarity with the Arabs, particularly on the Palestine problem since the 'Balfour Declaration' of 1917.

DEFINITION, ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE OF PAN-ISLAMISM

It may be broadly stated that the basis of Pan-Islamism lies in the teachings of the Holy Quran and Sunnah which enshrine international Muslim brotherhood. But strictly speaking, the ideal of Pan-Islamism has a relevance to socio-political solidarity rather than to the religious order. According to Dr. M. Naeem Qureshi :

"Pan-Islamism has been described in various forms but generally it is understood to be of European coinage and was probably styled after the term Pan-Slavism, which had been current in the 1870s. It may also have been the outcome of the impact of romantic nationalism upon the world of Islam. To some observers it signified some kind of an aggressive Muslim League against the Christian West, while to others it was no more than a Utopia, having its origin partly in European encroachments on the *Dar-al-Islam* and partly in Islam's endeavours to reassert itself. The Muslims themselves have interpreted 'Pan-Islamism' as a sacred and exalted passion for that ideal universal socio-political order under a common leadership which had been their cherished dream for centuries."⁴

Pan-Islamism, as a socio-political ideal, has been a 19th century product. The great Muslim political power in South Asia had declined and disintegrated with the downfall of the Mughal rule, but, in the words of Naimur Rahman Farooqi, the Islamic world had :

“Witnessed the expansion of the Russian Empire in Central Asia, the British and French penetration in the very heart-land of Islam, and the humiliating defeats of the most powerful Islamic State in the world, the Ottoman Empire. A systematic and at times brutal suppression and persecution of the Muslims in the newly conquered areas, followed by large scale Muslim migration to the Ottoman Empire, made things still worse . . . All these factors combined to cause the emergence of a new idea, a feeling of Muslim unity and solidarity under the command of the ‘commander of the faithful’, the Sultan of Turkey. This idea led to the movement which is known as Pan-Islamism or the Pan-Islamic Movement.”⁵

The same writer further says that :

“It was the sense of the oneness of Islam everywhere in the world which inspired among Muslims all over the world the feeling of threat and danger to Islam when it was faced with the traumatic events of the nineteenth century. This feeling was shared by all Muslims regardless of the fact whether they themselves were in any specific danger. Yet, Muslim grievances were similar to a large extent all over the world and this helped the movement. Pan-Islamism was thus a movement of sentiment, perhaps legitimate sentiment. The British interpretation of it as an attempt to revive Muslim religious fanaticism in order to form an aggressive association of Muslims against Europe is unsound in theory and unsupported by facts.”⁶

ORIGIN OF PAN-ISLAMISM IN SOUTH ASIA

The Muslims of South-Asia, who belonged to various racial

groups and had come from different Muslim lands, identified themselves as one nation. However, after the downfall of Mughal Empire, they were subjected to ruthless victimization and were made to suffer religio-political and socio-economic subjugation. This forced them to re-emerge and re-assert their distinctive individuality. They were also greatly moved and influenced by the persecution of Muslims everywhere in the world.

As members of the international Muslim brotherhood, they always had extra-territorial loyalty to Islam and the world of Islam. All these factors inspired them to become the standard bearers of the cause of Muslim unity and solidarity. For this noble cause, many great Muslim personalities devoted their lives. They wanted to give the ideal of Muslim solidarity a concrete shape. In this connection :

“Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and his Aligarh movement, Hali's soul-inspiring *Mussadas*, Shibli's *Sirat-un-Nabi* (Biography of Prophet) and his thrilling biographies of the heroes of Islam, Syed Amir Ali's monumental work, *The Spirit of Islam*, Sir Muhammad Iqbal's immortal versification of the message of the *Quran*, and Abul Kalam Azad's legendary advocacy of Islam in his famous *Al-Halal*, were different facets of the dynamic revival of Islam.”⁷

As regards the rise of Pan-Islamism in South-Asia, a British historian writes that :

“Developments both in scholarship and in international politics eased the way towards emotional rapport between the ‘Ulama and the modern-educated Muslim’, so that they were both ready to spring together to the defence of Islam even though they had different ideas about the Islam which they were defending. As English education spread, so the Muslim graduates of Aligarh, Calcutta, Lahore and Allahabad became aware of the cool, if not hostile, tone of the nineteenth century Western orientalism towards Islam and Islamic civilization.”⁸

The Muslims of South Asia, who had lost their own freedom and political supremacy, were greatly disturbed to see the declining power of the Turks and of the weakening of *Khilafat* which was a pivot of Islamic unity. Under these circumstances, a passionate revivalist, Syed Jamal-ud-Din Al-Afghani worked with missionary zeal and mad passion for the unity and solidarity of the Muslims all over the world. This was essentially because :

“Jamal-ud-Din Al-Afghani saw in the unity of the Muslims of the world which he strenuously propagated, the surest guarantee of Islamic survival in face of the challenge of Christianity and Western imperialism which were largely considered one and the same evil thing. Pan-Islamism is at least logical from the point of view of the religious and political unity of Islam. It has a strong basis in theory and in history, un-like Pan-Arabian, the child of modern nationalism with little if any basis in theory or history.”⁹

The Pan-Islamic sentiments had been generated among the Indian Muslims to such an extent that, Sir Anthony MacDonnell, the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, reported to the Viceroy, Lord Elgin, stating that :

“There can be no doubt that there is a great sympathy with Turkey and that the prevalent feeling partakes of the nature of an Islamic revival. This I believe to be partly due to incitement from outside India and partly spontaneous, and I think it has been growing for some time and is fostered in Mohammadan schools. The Commissioner of Agra tells me that many more people than formerly have taken to wearing the Turkish fez and this is perhaps a straw indicating how the wind is beginning to blow.”¹⁰

Syed Jamal-ud-Din Al-Afghani's influence on the feelings of Pan-Islamism was deep and lasting, because “the primary aim of Afghani's mission was to rescue the Muslim countries, in fact the whole colonial world, from the tyranny of the West.”¹¹

The most outstanding personality in South-Asia, who passionately worked and preached Muslim universalism, was Iqbal, who :

“Tirelessly advocated the cause of Muslim universalism and although his non-Muslim critics used the epithet ‘Pan-Islamist’ for him in a derogatory sense, he himself was convinced that the universality of Islam was vital to the faith itself. He firmly believed that if the Muslim nations were to survive in the contemporary competitive world, they must find some device which could again link them together as one compact entity.”¹²

It may also be stated that ‘Ali Brothers’, Maulana Muhammad Ali Jouhar and Maulana Shaukat Ali, had stirred the Muslims of South Asia with the feeling and passion of Muslim brotherhood, particularly during the first world war. Similarly, the role of Maulana Ubaid-Allah Sindhi, in regenerating the spirit of Muslim solidarity among the Indian Muslims, is of great historical significance.

Notwithstanding the fact that Islam enjoins upon the Muslims to be welded into an international Muslim brotherhood, it, however, remains a fact that political disunity among the Muslims and machinations of the enemies of Islam had brought about a downfall of the great Muslim Mughal Empire in South Asia. The same was the case with the Ottoman Empire which by the second half of the 19th century, was called the sickman of Europe. It was against this background that feelings of Pan-Islamism were aroused and a movement was launched for the unity of the Muslim world. This was partly motivated by religious factors and partly as an expedient of political necessity. Shaukat Ali writes :

“However, during the inter-war period the conditions in the Muslim world were still not ripe enough for large-scale Pan-Islamic Movement. Most of the Muslim lands were under foreign domination with uncertain political future. In these circumstances, the scope of any revolutionary movement which could pose a threat to imperialism was very limited. In spite of these extremely discouraging

environments, however, in certain countries steps were taken which kept the issue of Islamic unity alive.”¹³

It, however, remains a fact that the Muslims of South Asia were destined to play a leading role for the unity and solidarity of the Muslim world. What role did they play after the creation of Pakistan? It is briefly narrated in the following pages.

PAKISTAN AND PAN-ISLAMISM

It may be stated that Allama Iqbal, the animator of the idea of Pakistan, and Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Founder of Pakistan, were the greatest exponents of the ideal of Muslim Solidarity. A few excerpts from their writings and speeches are, therefore, reproduced below to enable the readers to know as to what were their views about the ideal of Muslim solidarity. Iqbal wrote :

“For the present every Muslim nation must sink into her own deeper self, temporarily focus her vision on herself alone, until they are strong and powerful to form a living family of republic Islam is neither nationalism nor imperialism but a league of Nations which recognizes artificial boundaries, and racial distinctions for facility of reference only, and not restricting social horizon of its members.”¹⁴

Iqbal's poetry truly represented the feelings of the Muslims and he fervently pleaded for and strongly advocated the cause of the Unity and Solidarity of the Muslim *Ummah*. The following verses are significant to note :

”ایک ہوں مسلم حرم کی پاسبانی کے لئے

نیل کے ساحل سے لیکر تابخاک کاشغر“¹⁵

All Muslims, from the shore of the Nile to the soil of Kashgar, should unite to safeguard the House of Allah (*Kaaba*).

As regards the Quaid-i-Azam, ever since the *Balfour Declaration* of November, 1917 to the partition of Palestine by the United Nations

in 1947, he had always voiced the sentiments of the Muslims of South Asia as their accredited leader. Not only this, the All-India Muslim League, under his leadership, had also adopted many resolutions condemning the British Government for her anti-Arab policy in Palestine and elsewhere.

The Muslims of South Asia were so greatly concerned with the problem of Muslim Solidarity that, on the day the historic Pakistan resolution was adopted by the Muslim League on 23rd March, 1940, second most important resolution adopted by the League, was with regard to Palestine. The same is reproduced below :

“The All-India Muslim League views with grave concern the inordinate delay on the part of the British Government in coming to a settlement with the Arabs in Palestine, and places on record its considered opinion, in clear and unequivocal language, that no arrangements of a piecemeal character will be made in Palestine which are contrary in spirit and opposed to the pledges given to the Muslim world, and particularly to the Muslims of India, to secure their active assistance in the war of 1914-18. Further, the League warns the British Government against the danger of taking advantage of the presence of a large British force in the Holy Land to overawe the Arabs and force them into submission.”¹⁶

This problem continues to be confronted by the Muslim *Ummah* and is an affront to the solidarity of the Muslim world. Not only this, but the All-India Muslim League had also organized a ‘Palestine Day’ in the month of November, 1945. Addressing a public meeting, the Quaid-i-Azam said : “Muslims of India were doing all in their power to help the Arabs, to whom large sums of money had been sent. Jews do not want a national home, but they want to reconquer Palestine which they lost two thousand years ago.”¹⁷ The All-India Muslim League, in its Council meeting held on 10th April, 1946 in Delhi, adopted many resolutions concerning the Muslim world. The most important were those which related to ‘Palestine’¹⁸ and

'Indonesia.'¹⁹

Eversince they achieved independence, the Muslims of Pakistan have strenuously worked for the cause of Muslim Solidarity in their humble way. This is because the destiny of Pakistan is linked with the Muslim world.

PAKISTAN AND MUSLIM SOLIDARITY : 1947-1958

After the creation of Pakistan, its first act of solid support for the cause of Muslim Solidarity was actively demonstrated when the question of the partition of Palestine came up before the United Nations in 1947. Not only that the Pakistan delegation uncompromisingly opposed the partition of Palestine, but the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah sent to President Truman of America, a lengthy cable and appealed to him to personally intervene and to uphold the rights of the Arabs and save the dangerous situation. He warned him of the gravest consequences and repercussions. As regards the U.N. decision for the partition of Palestine, in his cable, the Quaid-i-Azam had said :

"At this hour when the Muslim world has received a terrible shock owing to the most unfortunate decision of the United Nations Organization to enforce partition of Palestine, I would like to address to you, Mr. President, this personal appeal."

"The decision is *ultra vires* of the United Nations Charter and basically wrong and invalid in law. Morally, it is untenable ; politically, historically, geographically and practically, it would be impossible to enforce partition against the united resistance of the Arabs who have the full sympathy and support of over three hundred (million) Musalmans and many non-Muslim countries and not only those who voted against the UNO decision."²⁰

Needless to say that one of the principal objectives of the Movement that led to the establishment of Pakistan was to promote and

strengthen fraternal ties with the Muslim countries, and to develop closer co-operation among them to safeguard their common interests. As regards Pakistan's foreign policy, "in fact, it has been its primary national aspiration to forge closest possible relations of friendship and Islamic brotherhood."²¹ This was essentially because the struggle for Pakistan was launched on the ideological basis of Islam. This is why "she feels special responsibility to support the world Community of Muslim States espousing their cause of independence everywhere."²² In this connection, special mention may be made of Pakistan's support to Indonesia, Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria. Furthermore, Pakistan's quest for Pan-Islamism was explicitly expressed by the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, Khan Liaquat Ali Khan, when he said that :

"The underlying idea of the Movement for the achievement of Pakistan was not just to add one more country to the conglomeration of countries in the world or to add one more patch of colour to the multicoloured global map. Pakistan came into being as a result of the urge felt by the Muslims of this sub-continent to secure a territory however limited, where the Islamic ideology and way of life could be practised and demonstrated to the world. A cardinal feature of this ideology is to make Muslim brotherhood a living reality. It is, therefore, part of the mission which Pakistan has set before itself to do everything in its power to promote closer fellowship and co-operation between Muslim countries."²³

Pakistan's desire for the promotion of closer co-operation with the Muslim countries was demonstrated, when in its quest for Muslim Solidarity, the Government of Pakistan initiated a number of definite policies. In this connection, it may be stated that an Islamic Economic Conference was held in Pakistan from 25th November to 6th December, 1949. Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, inaugurating the Conference said : "Pakistan has one and only one ambition to serve Islam and humanity."²⁴ The next meeting of "Islamic Economic

Conference was held in Tehran in 1950"²⁵ and the "Third one in 1954."²⁶ In order to foster goodwill and forge unity among the Muslim countries, 'Motamer-e-Alam-e-Islam' organized the 'Second Muslim Conference'²⁷ in February 1951 at Karachi in which almost all the Muslim countries and various delegations from other countries participated. Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, in his presidential address said :

"If the Western democracies can enter into pacts to promote their way of life ; if the Communist countries can form a block on the basis that they have an ideology, why cannot Muslim people get together to protect themselves and to show themselves and show the world that they have an ideology and a way of life which ensures peace and harmony for the world."²⁸

It may be stated that the people and Government of Pakistan have always been committed to the cause of Muslim Solidarity. The ideal of Muslim Solidarity is so dear to them and near their hearts that it was made an integral part of the first constitution of Pakistan (Constitution of Pakistan, 1956). It was subsequently incorporated in the Constitutions of 1962 and 1973. In this connection, reference may be made to Part III of the 1956 Constitution, entitled "Directive Principles of State Policy."²⁹ The relevant Article expressly stated that :

"The State shall endeavour to strengthen the bonds of unity among Muslim countries, to promote international peace and security, to foster goodwill and friendly relations among all nations, and to encourage the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means."³⁰

But nonetheless, the people of Pakistan had to face the first setback when, in clear contravention of the constitution and against the wishes of the Muslims of Pakistan, the Government of Pakistan demonstrated lack of solidarity with Egypt when, supported by Britain and France, Israel committed aggression against that country in 1956. Its effect was that Pakistan's relations with an important

Muslim country in the Middle-East were estranged. As a mark of its displeasure, Egypt refused to accept Pakistan's military contingent among the United Nations troops in the Gaza strip whereas she accepted that of India. It may also be stated that :

"Eight days before the invasion of Suez, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan is reported to have said : 'Pak-Islamism or no Pan-Islamism should now be the slogan. You have no future if you indiscriminately fight or die for Moslems (Muslims) outside Pakistan even though they be the dearest friends of your enemy.'"³¹

So far as the people of Pakistan were concerned, they demonstrated their full sympathy and solidarity with Egypt and other Muslim Arab countries in their hour of trial. The "public demonstrations throughout the country indicated a very loud degree of sympathy for the cause of fellow Muslims."³²

VARIOUS PHASES OF PAKISTAN'S QUEST FOR PAN-ISLAMISM 1958-1977

First Phase 1958-1962 :

It was during this period that Pakistan's relations with Muslim countries of the Middle-East were cold and less cordial. This was primarily because of Pakistan's close collaboration with the United States which had till then become chief patron of the State of Israel, an illegitimate child of Western imperialism. However, it may also be kept in mind that India's hostility towards Pakistan and its usurpation of Kashmir had created many defence problems for Pakistan. It brought a close relationship with the United States which had antagonized most of the Arab countries. However, Pakistan continued to support the cause of Muslim countries in the United Nations as a corner-stone of its foreign policy. As regards the people of Pakistan, they expressed their complete solidarity with the Muslim countries irrespective of what would be the consequences.

Second Phase 1962-1969 :

With the enforcement of the 1962 Constitution and consequent

upon the restoration of constitutional rule in Pakistan, the ban on political activities was lifted. The political parties were allowed to operate which laid great stress on ideological reorientation of Pakistan's internal and external policies. Moreover, during President Kennedy's administration, the United States had started cold-shouldering Pakistan and had become more friendly towards India. Under these circumstances, when situation in the South-Asian sub-continent and elsewhere had considerably changed, Pakistan formulated and pursued a foreign policy which was to a great extent ideologically motivated. According to one writer :

"There appeared a genuine confidence in the thinking of Pakistani elite about foreign policy. Occasionally one comes across convincing evidence of a clear as well as flexible attitude to various problems ; and Pan-Islamism at least acquired some semblance of having a definite policy."³³

It may further be stated that :

"The prime object of Pakistan's foreign policy during 1958-69 was security and economic development. Pakistan continued to work for Muslim unity, but under a different perspective that took into account vital interests and operated towards the advancement of these interests, free from indulgence into historicisms."³⁴

The ideological commitment of the people of Pakistan and its political requirements convinced President Ayub Khan to adopt and follow a policy which could usher in a new era of closer co-operation among the Muslim countries. Ayub Khan admitted that :

"Commonsense dictated that Pakistan should belong to a major constellation, extending from Casablanca to Djakarta. There should be some association and understanding among countries of this region, not a political or military association, but an economic and cultural association."³⁵

In fact, experience had proved and prudence had necessitated that Pakistan should work towards the formation of an association to bring closer co-operation among the Muslim countries. It was against this background that in July, 1964 :

“After a preliminary meeting at Ankara between the Foreign Ministers of Pakistan, Turkey and Iran and a summit conference between the Shah, (of Iran) President Ayub and President Gursel at Istanbul, RCD (Regional Cooperation for Development) came into being. It aims at closer economic, technical and cultural co-operation and promoting economic advancement in the region.”³⁶

It may be of special interest to note that :

“Under the auspices of the RCD, Pakistan and Iran have co-operated in the fields of commerce, industry, transport communications, insurance, banking and culture During the 1965 India-Pakistan war, Iran jointly with Turkey aided Pakistan and during 1967 Arab-Israel war, Pakistan and Iran supported the Arabs in the U.N. and outside it.”³⁷

It is an undeniable fact that Pakistan was chiefly instrumental in securing Iran's support against Israel during the 1967 Arab-Israel war. It was as a consequence of this support, extended by Pakistan to the Arabs, that a former Prime Minister of Israel, David Ben Gurion, said in 1967, that :

“Pakistan which is an ideological State and zealous supporter of Arabs should be the first target of Zionism, as it is a living threat to Israel. Therefore, immediate measures may be adopted to deal with its growing menace to the existence of Israel.”³⁸

David Ben Gurion is also stated to have said that :

“Pakistan's love for Islam is more dangerous than Arab enmity for Israel” and that “Hindu India—Pakistan's

insidious hostile neighbour—must be made the organizational base for anti-Pakistan activities aimed at seeking its final destruction. Pakistan in consonance with all Muslim States has not recognized the State of Israel, till this day.”³⁹

Notwithstanding that RCD was an organization consisting of only three Muslim countries, it was, however, a land mark in the history of Muslim countries. Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, did not even hesitate to declare in the United Nations General Assembly, that :

“We in Pakistan were happy to join the fraternal countries of Iran and Turkey in Regional Cooperation for Development. The heads of States of the three countries launched the enterprise at their meeting in Istanbul in July, 1964, when a wide agreement was reached on greater freedom of communication among the three countries and the exploration of possibilities for creating mass consciousness of their common culture and civilization.”⁴⁰

The objective of Pakistan's foreign policy has consistently remained to strive for the freedom, strength, prosperity and unity of the Muslim world. Pakistan has always treated Arab cause in Palestine as its own and has constantly refused to recognize the State of Israel. Consonant with its policy, Pakistan gave its :

“Full support to independence for Indonesia, Malaya, Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Nigeria, and Algeria. On the West Irian issue, Pakistan stood by Indonesia. Treaties of friendship have been signed with a number of Muslim countries and cultural exchanges have been arranged.”⁴¹

With the passage of time and because of internal upheavals, there were many ups and downs in the foreign policy of Pakistan. However, it remains a fact that so far as the cause of Muslim countries is concerned, Pakistan, by and large, remained steadfast and true to the ideal of Muslim solidarity. It is a befitting tribute to

Pakistan's sincerity to the ideal of Muslim solidarity that the Arab countries, who by and large had remained indifferent to Pakistan on the Kashmir issue, responded favourably during the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965. In this connection, mention may be made of the Casablanca conference where the "Arab States fully endorsed Pakistan's point of view and condemned the un-warranted Indian aggression against Pakistan."⁴² Similarly, Pakistan reacted with all the power at its command when Israel attacked Egypt in June, 1967. In her hour of trial, the people and Government of Pakistan gave full and unflinching support to Egypt. In this connection, it may be stated that :

"Pakistanis demonstrated their unstinted support for Egypt in its predicament. Pakistan was one of the sponsors of Resolution No. 242 in the Security Council, demanding vacation of Egyptian territories forcibly occupied by Israel. Pakistan condemned the territorial accretion by military occupation."⁴³

Third Phase 1969-71 :

Needless to say that "unity and solidarity of the Muslim world extending from Morocco on the Atlantic to Indonesia on the Pacific has been one of the highly desired and cherished objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy"⁴⁴ In fact, "It has been its primary national aspiration to forge closest possible relations of friendship and Islamic brotherhood."⁴⁵ It is also beyond doubt that "the nature of this emphasis has passed through many variations,"⁴⁶ yet it remains a fact that the first major effort towards Pan-Islamic Movement was made in 1969 when the first ever Islamic Summit Conference was held in Rabat in the month of September, 1969. It was after the Arab-Israeli war of 1967, and as a consequence of the sacrilegious act of burning of the *Holy Al-Aqsa Mosque* by the Israeli forces, that the Muslim world was agitated. It had created the most critical situation among the Muslim people all over the world. In fact, the Israeli occupation of the *Holy Land*, sacrilege of the *Al-Aqsa Mosque* and forcible occupation of certain Arab

territories shook the Muslim world that ultimately convinced them to forge a united front. In the words of Iqbal :

”مسلمان کو مسلمان کر دیا طوفان مغرب نے
تلاطم ہائے دریائی سے ہے گوہر کی سیرابی“⁴⁷

“The storm of Western aggression has made the Muslims true Muslims, like

The Tumultuous waves of the sea which give lustre to pearls.”

In short :

“The year 1969 heralded the beginning of a new era of collective consciousness among the Muslims of the world, when in the month of September for four days from 22nd to 25th, twenty-five heads of the Muslim States and Governments of Asia, Africa and Middle East assembled in Rabat to discuss issues having a direct bearing on the future destiny of Muslim countries.”⁴⁸

Pakistan fully participated in this conference at the highest level and was represented by the President, General Muhammad Yahya Khan. In this connection, it may also be stated that :

“India made an unsuccessful attempt to get admittance into this conference as a country representing fifty million Indian Muslims. The attempt was, however, foiled by a determined opposition from Pakistan, which refuted the Indian claim that the conference was of the States with substantial Muslim majority.”⁴⁹

In this connection, comments of Chaudhary Nazir Ahmad Khan, a former President of *Al-Hahiba*, however, deserve consideration.

He says :

“For no valid reason, India was invited to the first summit of ‘Muslim’ Heads of State. India (Bharat) the country of rabid militant Hindus, a sworn enemy of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan (which it had blatantly attacked in

September, 1965). India an avowed friend of Israel, was present at the Summit Muslim Conference through its Sikh Ambassador to Morocco."⁵⁰

The first ever Islamic Summit Conference was held under the most critical circumstances. Therefore, prior to its holding :

"In every Muslim Capital of the world leaders seriously thought that in an ideologically fragmented world, the Muslim Nations must put up a united front against their adversaries. They should have some machinery through which they could organize and defend their common interests on the stage of world politics. It was at this moment of acute emotional crisis that leading Statesmen of the world of Islam decided to convene an Islamic Summit Conference."⁵¹

It may further be stated that :

"The deliberations of the various sessions of the conference, revolved mostly around the Security Council resolution regarding the desecration of the *Al-Aqsa Mosque*. But the Statesmen gathered in Rabat also showed keen interest in the rejuvenation of Pan-Islamism and they liked to establish some kind of international forum which could facilitate co-operation among the Muslim States."⁵²

So far as Pakistan was concerned, it had, from the very beginning of its creation as an ideological State, made sincere efforts for the establishment of some kind of World Muslim Organization. Its efforts, however, could not materialize because of indifference of some Arab countries which were under the spell of Arab nationalism. The Rabat Islamic Summit provided Pakistan with an opportunity to play her sincere and effective role. It needs further to be observed that :

"Efforts to create an international body of the Muslim States had failed previously because of the absence of leadership and lack of material resources. By the time the Rabat

Conference took place, leaders like the late King Faisal of Saudi Arabia were prepared to provide the requisite leadership, and the riches flowing into the coffers of the oil States in the Middle East enhanced the prospects of material support to any project of Pan-Islamic Organization."⁵³

The Rabat Islamic Summit Conference, where Pakistan was represented at the highest level, adopted a Declaration (Annexure 'A') which was a turning point in the history of the World of Islam in the years to come. In addition to the adoption of a 'Joint Declaration', the participants of the Conference expressed their desire for bringing their peoples closer together. They also resolved to preserve the spiritual, moral and socio-economic values of Islam and affirmed their determination to strengthen the fraternal and spiritual bonds existing between their peoples.

Not only the people of Pakistan but also those of other Muslim countries had always desired for the unity and solidarity of the Muslim world. The lack of communication, disunity among many Muslim countries and political instability in their respective countries had, however, remained as the main impediments in the way of the realization of the objective of the Muslim solidarity. But the Arab-Israel war of 1967 and the sacrilege of the *Al-Aqsa Mosque* were events of such grave consequences for the entire Muslim world that they had no other alternative but to sink their differences and go into a deeper self to forge unity among their ranks. It was an achievement of great significance that "this Summit rekindled the spark of Muslim unity which consequently paved the way for the Second Islamic Summit."⁵⁴ Pakistan had the proud privilege to host this Summit Conference, which was held in February, 1974, in Lahore—the city of Iqbal the heart of Pakistan.

It may not be out of place to mention that the Rabat Summit, though held in a grave crisis, had spontaneously aroused the feelings of the Muslim world. It was followed by subsequent events which led to certain concrete steps that had materialized in the establishment

of a permanent Muslim Organization. It is in this context that it should be noted with satisfaction that :

“In order to continue the spirit of oneness, unity, and Islamic brotherhood that had been gathered at Rabat, a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Muslim countries was convened at Jeddah in March, 1970. The Foreign Ministers (or their representatives) from 22 Islamic countries met and deliberated on various possibilities and alternatives which could help in the creation of an organization which would be a paramount bond of unity among Muslim States. The Arab League and the Palestinian Organization participated as observers in this meeting.”⁵⁵

As regards Pakistan, it played a positive role and forcefully pleaded for the establishment of a permanent organization of Muslim countries which could be reckoned with in the comity of nations. Consequently, after some controversial discussion by some of the participating countries, the Conference adopted with an overwhelming majority a proposal, sponsored by Pakistan, for the setting-up of a Permanent Secretariat of the Islamic countries. It was at the initiative of Pakistan that the first practical step towards Pan-Islamism was taken. It was in the form of the establishment of a permanent Organization of Islamic Countries, which Iqbal had referred to as the ‘League of Muslim Nations’. Thereafter, the Secretariat of the Islamic Conference was located in Jeddah. Pakistan suggested that the next conference of the Muslim Foreign Ministers be held in Pakistan.

It was a great privilege for Pakistan and a matter of great joy and satisfaction for its people, that :

“The Second Conference of the Foreign Ministers of Islamic Countries met in Karachi (Pakistan) from 26-28 December, 1970. It was attended by the representatives of 22 countries. Its major achievement was to confirm the appointment of Tunku Abdul Rehman, the former Prime Minister of Malaysia, as the first Secretary-General of the

Permanent Secretariat which was located in Jeddah. The Conference passed a resolution condemning Israel's continued aggression in Arab Lands. It also instructed UAR (then Union of Egypt and Syria) to prepare a report, exploring the possibilities for the establishment of an Islamic Bank or Islamic Federation of Banks. The conference approved half-a-million dollars as the annual budget of the Secretariat and also sanctioned that the Secretary-General be assisted by three Assistant Secretaries-General instead of two."⁵⁶

In so far as the Second Conference of the Foreign Ministers of Islamic countries was concerned, Chaudhari Nazir Ahmad Khan commented as under :

"In plain words, a declared policy of action, without any will to act, was again the undertone at Karachi. In a year and quarter (after Rabat) no visible cohesion was visible among Arab countries to fight for Palestine. On the other hand, the stance about the legality of the State of Israel had shifted considerably in the leading Arab State—Egypt. Hints at recognition of Israel had been openly given out as an inducement to Israel to pull out of the occupied territories—a step which it has no intention of taking willingly. Moreover, tension—sometimes leading to actual confrontation, between the various units in the Arab world has increased—the most painful being the conflict of Jordan and the Palestinian Liberation Forces."⁵⁷

The people of Pakistan were happy to see that their long cherished dream of the ideal of Muslim solidarity had taken a concrete shape. However, they were led to humiliation when "President Yahya Khan permitted Pakistan's Military Advisers in Jordan to participate in the September 1970 suppression of the Palestinians."⁵⁸

It is, however, tragic to note that, during the year 1971, Pakistan was itself victim of political instability, internal strife and external intervention. All the forces of disintegration from within

and without—were bent upon the dismemberment and destruction of Pakistan. The people, the politicians and the rulers of Pakistan were primarily responsible for the worst tragedy of December, 1971. But nonetheless, one is reminded of the message of a former Israeli Prime Minister, which he had given to the *Jews Chronicle*, London, in 1967, after the Arab-Israel war of June 1967, in which he was reported to have said that “Hindu-India—Pakistan’s insidious hostile neighbour—must be made the organizational base for anti-Pakistan activities aimed at seeking its final destruction.”⁵⁹ It must, however, be admitted that Pakistan had to pay a heavy price not only because of her own lapses but also for the support she had extended to the Muslim cause, especially, to the Arab cause in Palestine. But it cannot deter us from following the path we have chosen—the path of the ideal of Muslim Solidarity.

Fourth Phase 1972-77 : People’s Government and the Ideal of Muslim Solidarity :

The Pakistan People’s Party had emerged as the largest party in West Pakistan in the 1970 elections under the leadership of Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. After the tragedy of East Pakistan in December 1971, he had assumed the responsibilities to direct Pakistan’s national and international policies. In its fundamental document, the Pakistan People’s Party had guaranteed to work towards the realization of the ideal of Islamic solidarity. The relevant portion of its 1970 manifesto, entitled ; ‘Solidarity with Muslim Peoples’, is quoted below, which states *inter alia*, that :

“Pakistan will follow a positive policy to promote solidarity among Muslim peoples.

Israel : Israel is a colony implanted on Arab soil. The Arabs are the victims of a Zionist aggression aided and abetted principally by Western capitalist powers. Complete and unreserved support to Arab States and the Palestinian liberation movement in their fight against Israel will be given by Pakistan.”⁶⁰

It remains a fact that it was after the emergence of Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, as the spokesman and real representative of the people of Pakistan, that concerted efforts were made and concrete steps were taken to translate the ideal of Muslim solidarity. He sincerely devoted himself to this cause and rendered all moral and material support to the Arabs. It was during his period that not only that Pakistan had the proud privilege to extend moral support to the Arabs in the 1973 Arab-Israel War, but effective and concrete material support had also been extended which enabled them to repulse the invader—Israel. It was during this period that Pakistan had the unique honour to host the Second Islamic Summit Conference which was held at Lahore, in February, 1974.

In this connection, reference may be made to Mr. Bhutto's address to the Second Islamic Summit. An excerpt from his historic and thought-provoking address is reproduced below :

“I trust that we will not fritter away the historic opportunities now presented to us. For long centuries, we have hoped for a turning point. That turning point has arrived. The break of a new dawn is not now a forlorn hope. Poverty need no longer be our portion. Humiliation need no longer be our heritage. Ignorance need no longer be the emblem of our identity.”⁶¹

Consequently, relations between the Islamic Countries were further strengthened and steps were taken for mutual co-operation. Collective efforts were also initiated in various fields. In fact, it was after the period immediately succeeding the year 1971 that practical steps were taken to fulfil the hopes and aspirations of the people of Pakistan. According to Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada :

“The historic Islamic Summit Conference held at Lahore in February 1974 was of great importance, as it was a manifestation of the Islamic renaissance and culmination of efforts to bring about unity and solidarity among the Muslim countries.”⁶²

It may not be out of place to mention that the people of Pakistan are so wedded to the ideal of Islamic Solidarity that no political party, which represents even a segment of the population, can afford to weaken this ideal. Apart from the Muslim League, which has been advocating this cause since the day of its establishment, the other religio-political parties—their internal priorities aside—are unanimous on the realization of the ideal of Muslim Solidarity. The political elite, intellectuals and writers, by and large, have always supported and advocated the cause of Islamic renaissance and Muslim Solidarity. The National Press in Pakistan, both English and vernacular, have always highlighted the significance of Islamic Solidarity. Special supplements are published on important occasions. Thought-provoking articles and write-ups are a common feature of the Press in Pakistan, which project this ideal. All these factors have greatly influenced the thinking of the people and have contributed to the propagation of the ideal of Islamic Solidarity.

In the end, it would not be out of place to mention that election manifestoes of the political parties also lay great emphasis on the ideal of Islamic Solidarity. For instance the 1977 election manifesto of the PNA (Pakistan National Alliance), comprising nine parties, stated that :

“We want to establish closest relations with the Muslim world. We will endeavour to the utmost that Muslim countries should unite and thereby prepare a collective course of action to work for the achievement of progress and prosperity in various walks of national life.”⁶³

The Pakistan People Party's 1977 election manifesto affirmed that :

“In our 1970 election manifesto, we had laid great emphasis on our (Pakistan's) relations with the world of Islam. Our relations with RCD countries, Iran and Turkey, have remained extremely friendly. Rather the truth is that it was because of their motivation and

keeping in view national interests in the wake of the traumatic events which occurred in the sub-continent, we decided not to leave the CENTO (Central Treaty Organization). Iran, which has always been our loyal friend, has given us generous assistance.

"As we had supported the Muslim world, therefore, they have also supported us. We have much closer relations with Arab countries than ever before. We are connected with Saudi Arabia in extremely friendly relations. Saudi Arabia has given us immense economic aid. Likewise, UAE (United Arab Emirates), Libya and other Arab countries have also been helping us.

"On account of our fraternal relations with Muslim countries, and for the support which we have extended to them all in all their affairs, we were given the proud privilege to host the Second Islamic Summit Conference in Lahore in February, 1974. It was the fulfilment of the national hopes and aspirations of all the Pakistanis that Pakistan should play its full and purposeful role in so far as the Muslim world is concerned."⁶⁴

CONCLUSION

It can be concluded that the people of Pakistan, the political parties and their accredited leaders, especially those of the ideological parties, writers, intellectuals and the national press have always cherished and supported the ideal of Muslim solidarity. For the realization of this noble ideal, the Governments in power in Pakistan, by and large, have also not been unmindful of the aspirations and sentiments of the people of Pakistan. However, it also remains a fact that there were/are certain impediments in the way of realization of the ideal of Muslim solidarity to the full satisfaction of the people of Pakistan. During the early phase of the period under review, Pakistan was more closely linked with the United States of

America and as such most of the countries of the Middle East showed indifference to Pakistan. It was, however, after 1962, when relations between Pakistan and the United States began to deteriorate, that Pakistan seriously turned towards the Muslim World and the Regional Co-operation for Development came into existence. It can hardly be over-emphasised that long spells of dictatorial rule in Pakistan had also created a feeling of deprivation among the people of Pakistan. This led to political instability and internal strife which paved the way for external intervention. Much of the time and energy of the political parties, during this period, was devoted for the restoration of democracy and parliamentary rule. So far as the people are concerned, they were confronted with the crisis of national solidarity. In short, the rulers of Pakistan, under different exigencies, could not ignore the ideal of the solidarity of the Muslim World. It was primarily because they were aware that realization of the ideal of Islamic solidarity was an article of faith with the Muslims of Pakistan. One has, therefore, to admit that the people of Pakistan have had a deep desire and burning passion for the Pan-Islamic Movement. This cannot be translated into reality under the conditions of political instability and dictatorial rule.

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ANNEXURE 'A'

**DECLARATION OF THE RABAT ISLAMIC SUMMIT
CONFERENCE : SEPTEMBER 25, 1969**

Having considered the criminal fire perpetrated in the Holy *Al Aqsa Mosque* and the situation in the Middle East, the Heads of States and Governments and the Representatives make the following declaration :

"The painful events of August 21, 1969, which, because of the fire caused extensive damage to the sacred *Al Aqsa Mosque*, threw into the deepest anguish more than 600,000,000 Moslems all over the world.

"The sacrilegious act, perpetrated in one of the most venerated sanctuaries of humanity, and the acts of destruction and profanation of the *Al Aqsa Mosque*, committed while under Israeli military occupation in the Holy city, Jerusalem—Holy to the faithful of Islam, Christianity, and Judaism—have exacerbated tension in the Middle East and provoked the indignation of nations in the whole world.

"The Heads of States and Governments and the Representatives declare that the menaces which continue to threaten the sanctuaries of Islam in Jerusalem are the consequence of the occupation of that city by Israeli forces. The preservation of their sacredness and the free access to these Holy Places require that the Holy city regain the status previous to June 1967 consecrated by 1,300 years of history. Consequently their Governments and peoples are firmly determined to reject any solution to the Palestinian problem which denies Jerusalem its previous status.

"They ask all Governments, and particularly those in France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, to take into consideration the deep attachment of the faithful of Islam for the city of Jerusalem

and the solemn resolution of their Governments to fight for its liberation.

"Their peoples and Governments are very perturbed at the prolonged military occupation by Israel of Arab territories since the June 1967 aggression, and also by the refusal of Israel to take any notice of the appeals made to her by the Security Council and the U.N. General Assembly inviting her to revoke the annexation measures of the Holy city of Jerusalem.

"In view of the seriousness of this situation, the Heads of States and Governments and the Representatives make a pressing and anguished appeal to all members of the international community, and more particularly to the great powers on whom falls the special responsibility of keeping and restoring international peace, to renew and intensify their efforts on the collective plane as well as on the individual one to ensure the prompt withdrawal of Israeli military forces from all the territories they have occupied as a result of the June, 1967, war, on the principle that acquisition of territories by military conquest is inadmissible.

"Moved by the Palestine tragedy, they bring their full support to the Palestinian people for the restoration of their despoiled rights and in their fight for national liberation. They reaffirm their attachment to peace, but within the framework of honour and justice."

Source : *Keesings Contemporary Archives*, Vol. XVII, 1969-70, p. 23689, cf. Shaukat Ali, *Pan Movements in the Third World*, Publishers United, Lahore, 1976, pp. 236-37.

Sectoral Analysis in Perspective

Dr. (Mrs.) SHAHEEN KHAN

The historical content of changes brought about by the process of development initiated in Pakistan during the fifties and which has continued at a faster pace ever since has been accompanied by fluctuating sectoral priorities. A common feature of all less developed countries, is that industrialization brings with it regional disparities. Almost all the developing countries are characterised by small developed regions (usually urbanized with high population density, commercial, political and industrial centres) which are markedly different from the other regions (mostly agricultural and poor). These disparities are sometimes the results of the natural development process, while at others they are imposed upon through the policies followed for development. (Kindleberge, 1965 ; Totopoulos and Nugent, 1976 ; Jameson, 1982 and Abbas 1982). Economic growth in Pakistan has been fast and uneven, with large variability over time, regions and productive sectors. The difference between modern and traditional sectors show that growth process is well under way but it has not yet reached the whole population and advanced and backward sectors exist side by side.

The basic strategy of the first three development plans was growth oriented and the problem of growing income inequalities was generally ignored. Consequently, the growing disparities between different classes, productive sectors and regions of the country accentuated social tensions. Thus the Fourth Five-Year Plan, which was latter scrapped and replaced by short term annual plans due to

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the separation of former East Pakistan in 1971, aimed at removing social distortions through broadening the development base of the country. Table 1 shows the allocation of resources during the five plans.

TABLE 1
Allocation of Resources during the Five Plans

(Percentage of Total Outlay)

Sectors	1st Plan (1955-60)	2nd Plan (1960-65)	3rd Plan (1965-70)	4th Plan (1970-75)	5th Plan (1978-83)
Agriculture	11.6	10.6	11.2	13.7	10.1
Industry	14.8	7.5	9.3	9.0	14.2
Fuel and Minerals	2.4	1.8	2.0	1.2	5.1
Water	19.8	31.3	25.7	20.7	11.6
Power	10.7	10.1	14.0	11.9	18.8
Transport and Communication	23.0	17.6	17.1	16.1	18.5
Physical Planning and Housing	5.5	9.5	6.5	7.7	6.6
Education	2.1	5.2	5.4	7.6	6.9
Health	—	2.2	2.5	5.0	4.5
Population Planning	—	0.1	1.4	1.4	1.2
Social Welfare	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.4	1.0
Manpower	—	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.5
Works Programme	—	3.7	4.5	5.0	1.0
Total :	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source : Fourth and Fifth Five Year Plans.

The basic emphasis throughout has been on improving the infrastructure of the economy, that is, the provision of basic facilities like water, power and transport and communication. Looking at the comparative allocation of agriculture and industry, we find that apart from the first and fifth plan, agriculture had been given greater importance throughout. Then social services sector had been ignored in the first plan, while it gained significance in the subsequent plans as can be seen by increased resource allocation for

education, health, population planning, manpower and social welfare sectors.

Although resource allocation for development purposes should relate to growth priorities and the specific objectives of the perspective plans, yet it should take due consideration of the structural changes in the economy. The following table presents the value added by sectors for 1951 to 1981.

TABLE 2

Sectoral Contribution to Gross Domestic Product at Constant
Factor Cost of 1959-60

(Percentages)

Sectors	1951-52	1961-62	1971-72	1979-80	1981-82
Agriculture	48.7	43.7	38.4	31.4	30.1
(i) Major Crops	22.9	22.5	22.4	18.0	17.3
(ii) Minor Crops	6.3	4.9	4.6	4.1	3.8
(iii) Livestock	18.8	15.7	10.9	8.8	8.4
(iv) Fishing	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.3
(v) Forest	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2
Mining and Quarrying	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.5
Manufacturing	8.9	13.8	15.6	15.6	17.0
(i) Large-scale	3.2	9.0	11.6	11.0	12.4
(ii) Small-scale	5.7	4.9	4.0	4.5	4.7
Construction	2.0	3.2	3.5	5.2	5.5
Electricity and Gas	0.2	0.5	2.4	3.0	3.3
Transport and Communication	5.3	5.5	6.2	6.9	7.0
Wholesale and Retail Trade	12.5	12.9	13.6	13.7	14.0
Banking and Insurance	0.5	1.0	2.0	2.6	2.4
Ownership of Dwelling	5.3	4.7	3.6	3.1	3.0
Public Admin. and Defence	8.2	6.0	6.9	10.3	9.9
Services	8.2	8.2	7.3	7.3	7.3
GDP	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Per Capita Gross Income (Rs.)	341	393	519	668	702

Source : Appendix Table 1A.

Evidently, the share of agriculture in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) at constant factor cost has consistently declined from 48.7 to 30.1 during 1951 and 1981. This decrease has mainly been picked up by the manufacturing sector, whose share in GDP has increased from 8.9 to 17 per cent during the period under consideration. Along with manufacturing, most of the other sectors including construction, electricity and gas, transport and communication, wholesale and retail trade and banking and insurance have grown consistently. Agriculture shows an annual growth rate of 5.9 compared to 25.5 per annum in manufacturing over a period of thirty years. Per capita income in real terms has nearly doubled, while GDP has increased more than four times during the same period.

Unfortunately, the breakdown of value added by sectors for the four provinces of Pakistan is not available, hence we are unable to look at the changes in the provincial contribution to GDP over time. The information available relating to the distribution of employed labour force by provinces can be helpful in indicating the direction of changes by provinces (here the assumption is that the distribution of economic activity closely relates to the distribution of GDP). From Table 2A and 3A in the Appendix, we find that agriculture's contribution has fallen in Punjab, N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan and it has increased in Sind during 1974-78, while the share of economic activity relating to manufacturing has increased in Punjab, N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan. The provincial picture on the whole does show variations which are cancelled out in aggregation, and their assessment is difficult from the overall picture for Pakistan. The development programme should take due consideration of these variations. The underlying provincial differences in priorities can be seen by comparing changes in the distribution of sectoral development expenditure (Appendix Table 4A and 5A). For the main sectors industry and agriculture the annual expenditure (as per cent of total) for all provinces except Baluchistan has gone down in the last two years. Looking at the development expenditure by provinces (Table 6A), the importance of Punjab is outstanding, which is responsible for

nearly 50 per cent of all the sectors share. Punjab is the biggest province of the country and its share in population, revenue receipt and development expenditure, etc., is significant as well. For the provincial allocation in relation to sectorial priorities in the Sixth Five-Year Plan, a comprehensive comparative analysis would be most illuminating.

The underlying strategy for the Sixth Plan is the basic needs ideology and the sectoral growth will emphasise the equality considerations along with the efficiency criteria. Looking at the three main sectors of economic activity, namely agriculture, industry and services, we outline some suggestions for the formulation of new socio-economic order for Pakistan.

Agriculture

As the new plan is expected to give top priority to the welfare of the common man, rural areas (accounting for three-fourth of the population) will be in the prime focus for development effort. Although rural development is not completely synonymous to agricultural development, yet the close link between the two cannot be denied. In order to visualise the complex perspective of agricultural growth, we look at the composition of this sector as a contributor to GDP from 1951 to 1981.

TABLE 3
Composition of Agricultural Sector in GDP at Constant Factor Cost
1959-60

Agriculture	(Percentages)			
	1951-52	1961-62	1971-72	1981-82
1. Major crops	47.0	51.5	58.2	57.6
2. Minor crops	13.0	11.2	7.0	12.8
3. Live Stock	38.7	36.0	28.4	28.0
4. Fishing	0.8	0.8	1.0	1.1
5. Forest	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5
Total :	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source : Appendix Table 1A.

Table 3 shows the scope of diversification which exist in agriculture. The contribution of forest and fishing is significant, while that of minor crops has shown fluctuations. The contribution of live stock sector has decreased persistently. It shows the need of emphasis on vertical and horizontal expansion along with a possible increase in the crop sector, which can be brought about by extension services and by promoting agri-based industries. Extension services have become increasingly important because we can no longer treat agriculture as simply a vocation for the production of crops, vegetables and fruits. It is an industry requiring a well-conceived method of crop husbandry to ensure adequate returns to cover the labour and input costs. Well planned crop methodology can play a vital role in agriculture sector and it is this part which requires vocational training through extension programme. The small scale rural industry can be encouraged by promoting the establishment of small working units based on the traditional arts and crafts of specific area. Certain industrial units can be more economically and efficiently operated as small units. Moreover, they can play an important role by providing a source of foreign exchange earnings.

Another aspect of agricultural development is related to the consideration of equality rather than efficiency in the development framework. It is an established fact that general income level of the rural population is lower compared to urban areas. (Beryen, Azfar, Khandker and Naseen, 1976). Furthermore, the lower growth rate in agriculture compared to industry shows the need for supplementing the rural incomes (particularly the income levels below the poverty line). Along with promoting increased agricultural production and agri-based industries, the rural home crafts can be encouraged through the social welfare programmes.

Industry

The industrial sector has shown a constant increase throughout and its share in GDP has risen with time. Looking at the composition of the manufacturing sector, we find that since 1951 efforts for industrialization and allocation of resources have mainly been

diverted towards the large scale manufacturing sector and the importance of the small scale manufacturing sector was neglected. (see Table 4). For the new plan there has been emphasis on the development of small scale industries, as their importance has been realised for production as well as for their significance in creating employment by utilizing the indigenous resources in the economy. A well planned small scale industrial net work will go a long way in achieving a decentralised industrial environment, which will encourage production along with providing opportunities for optimum utilisation of natural resources.

TABLE 4
Composition of Manufacturing Sector

Manufacturing	1951-52	1961-62	1971-72	1981-82
Large scale	36.2	64.7	74.3	72.6
Small scale	63.8	35.3	26.0	27.4
Total :	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source : Appendix Table 1A.

Another important dimension of industrial development in the economy is related to the changes in the comparative role of private and public sectors. The massive nationalisation in 1972 gave a great set back to private sector in Pakistan. Since 1977 several policies and institutional measures like introduction of tax holidays and denationalisation of agro-based industry were initiated for enhancement of the private sector. For the new plan the private sector is being a prime role as its initiative has been depressed in the past.

TABLE 5

Relative Role of Public and Private Sectors

(Rupees in Millions)

Plan Period	Public Expenditure	Sector per cent	Public Expenditure	Sector per cent
First Plan	6930	65	3660	35
Second Plan	17500	56	13700	44
Third Plan	25000	54	21500	46
Fourth Plan	49000	65	26000	35
Fifth Plan	148000	70	62000	30

Source : Fourth and Fifth Five-Year Plans.

The presentation of relative importance of the two sectors in Table 5, clearly shows that apart from Second and Third plans, the major reliance for growth has been placed on the public sector. In the declared objectives of the Sixth Plan, private sector is expected to play an important role in providing the impetus for industry. For revival of private sector, government can provide incentives by further denationalisation, reduction in unnecessarily stringent bureaucratic controls and fiscal and monetary measures (like tax relief, exemption of dividend from income tax and financial support). For encouraging the private sector, the planners will have to ensure an environment of stable economic security along with relaxed fiscal and monetary measures.

Services

The services sector which include electricity, water, education and health has been mentioned in the previous development plans but the relative allocation for them has been fairly insignificant compared to other sectors. This was due to the main focus on agriculture and industry for faster economic growth. During the earlier years, in the context of services sector, the government efforts

were concentrated towards developing the basic infrastructure of the economy and we find continuous increase in the share of electricity and gas, construction, transport and communication and banking and insurance in GDP. The services sector has traditionally been the responsibility of government as private enterprise has very little incentive in supplying the services like education and health where there is no demand for them. For the social services the supply side economics is the relevant tool to promote the welfare of the common man. As majority of the people are so poor and ignorant that they are neither prepared nor able to afford the basic services like education and health or comforts like electricity and gas. Therefore, to provide these facilities to the masses the authorities will have to take the initiative by providing these facilities and by infusing the needed enthusiasm in the public to keep the provided schools and hospitals in efficient working order.

Although the public sector has been mainly responsible for the provision of basic services, yet we find that in the recent past private sector has come forward in education and health. There has been tremendous expansion in the number and admission capacity of private schools and colleges, particularly in urban areas. Regarding the health sector, the big cities have shown an explosive growth of polyclinics and their further expansion is a witness to the growing need of these services. The growth of government schools, colleges and hospitals has lagged far behind the growing demand for them. The construction sector has also exhibited a growing participation of private sector. The profit levels in these areas show the pressure of public demand and the authorities concerned can channel the private investors into these areas provided they can exercise some control over its growth so as to ensure that all regions are benefitting from them equally.

The growth criterias of increase in GNP and per capita income have now been replaced by the increase in the welfare of the common man. Certain elements of everyday life, agreed upon by majority opinion, like basic education, medical facility and provision of

electricity have been made the main objectives of development. Consequently, the services sector which was not given any special recognition in the earlier plans, become imperatively important in the framework of basic needs ideology. We can expect to see great expansion in this sector particularly in the field of education, health and energy. What is needed is a well planned combination of private and public sectors, where instead of being in open competition they compliment each other in the provision of basic services.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1A

Gross Domestic Product at Constant Factor Cost of 1959-60

(In Million Rupees)

Sectors	1951-52	1961-52	1971-72	1979-80	1981-82 (Provisional)
Agriculture	6155	8171	12611	15859	17160
(i) Major crops	2894	4209	7336	9105	9878
(ii) Minor crops	803	918	1507	2085	2190
(iii) Live stock	2383	2940	3579	441	4806
(iv) Fishing	49	70	125	137	193
(v) Forest	26	34	64	90	93
Mining and Quarrying	41	86	159	250	297
Manufacturing	1123	2581	5130	7890	9720
(i) Large scale	406	1671	3813	5575	7055
(ii) Small scale	717	910	1317	2315	2665
Construction	247	596	1163	2644	3125
Electricity and Gas	31	99	780	1531	1884
Transport and Communication	667	1031	2025	3487	4019
Wholesale and Retail Trade	1575	2427	4447	6953	7990
Banking and Insurance	66	191	640	1312	1359
Ownership of Dwelling	670	888	1188	1577	1693
Public Admin. & Defence	1039	1103	2278	5209	5649
Services	1033	1537	2391	3711	4149
GDP	12647	18710	32812	50423	57045

Source : Pakistan Economic Surveys.

TABLE 2A
Provincial Distribution of Employed Persons by Industry
Division 1974-75

(Percentages)

Sectors	Pakistan	Punjab	Sind	N.W.F.P.	Baluchistan
Agriculture	54.8	55.6	47.1	62.1	68.8
Manufacturing	13.8	15.5	12.9	8.2	1.6
Electricity	0.5	0.4	0.7	0.5	0.2
Construction	4.2	4.1	4.5	4.4	4.3
Wholesale and Retail Trade	11.1	10.1	14.0	12.1	9.6
Transport and Communication	4.9	4.5	7.0	3.0	3.8
Services	10.5	9.6	13.6	9.6	9.3
Unclassified	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.1	2.5
Total :	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source : Labour Force Surveys.

TABLE 3A
Provincial Distribution of Employed Persons by Industry
Division 1978-79

(Percentages)

Sectors	Pakistan	Punjab	Sind	N.W.F.P.	Baluchistan
Agriculture	32.7	51.6	55.8	48.0	60.6
Manufacturing	14.7	16.6	11.9	10.8	6.0
Electricity	0.7	0.7	0.9	0.8	0.9
Construction	4.9	5.1	4.0	6.7	4.8
Wholesale and Retail Trade	11.1	10.9	10.6	14.4	9.1
Transport and Communication	4.7	4.6	5.1	4.4	5.6
Services	11.0	10.2	11.1	14.7	12.1
Unclassified	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.3	1.0
Total :	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source : Labour Force Surveys.

TABLE 4A
Sectoral Distribution of Development Expenditure for Pakistan and Provinces
1979-80 and 1981-82

Sectors	(In Million Rupees)							
	Provincial Total		Punjab		Sind		N.W.F.P.	
	1979-80	1981-82	1979-80	1980-82	1979-80	1981-82	1979-80	1981-82
								Baluchistan
								1979-80 1981-82
Agriculture	746	815	474	462	128	133	86	107
Manufacturing	119	129	64	47	15	12	27	38
Electricity and Gas	446	827	229	485	90	115	62	150
Construction	999	1312	626	703	176	363	130	177
Wholesale and Retail Trade	597	802	239	273	194	269	122	165
Transport and Communication	932	1384	451	689	184	271	238	353
Services	226	805	118	693	33	31	25	50
Total :	4065	6074	2196	3352	820	1194	690	1040
								359 503

Source : Pakistan Economic Surveys.

TABLE 5A

Sectoral Distribution of Development Expenditure for Pakistan and Provinces
1979-80 to 1981-82

(Percentages)

Sectors	Provincial Total		Punjab		Sind		N.W.F.P.		Baluchistan	
	1979-80	1981-82	1979-80	1981-82	1979-80	1981-82	1979-80	1981-82	1979-80	1981-82
Agriculture	18.3	13.4	21.5	13.8	15.6	11.1	12.4	10.3	16.1	22.7
Manufacturing	2.9	2.1	2.9	1.4	1.8	1.0	3.9	3.7	3.6	6.6
Electricity and Gas	10.9	13.6	10.2	14.5	10.9	9.6	8.9	14.4	19.4	15.1
Construction	24.5	21.6	28.5	21.0	21.4	30.4	18.8	17.0	18.6	14.0
Wholesale and Retail Trade	14.6	13.2	10.8	8.1	23.6	22.5	17.6	15.9	11.6	18.9
Transport and Communication	22.9	22.8	20.5	20.6	22.4	22.7	34.4	34.0	16.4	14.3
Services	5.5	13.3	5.3	20.7	4.0	2.6	3.6	4.9	13.9	8.5
Total :	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source : Pakistan Economic Surveys.

TABLE 6A

Provincial Distribution of Development Expenditure by Sectors 1979-80 and 1981-82

(Percentages)

Sectors	Provincial Total	Punjab		Sind		N.W.F.P.		Baluchistan	
		1979-80	1981-82	1979-80	1981-82	1979-80	1981-82	1979-80	1981-82
Agriculture	100	63.5	56.7	17.1	16.3	11.5	13.1	7.7	14.0
Manufacturing	100	53.7	36.4	12.6	9.3	22.6	29.5	10.9	25.6
Electricity and Gas	100	50.2	58.6	20.1	13.9	13.9	18.1	15.6	9.1
Construction	100	62.6	53.6	17.6	27.7	13.0	13.5	6.7	5.3
Wholesale and Retail Trade	100	40.0	34.0	32.4	33.5	20.4	20.6	7.0	11.9
Transport and Communication	100	48.3	49.8	19.7	19.6	25.5	25.5	6.3	5.2
Services	100	52.2	86.0	14.6	3.8	11.0	6.2	22.1	5.3
Total :	100	54.0	55.1	20.1	19.6	16.9	17.1	8.8	8.2

Source : Table 4A.

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Buddhism in Swat and its Impact

INAYAT-UR-RAHMAN

Swat which is situated in the north-western part of Pakistan is a beautiful land of glorious past and has a unique place in the annals of history. It lies on the cross road of civilizations which flourished here all through the past centuries. Great civilizations generally grow in cities near rivers or on cross-roads, such as Swat.

Among the various trade routes, in ancient times, there was the great highway connecting the South-Asian sub-continent with the central and western Asia via north of Sind and the others which passed from Magadah to Sialkot, Taxila, Peshawar and Swat.

Swat was once agriculturally a very rich region and many Central Asian tribes used to come here in waves, one after another, in search of pastures for their cattle and livestock. Central Asia, and even the Gobi Desert were once rich pastures, but as the various tribes overgrazed them, they were compelled to go out in search of other lands, and what a more fertile land than Swat could they find. Some of the conquerors settled in Swat, intermarried with the locals, and there was an exchange and mingling of blood and culture, of ideas and art, of philosophy and religion.

However, one of the most important and fascinating chapters in the history of Swat was the Buddhist period. It is indeed important to understand this period because Buddhism played a vital role in man's struggle for a peaceful world. Perhaps it was just after Asoka

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that Buddhism spread to Swat who had left inscribed on rocks the ethics of Buddhism in the neighbouring Shahbazgarhi.

The great number of stupas and monasteries duly venerated with scenes from Buddhist mythology ; must have been the stimulus to enormous artistic activities in the area. According to the Chinese pilgrims, Swat possessed mines of gold, iron and precious stones which seem to have greatly contributed to the prosperity of the country to afford such activities.

Swat is believed to be the birth-place of a renowned personage namely, Amitaba or Amida, who once ruled this region. According to traditions, he renounced his kingdom and became a Bodhisattva and is believed to be living in western paradise. He made forty-eight promises, one of which is that he would seek to secure *Nirvana* for all mankind.

The quintessence of Buddha's philosophy was *Nirvana*. According to him, *Nirvana* should be the final goal towards which the human race should move. But, what is *Nirvana*? "A man reaches *Nirvana*", said Buddha, when he gives up anger, hatred, greed, selfishness, when he develops love for all mankind and follows the road to peace." This was Buddha's message many many centuries ago, and the message is as fresh today as it was when he first gave it. Armed with this message, great Swati missionaries went as far as Japan, China and the lands yonder.

Sung-Yun, the Chinese pilgrim, who visited Swat in 6th Century A.D., tells that there were 6000 gold images in the monastery at Talo¹ (probably Butkara, near Mingora). The archaeological excavations at Butkara, have proved his statement by the discovery of many images of Buddha and Bodhisattva with gold wash.

Another famous Chinese pilgrim, Hsuen Tsang, saw 1400 Buddhist monastries in Swat when he visited here in 7th Century A.D. He also describes Ming-Chilli (probably present Mingora) where he visited the biggest Buddhist monastery. Hsuen Tsang, in his travels, visited Tirat, where he saw the giant footprints of Buddha (now on

display in Swat Museum) and also the huge figure of Buddha carved on rock at Jahanabad (old Shakhorai), some 12 kms away from Mingora. The footprints engraved on a boulder, are much larger than the normal size. This was the reason that the Chinese pilgrims, quoting the local tradition, inform that they appear large or small according to the merit of the viewer.

Hsuen Tsang also informs about a stupa of King Uttarasena,² where relics of Buddha brought on elephant back, were enshrined. This stupa has been identified near the village of Shingerdar on the left side of the main road from Mingora (old Mingchili) to Peshawar. The lineage of some of its Kings was also linked with the family of Sakyas, the tribe to which Buddha himself belonged. Uttarasena was one of the Kings of Swat related to this family.

There were many works of Buddhist relics all over Central Asia, but Swat had a special significance for the pilgrims from far flung lands. According to Buddhist mythology, Buddha is supposed to have flown to Swat accompanied by Vajrapani. His was a peace mission to subdue the tyrannical Naga Apalala, who controlled the source of Swat river, and was responsible for causing floods every year.

On the way back, a certain Nagaraja created great wind and storm on the right bank of Swat river opposite the present day village of Jare. Buddha, it is said was completely drenched by the stormy river so he took off his *samghati* which he dried up on a rock. This rock became very sacred for the Buddhists and was visited by many Japanese and Chinese pilgrims. Those interested can see the rock today which reminds well this sacred event of the past.

The travellers perhaps crossed the river here through a suspension bridge. A colossal and well executed image of Avalokitesvara was found in the locality to which the pilgrims must have paid homage before the risky crossing. Avalokitesvara is the god of mercy who always helps the needy people and protect them from all

sorts of mishaps and dangers.³ It was this Swat, this sacred land, that the Buddhists from all over Central Asia, Tibet, Japan and China longed to visit in life time. But few saw their dreams come true.

As stated in the beginning, the Swat region which falls in the north-western part of Pakistan, remained open to foreign conquests in the ancient times. As a result of these vicissitudes combined with the emergence of Buddhism, there flowered a new direction in the scope of art which inspired the people to evolve a unique sculpture depicting the Buddhist legends. The subject matter so sung, was basically local and these were actually the Buddhist legends speaking through the sculptures. It is no wonder, that the Buddha's image, in the course of centuries, found its way to various temples and shrines of the Buddhist world.

Therefore, abounded with legends and events connected with Buddha, the area of Swat in the passage of years, became the centre of Buddhism and thus holy for the Buddhists in the whole of South Asia.

Besides the two schools ; Hinayana and Mahayana, there developed a third school in the area in the 7th—8th Centuries A.D. called Tantric or Vajrayana School of Buddhism.

It was in this time that the great Padmasambhava, an inhabitant of Udergram, (ancient ora), Swat was invited to Tibet to help the king of that country in the foundation of the temple there. According to Tibetan lore, Padmasambhava was one of the two second Buddhas and was greatly venerated in Tibet. This naturally made Swat a sacred land for the Tibetans and pilgrims from Tibet, Japan and China came here to see the holy places and relics connected with the former lives of Buddha, or some events of his last appearance.

As regards the origin of the tantric school, it may be noted that the aboriginal ideas, cults, superstitions and practices in the northern part of Gandhara, specially in Swat, had never completely died out ; they had been checked by the Buddhist faith believed and followed

in the big monastic centers. The monks and some of them must have been great personalities, who were always there to protect the integrity of the Buddhist creed. But as soon as these centres disintegrated, the aboriginal beliefs and superstitions which had been kept at bay, sprang again with all their force ; and Buddhism now unable to resist their impact, was eventually overcome by them.

The Hindus in ancient Swat were masters of the magic art, and the country has been referred to as the land of *dakini* fairies and witches who fluttered in the air through unusual magic powers. As the years passed by, Buddhism eclipsed Hinduism for a while, but later on became absorbed by its many rituals and magical practices. With this mingling of thoughts evolved the Tantric or Vajrayana School of Buddhism in the later centuries.

The area of Swat in Gandhara has been famous, all down the centuries, for fascinating legends of spirits and demons ; of magic and mystery. Yes magic and magicians seem to grow in all area where people want to know the why and wherefore of happening and events. There are plenty of references about magical practices in Swat from old historical records, and legends that have been handed down from father to son as the years have gone by.

In this context, it is of special interest to refer to the story of Jogi Barhami of Swat⁴ and his book of magic. In the legend he is told to have gone to Tibet to get a magic stone in possession of a beautiful sorceress namely Roxana. Even some of the rulers in Swat are believed to have enjoyed great magic powers such as king Indrabhuti and Raja Upala.⁵ According to the later Buddhist tradition, the celebrated Indrabhuti wrote tantric commentaries in Swat, which was considered as the centre of exoteric doctrines, a place of magic and philters, and known among the four Tantric centres of the sub-continent, the Uddiyana Pitha-Uddiyana being the ancient Sanskrit name of Swat.

As already mentioned, the population of Swat and the neighbouring area, was mainly Hindus, who were great masters of the magic art, believed in rites, rituals and superstitions. With the advent of

Buddhism in the course of time, all the rites and rituals prevailing among the people shrouded in oblivion for a while. Buddha did not believe in the magic rites and sorcery, he rather revolted against the ignorance and superstition, the dread and the horror which had deeply influenced the then popular religion. It was, however, in the later centuries that these practices were again revived and began to influence the mind and thoughts of the people.

It may be mentioned that the advent of Islam in the sub-continent took place in the early years of the 8th Century A.D. The action was, however, not followed up and the Gandhara region and other adjoining areas did not come to the fold of Islam until the invasion of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni at the dawn of 11th Century A.D. It was actually an era when a good deal of the magic rites, beliefs, and superstitions, which developed in Hindu period and inherited by Buddhism, were vigorously followed and zealously practised in the area.

But one wonders that why even with the appearance of Islam ; which did not believe in useless rites and superstitions ; some of these beliefs still continued in practice to this day although many centuries and generations have passed. Well, it must be remembered that various beliefs take a strong-hold of the mind of the people getting buried deeper and deeper in their subconscious minds, and ultimately they form a part of their life. So, for the obvious reasons, these magical beliefs and practices have, to a certain extent, influenced the thinking and living of the people in the area.

For instance, even to this time, the women tie charms (*tawiz*) around their foreheads and necks ; they also wear waist bands, and bracelets—all these have magical origin in order to ward off evil, sickness or to facilitate childbirth, in addition to their use as ornaments of allurement.

Simple peasants, shepherds and fishermen in Swat have many legends to relate about fairies, a rather favourite subject among them. Some of the fairies as told in the narrations, have almond-shape eyes, hair that come down to their ankles ; cheeks redder than rose ;

that during night they put children and babies to sleep and during day, they turn into multicoloured flowers and decorate mountains and the fields so that the honey bees extract nectar from them ; that those who eat this honey grow as beautiful as the fairies.

According to local beliefs, the Swat river would have floodiest banks and caused havoc, ruin, and destruction among the population, if it not had been for the vigilance of a mighty snake that guards it ; that this snake is, in fact, a magician and enjoys great magical powers ; that he drinks all the surplus water when it rains heavily and then bites cows, goats, she-buffaloes, etc., at night ; that its venom turns into milk inside the bodies of these animals. This according to the Shepherds' traditions, is the reason why the cattle in Swat yield so much milk.

Important indeed is here to mention about a leaf, called *nazarpanra* which is found in the northern part of Gandhara, particularly in Swat. It is used to ward off the evil eye. A few of the leaves are put in fire and burnt ; the smoke and fumes are inhaled by the sick person, or any child who may be feared to fall victim to evil-eyes ; and the rite thus serves both curative and preventive purpose.

There is found to this day a peculiar candle stand called *layghaz* in the Kohistani areas of Swat. Certain legends bear witness to the belief that the *layghaz*, which now serves to light the homes of the Dardic families in Swat Kohistan, was a sort of incense burner used as magic tool by the magicians many years ago.

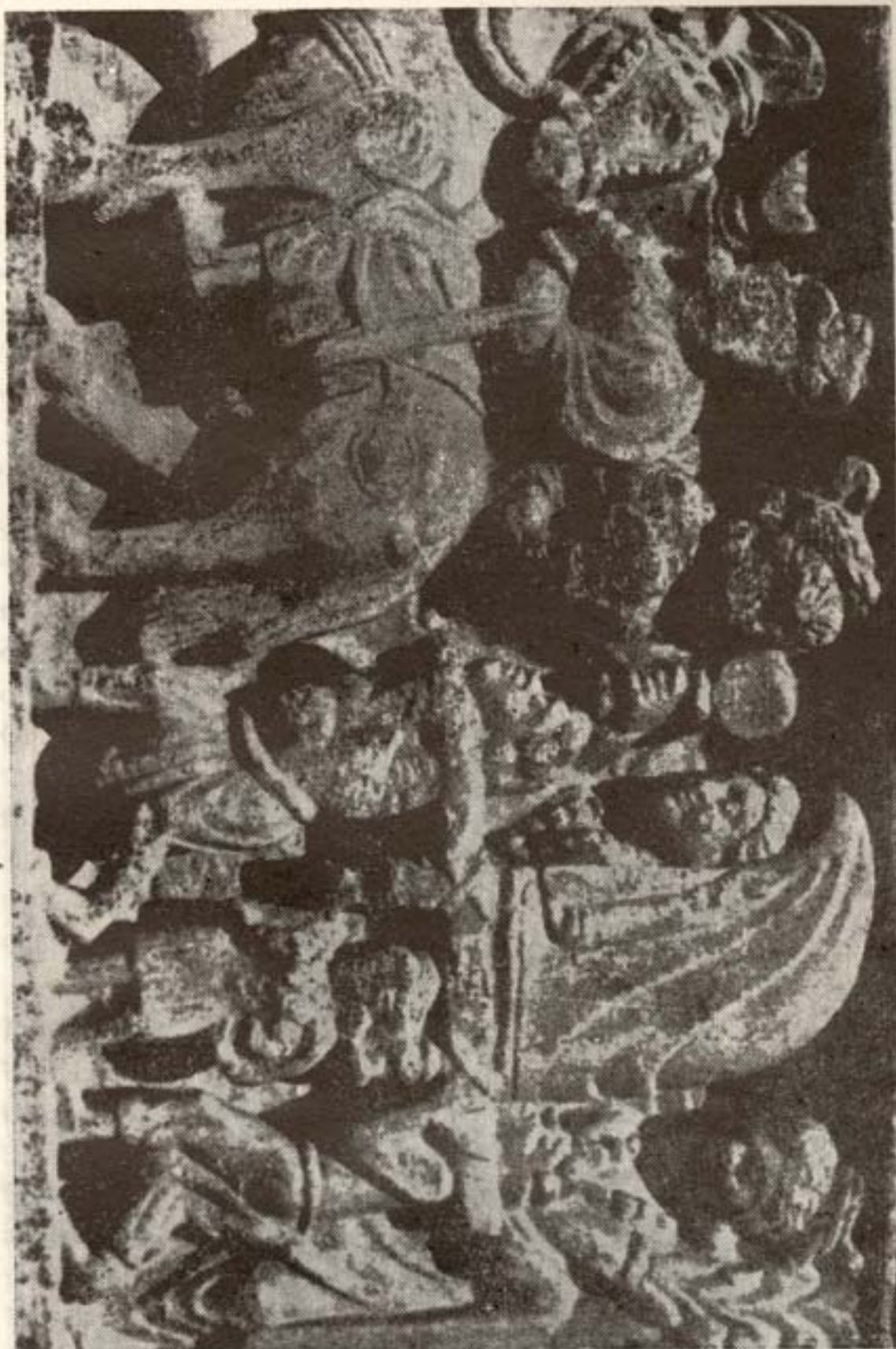
More amazing yet, in some part of Swat and the neighbouring areas prevails to this day the custom of marriage procession. Generally, these marriages are taking place in the way that the bride, seated in palanquim (*Palki*) and held by two or four persons on their shoulders, is taken to the home of the bridegroom in a big procession much rejoiced with music and dance. It is interesting that some Gandhara sculptures found at the site of Butkara in Swat have confirmed this affinity in the scenes depicted in them. In one example, a sculpture illustrates the bridal procession of Yasodhara,⁶ the wife of Sidhartha, the historical Buddha.

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SWAT
Shingerdar
King Uttarasena Stupa



SWAT

Frieze showing the Bridal Procession
The Bride Yasodhara is seen inside the canopy of the litter.



SWAT
Carinated and voluted arch depicting two standing figures

Quaid-i-Azam and Muslim Students' Conferences in Punjab : 1941-1944

SARFARAZ HUSSAIN MIRZA

The early forties, the hectic days of the Pakistan Movement were full of enthusiasm amongst Muslim masses of the subcontinent. The Muslim youth, who played an effective role in the liberation struggle, was seen in the forefront in almost all the provinces of undivided India. The province of the Punjab, being the citadal of the Muslim students' activities, played a dominant role. The Quaid-i-Azam gave due attention to the students' activities all over the subcontinent and took the Punjab Muslim students under his fostering care. The students under his inspiring guidance played a memorable role in the Pakistan Movement. The most important and effective aspect of their endeavour was the holding of several conferences at different places in support of the idea of Pakistan.

The period following the March Session of the All-India Muslim League in 1940 was marked by some notable conferences arranged by the Punjab Muslim Students Federation. In view of the ineffectiveness of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, the Muslim Students Federation took up the task of popularising the Pakistan Scheme. A number of conferences were organised under its auspices within a short period of which the Special Pakistan Conference of March 1941 was most important. The Lyallpur (now Faisalabad) Educational Conference presided by Haji Sir Abdullah Haroon (1872—1942), the Lyallpur Pakistan Conference under the

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Presidency of Malik Barkat Ali (1885—1946), underline the importance of the year 1941 in the history of the Muslim youth's struggle for the creation of Pakistan.

The Punjab Muslim Students Federation held a successful Educational Conference at Lyallpur on February 15 and 16, 1941, with Haji Sir Abdullah Haroon as President. Zuhur Alam Shaheed, President of the Reception Committee, discussed some crucial problems of the Muslim student with regard to educational matters and the indifferent attitude of the Punjab University. He forcefully argued for religious education of the Muslim students and laid stress on the introduction of Islamic history and promotion of research.¹ Haji Sir Abdullah Haroon exhorted the students to face manfully the great and grave responsibility by striving to achieve the goal before them.² Advising the students he said, "during vacation you should enter villages on foot and carry to your people there the message of hope and courage."³ Continuing, he said, that "the Indian Muslims have now come to live in two water-tight compartments; there are those who live in cities and there [are] those who are scattered in the villages, but cut off and isolated from each other. The two must now come together, and the only bond that can bring and tie them together is the bond of mutual intercourse, service and sympathy."⁴

The activities of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation gathered momentum when they decided to hold a meeting under the Presidency of the Punjab Premier, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan (1892—1942). Since the Premier had shown his interest in presiding over the deliberations of the Federation, a meeting was held on July 5, 1941 at Lyallpur. It was in this conference that the Punjab Premier hurled bitter invectives on the students' movement and bitterly criticised the Pakistan Scheme.⁵ Adverse remarks of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan from the students' platform created unrest amongst the League-minded people, especially the Muslim students. The matter was brought to the notice of the Quaid-i-Azam and immediately afterwards on July 20, 1941, the students successfully

arrested the deteriorating situation by holding a pro-Pakistan Conference with Malik Barkat Ali as President. In a big gathering of students and Punjabi Muslims, Malik Barkat Ali most lucidly elaborated the philosophical justification of the Pakistan Scheme. He severely criticised the Premier's Presidential Address and said

That the foes of Pakistan and some others from amongst our own camp, who want to win cheap popularity at the hands of our Hindu countrymen to whom Pakistan is at the moment a sort of poison cup, have spread so many falsehoods about Pakistan that it is necessary at the out-set to give a true historical retrospect of the events that have led to and have culminated in the demand of Pakistan as the only solution of India's difficulties and the only guarantee of this vast subcontinent taking its proper place amongst the free and independent nations on the Earth.⁶

At the end of the Pakistan Conference, a resolution was passed in which Sir Sikandar's assertions made in his speech of July 5, 1941, were repudiated as "utterly untrue."⁷

The most important of these conferences was the Special Pakistan Conference held on March 2, 1941, at Lahore. It was presided by the Quaid-i-Azam. This Conference was a landmark in the history of the Students Federation. Though the Quaid encouraged the organisation of the Muslim students all over the country but he saw its most pressing need in the Punjab. The provincial League, as already referred to earlier, was divided into groups and the Unionists had formed the majority section, though its loyalties were divided. "The older urban section was free from this handicap and contained some very distinguished and dedicated personalities but had not been able to provide a firm basis for the Muslim League in the province." In these circumstances, the value of a dynamic organisation, free from the handicaps of the Unionists and more broadbased than the small urban group, was obvious. The Quaid, very correctly gauging the situation, took the students' organisation under his fostering care and under his guidance it worked as a subsidiary organization of

the League in the Punjab.

Having obtained the Quaid's support, the students worked indefatigably to make it a success and made every effort to have prominent League leaders amongst them. For this purpose, they wrote frequent letters to men of note, published appeals through the press and even contacted leaders in person.⁸ The Students Federation bore all the expenses itself and did not ask the Provincial League for subsidy. However, generous contributions were advanced by some of the prominent figures. Amongst the contributors, the name of the Nawab of Mamdot (1906-1969) comes first. The Federation was also indebted to Sheikh Abdul Qadir (1857-1950), President of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore, and Khawaja Dil Mohammad (1884-1961), Principal, Islamia College, Lahore, for their help and encouragement. It is interesting to note that even the Punjab Premier, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, was one of the contributors.⁹

It was the first enterprise of its kind. The salient feature of this occasion was that for the first time the Quaid-i-Azam was under complete escort of the students and the Provincial League leaders were not allowed to disturb in the protocol. Arrangements for the Quaid's stay, programmes and visits were altogether directly managed by the Federation for three days at Lahore. The Quaid, in other words, was practically the guest of the students during his stay in the provincial capital.

A special feature of the Conference was the gathering of a large number of Muslim girl students who participated in the Conference. Earlier, a girl students' section of the Students Federation had been formed with the help of Lady Abdul Qadir, Fatima Begum (1890-1958) Begum Salma Tasaddaque Hussain and Miss M. Qureshi. They rendered considerable help in the arrangement for the ladies attending the function.¹⁰

The Conference was inaugurated on March 2, 1941 at the Islamia College ground, Lahore. Mirza Abdul Hamid, President of the

Punjab Muslim Students Federation, in his Reception Address, read out a detailed account of the prevailing circumstances and threw ample light on the activities of the Federation since 1937.¹¹

The Quaid-i-Azam, in his Presidential Address, pin-pointed different political issues and problems confronting Muslim India. Paying tributes to the Federation, he remarked :

... I have also watched your organisation of this Conference and your deliberations and let me heartily congratulate you for the way in which you have organised this Conference. I also wish to convey, not only to the young men here, but to a large body of Muslims of Lahore and those who have come from different parts, that I really appreciate and feel happy that there is a small band of youngmen who have tried very hard to organise this Conference of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation. But, I think, those who have worked for it, those who have laboured for it, must have the fullest satisfaction that their labours have borne the fruits and they are fully rewarded for their work.¹²

The conference ended with strong endorsement of the Pakistan Resolution passed by the All-India Muslim League in March 1940. It may be added that since the passing of the Resolution, it was the first occasion of endorsing the Resolution from the students' platform. Perhaps no political quarter had so far so categorically supported the Resolution in the early forties.

The students' activities continued to expand towards the propagation of the Pakistan idea. The year 1942 witnessed a huge annual conference of the Federation at Jullundhur. Once again, the endorsement of the Pakistan Resolution was the special feature of the Session.¹³ The opening of the year 1944 was once again marked by two important and successful Conferences of the Federation, held at Lahore and Rawalpindi respectively. The fourth Annual Session of the Federation was organised at Lahore with the Quaid-i-Azam as

President. It was inaugurated on March 18, 1944. The Quaid was brought to the *Pindal* followed by Muslim Students' Guards with naked swords amidst shouts of Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad. The meeting was attended by a large body of students and some Provincial dignitaries such as the Punjab Premier, Khizer Hayat Khan Tiwana, (1909—1975), Education Minister; Mian Abdul Haye, Sayyid Amjad Ali, Private Parliamentary Secretary; Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan (1895—1963); Mian Allah Yar Khan Daultana; Sir Maratab Ali; Qazi Mohammad Isa (1914—1976) and the Parliamentary Secretaries. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mumtaz Mohammad Daultana in the course of his Address said that the Muslims were eager and willing to come to any reasonable agreement with the Sikhs to satisfy their aspirations. He analysed the three fronts on which the Muslims had to face the struggle, namely, the Hindus, the British and the Muslims, who attempted to disrupt the organised unity of their nation. He warned Muslim Students not to fix their eyes too intently, in hope or in despair, on their legislatures and not to be dismayed if their 'Pakistan Ministry' acted too often in a 'non-Pakistan' way.¹⁴

The Quaid-i-Azam in his thought-provoking Presidential Address assured the Muslim youth that they had a bright future if they would put-forth courage and energy, galvanise the Muslim League and its programme, throw away fears and continue to be united and act under discipline. He asked them to change their mentality and notions radically and begin to realise that all of them could not depend or live upon Government jobs. He wanted them to take to industries and commerce in which they were nowhere and where wide avenues were open to all. Referring to the aims and objects of the Federation, the Quaid exhorted the students to do their utmost to arouse political consciousness among the Muslim students and do everything in their power to prepare them to partake in the struggle for the achievement of Pakistan and act as a corporate body in order to have the grievances of the students removed.¹⁵

In the second and concluding Session on March 19, Hussain

Imam (1897—1985), President-elect of the Conference, in the course of his extempore Address endorsed the Quaid's advice and exhorted Muslim students to do whatever they could to achieve the goal of Pakistan. The Quaid in his concluding speech, besides other Punjab tangles such as organising Jats and Rajputs separately, gave a 'boot' to all the flattery which the Indian Communists had indulged in with a view to 'bringing round.' It was on this occasion that the Quaid gave his crystal clear verdict and forceful decision to discard Socialist and Communist elements from the Muslim community. Taking serious notice of the underhand nefarious activities of the Communists, he roared :

The Communists think we are fools. There is some justification in their thinking like that. But they are mistaken now because the Mussalman of the last 5 or 7 or 10 years has changed and the Communists will not now succeed in fooling us. Hands off! Hands off!! I say Communists, Hands off!!! If you try the same game, it will hit back like a boomrang. We do not want any flag except the League flag of Crescent and Star. Islam is our guide and a complete code of our life. We don't want any red or yellow flag. We don't want any isms, socialism, communism or national socialism.¹⁶

The conferences and sessions organised by the Punjab Muslim students was the marked feature of the year 1944 both in the history of the province as well as the Students Federation. Soon after the Lahore Conference, the Sialkot branch of the Federation, organised a huge meeting under its auspices, on May 1, with the Quaid-i-Azam as President. The Quaid observed that this Session was no less important than that of Lahore organised in March 1940. In the course of his Address delivered in Urdu he said, "I am not a young-man like you but your youthful spirit and enthusiasm have made me young. It is through your untiring efforts during the last seven years, I feel today that you have strengthened my hands tremendously."¹⁷ Later, he appealed to Ahrars, Jami'at Ulama, Shias,

Jats, Rajputs, Afghans and Momins to sink their differences and strengthen the League.¹⁸

The Session concluded with a resolution adopted reiterating complete faith and confidence in Quaid-i-Azam, leadership.¹⁹

The following month, the Students Federation organised another successful Conference at Rawalpindi under the Presidentship of Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan on June 19, 1944. Sardar Shaukat Hayat was an expelled Minister of the Punjab Cabinet and had then become a prominent League leader respected in Muslim Punjab. His arbitrary and abrupt dismissal from the Cabinet was resented by the Muslims. The students, captivated by his charming personality and undaunted courage in the midst of crisis that led to his removal, expressed bitter resentment and reprimanded the Punjab Premier for the wrongful act that had created wide unrest in the rank and file of the people. Various branches of the Federation organised meetings and passed resolutions demanding the Punjab Government to withdraw their decision.²⁰ The Federation decided to hold an effective conference in this context at Rawalpindi and Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan was invited to preside over it.

It was inaugurated by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan (1895—1951) on June 19, 1944. In this gathering, a large number of League leaders participated and amongst those who spoke were Sardar Abdur Rab Khan Nishtar (1899—1957), Finance Minister from Frontier Province, Qazi Mohammad Isa from Baluchistan, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, Frontier Premier and Liaquat Ali Khan.

The Students Federation decided to hold Divisional Conferences in all the five Divisions of the Province and it was in compliance with this decision that an important Muslim Students' Divisional Conference was organised at Amritsar on October 10, 1944 under the Presidentship of Amir Ahmad Khan, Raja of Mahmoodabad (1914—1973), the President of the All-India Muslim Students Federation. Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan inaugurated the Conference. Thanking the students, he called October 10 as a historic day in the history of the Students Federation. He said that the students'

contribution for the Nation was exemplary and said if the League were the structure of the Nation, the students were its soul. He further remarked that at times, when some individuals with poor foresight would frustrate the rank and file of the Muslims, it were the students who would come forward and with undaunting courage and devotion exercised their strength and brought the whole community on one platform.²¹ Shaikh Sadiq Hassan and Mohammad Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi also delivered strong speeches. Raja Sahib of Mahmoodabad, in his Presidential Address laid stress on Islamic teachings and patriotism. He pointed out that it was impossible for the Muslims to live according to Islamic codes of life unless they were free and independent.²²

The impact of the Students' Conferences was noticed when thousands of Muslim masses flocked together under the banner of the All-India Muslim League in all parts of the Province. These conferences nullified the anti-League propaganda in rural areas and effectively damaged the Unionist popularity and dominance. These activities of the students infused spirit and enthusiasm not only amongst students' rank and file but also effectively turned the general trend of the Muslim people, thereby creating a sense of organisation in their ranks. These conferences served the purpose of educating the Muslim mind, making them realize their separate identity and the importance of achieving a separate homeland where Muslim could live according to their faith and aspirations.

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The System of Federation in Pakistan : Constitutional Provisions for Decentralisation

DR. SYED FAROOQ HASNAT

INTRODUCTION

In order to manage the affairs of a society, dividing the unit into smaller fractions becomes inevitable. This particular practice had been in force during the Middle Ages and even much earlier in history. The philosophy behind this particular phenomenon is that decentralization is accompanied by administrative efficiency. The presumption is that the smaller the administrative machinery, the better it will function. Once this type of statescraft is given a legal or constitutional backing, it is known as a *System of Federation*.

In certain countries, the Federation or decentralization is created purely on the basis of administrative divisions, while in others a nation is decentralized on the criteria of either racial or linguistic considerations. Pakistan being a multiethnic country carries with itself both the considerations namely—the establishment of a provincial set-up based on ethnic as well as administrative efficiency.

The problem of adjusting ethnic aspirations along with the difficult task of nation-building is widespread and is not confined to Pakistan alone. There are very few societies which can be regarded as ethnically homogeneous. In fact it was estimated in 1971 that out of 132 independent nations, merely 12 were ethnically homogeneous.

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In other words these nations represent only 9.1 per cent of the total. "In 39 states (or 29.5 per cent) the largest ethnic group comprised less than 50 per cent of the population ; while in 53 states (40.2 per cent), the population is divided into more than five significant groups."¹

Whatever the cause of increasing sense of ethnic identity all over the world, the substantial reality is to be accepted that there has been a revival of ethnic trends all over the world. The situation can be described in the following words :

For what we are really dealing with is the transformation of passive, often isolated and politically excluded communities into potential or actual 'nations', active, participant and self-conscious in their historic identities.²

In Pakistan an increasing realization is being made that ethnicity is not an artificial phenomenon. It is an accepted reality and the assumption that ethnicity can be weeded out or made extinct due to the efficiency of a centralized system has been now accepted as a null hypothesis. Presently it has been assumed that with the gradual passage of time, ethnic feeling grows stronger and if a political system fails to create a balanced political structure along with social mobilization it can become an agitational phenomenon. Such circumstances if not checked can lead to the disintegration of a political system.³

Different countries have dealt with this peculiar 'problem' by applying variety of methods. In Pakistan we inherited the provinces but along with a centralized political and administrative institutions from the British colonial rulers. These institutions were left as they were at the time of the independence (1947) or, were even further centralized. Although from the very beginning it was agreed upon in Pakistan that it will be a federation and in this regard the policy makers "developed Development Management Responsibilities to local governments but have maintained strong indirect control over them,"⁴ which by itself contradicted the principles of federation or decentralization. The logic behind the efforts to gain more control

at the central government level is described as below which also directly relates to Pakistan :

Many governments in Third World countries had become more centralized during the 1950s and early 1960s, after receiving independence from colonial regimes. They . . . first turned their attention to nation-building and thus invested heavily in programmes for economic development. Both processes seemed to require and legitimize centralized management. But, overtime, the modest and sometimes negative consequences of central planning and administration became apparent.⁵

A United Nations study on the issue of decentralization points out toward six conditions which must be assessed while balancing centralization with the process of fragmenting responsibilities in a society. They are as under :

1. The degree to which decentralization contributes to *achieving broad political objectives*, such as promoting political stability ; mobilizing support and cooperation for national development policies ; and providing heterogeneous regions, interests and communities with a stake in the survival of the political system.
2. The degree to which decentralization increases *administrative effectiveness*, by promoting greater coordination among units of the national government and between them and sub-national administrative units, local governments, and non-governmental organizations, or by encouraging closer cooperation among organizations to attain mutually acceptable development goals.
3. The degree to which decentralization contributes to promoting *economic managerial efficiency*, by allowing governments at both the central and local levels to achieve development goals in a more cost-effective manner.
4. The degree to which decentralization *increases government*

responsiveness to the needs and demands of various interest groups within society.

5. The degree to which decentralization contributes to greater self-determination and self-reliance among subordinate units of administration or non-government organizations in promoting development or meeting highly valued needs within society.

6. The *appropriateness* of the means by which policies and programmes are designed and carried out to achieve the goals of decentralization, however they are defined.

The above mentioned assessments of decentralization will be kept in mind while dealing with the process of balance between the central government and provincial governments along with local self-government in Pakistan.

ETHNIC GROUP AND ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION IN PAKISTAN : AN OVERVIEW

The population of Pakistan as according to 1981 estimates was 85 million, of which 24 million lived in urban areas while a vast majority of which is 61 million, resided in villages and small towns.

TABLE 1
Division of Population According to Decentralization

Unit	Population (1972)	Density per sq. km.
Punjab	37,507,855	183
Sind	14,007,722	99
North West Frontier Province	8,337,385	112
Baluchistan	2,405,484	6.9
Centrally Administered Tribal Areas	2,485,867	91
Northern Areas		

Source: *Pakistan: An Official Handbook, 1979-81*, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Islamabad: 1982, p. 26.

As Table 1 explains, Pakistani society is divided into four provinces namely : Punjab ; Sind ; North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. The provinces comprise of four dominant ethnic groups which roughly correspond to the provinces : Punjabis in the Punjab, Sindhis in Sind, Baluchis in Baluchistan and Pushtuns in North West Frontier Province. Apart from the recognized four major groups, there are other ethnic groups which have further complicated the ethnic balance within some of the provinces. These ethnic minorities include the Mahajars or Urdu-speaking refugees from India, who are now nearly 50 per cent of the population of Sind—mostly residing in urban areas. This Upset of the ethnic balance in Sind province has created resentment leading to political consequences. A solution was however found in the form of Rural-Urban quota system in government jobs. Apart from Mahajars in Sind, there are Makranis of Baluchistan and the Khas and Kafirs of Chitral (Northern Areas).⁷

The 1973 Constitution of Pakistan declares Urdu as the National Language. It is the mother tongue of only 8 per cent of the Pakistanis. Punjabi is most widely spoken not only in the province of Punjab but also in such metropolitan city of Sind as Karachi. Moreover, the dialects of Punjabi are spoken in the thickly populated areas of NWFP province, where it is known as Hindco. It is estimated that 63 per cent of the population speaks Punjabi. Sindhi is spoken by only 12 per cent of the residents of Sind province. Pushtu is the mother tongue of the Pushtunes. Brohi, Baluchi and Pushtu are spoken in Baluchistan with a combine percentage of 16.

The four provinces are divided into divisions headed by Divisional Commissioners. Districts further forms a sub-division of the Divisions and are headed by Deputy Commissioners. Punjab has five divisions, Sind has three, NWFP has three and Baluchistan has two divisions.

The bottom tiers of local government consists of Tehsils. "Popular participation in local government is channeled through Union Councils in villages; Town Councils in towns, Tehsil Councils, District Councils and Municipal Committees."⁸

Apart from the provincial set-up there are 12 provincially administered tribal areas and 10 federally administered ones. These administrative units are called Agencies which are headed by a political agent, who is member of the bureaucracy usually belonging to the Civil Service of Pakistan. Tribal areas are fairly autonomous in conducting their affairs especially in the matters of justice. The laws governing the tribal areas are peculiar to each tribe and the Pakistani courts have no jurisdiction over the areas. Gilget and Baltistan Agencies are located in the North, bordering Afghanistan and the Peoples' Republic of China, are under the administrative control of the Ministry of Interior, States, Frontier Regions and Kashmir Affairs.

Table 2 explains the details of the local set-up in Pakistan.

TABLE 2
Rural and Urban Local Councils

	Rural Local Councils		Urban Local Councils		
	District Councils	Union Councils	Mun. Cor.	Mun. Comm.	Town Comm.
Punjab	21	2240	7	50	131
Sind	13	561	3	23	93
NWFP	12	436	1	11	21
Baluchistan	16	176	1	10	14
Islamabad	—	11	—	—	—
Northern Areas	3	105	—	3	—
FATA	7	—	—	—	2
Azad Kashmir	4	129	—	4	8
Total :	76	3657	12	110	269

Source : *Pakistan : An Official Handbook*, op. cit., p. 456.

The Government of Pakistan was conscious of the fact that in order to establish the local elected administration, the financial aid has to be provided by the central authorities. Table 3 gives details of Central Government grant of 100 million.

TABLE 3

Central Grant to Union Councils through Provincial Governments
1979-80

(In Million Rupees)

Punjab	55.00
Sind	16.00
NWFP	12.00
Baluchistan	5.00

The Centre however could not provide enough incentive for the two provinces and instead of an asset in its role of Nation-Building became a source of frustration for the people of East Pakistan. The 1962 Constitution further centralized the federal system by adopting a strong Presidential System of government. During Ajuab era (1958-1968) the central government was powerful to its maximum extent in administrative as well as financial matters. Moreover, the Central Civil Service of Pakistan became virtually the masters of the destiny of the people of Pakistan.¹⁰ The above described state of affairs can be summed up as follows :

The federal principle was seriously compromised by the Constitution of 1956. Whatever was left of it, was destroyed by the Constitution of 1962. The demand for the dissolution of One-Unit was a demand for both the restoration of autonomy and the revival of federation in a democratic environment. The 1973 Constitution had met the demand by conferring the residuary powers on the provinces in addition to the power to legislate on a large number of subjects in the concurrent list.¹¹

According to the 1973 Constitution, Articles 141-152 establishes the institution of the Federation System in Pakistan. Articles 153-174 were included in order to make the Centre-Province relations and inter-provincial relations more viable and effective.

Article 142 reads as follows :

Subject-Matter of Federal and Provincial Laws : Subject to the Constitution—

- (a) Parliament shall have exclusive power to make laws with respect to any matter in the Federal Legislative List; (For the details of the list see Appendix I).
- (b) Parliament, and a Provincial Assembly also, shall have power to make laws with respect to any matter in the Concurrent Legislative List; (For details of the list see Appendix II).
- (c) A Provincial Assembly shall, and Parliament shall not, have power to make laws with respect to any matter not enumerated in either the Federal Legislative List or the Concurrent Legislative List.

As observed from the above clauses of Article it becomes clear that a balance is created between the Centre and the Provinces as far as legislative powers are concerned. In fact more powers have been given to the Provinces as has never happened before in the constitutional history of Pakistan. However in case of inconsistency, the constitution gives the benefit to the Centre. But this is relevant in the case of Concurrent Legislative List, which both Centre and Province share. The residuary powers remains with the Provinces.

Another important aspect of the system of federation in Pakistan is the establishment of Senate. Article 50 says that there shall be a Parliament consisting of two Houses to be known as the National Assembly and the Senate. The National Assembly is elected on the basis of population, while the Senate represents the Provinces and Tribal Areas. Article 59 of the Constitution reads :

The Senate : 1. The Senate shall consist of sixty members, of whom—

- (a) Fourteen shall be elected by the members of each Provincial Assembly ;
- (b) Five shall be elected by the members from the Federally Administered Tribal Areas in the National Assembly ; and
- (c) Two shall be chosen from the Federal Capital in such manner as the President may, by Order, prescribe.

2. Election to fill seats in the Senate allocated to each Province shall be held in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote.

Although Money Bills originate only in the National Assembly and are not required to be transmitted to the Senate, but in all other legislation, the Bill must be passed by the Senate. Senate acquires a unique position when a provision is made that it remains a continuous body. Clause 3 of Article 59 is as follows :

“(3) The Senate shall not be subject to dissolution but the term of office of its members shall be four years, half of them retiring every two years, except in the case of the members elected by the members from the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, of whom three shall retire after the expiration of the first two years and two shall retire after the expiration of the next two years.”

The Governor of a Province is appointed by the President and according to Article 105, the Governor shall act on and in accordance with the advice of the Chief Minister and such advice shall be binding on him. There is a safety clause added (to benefit the Chief Minister) and it reads :

“(2) The question whether any, and if so what, advice was tendered to the Governor by the Chief Minister shall not be inquired into in any Court.”

The Provincial Assembly can only be dissolved if advised by the Chief Minister and in any case after the advice of the Chief Minister,

the Assembly shall stand dissolved at the expiration of forty-eight hours, i.e., even if the Governor fails to dissolve the Assembly. But Article 112 of the Constitution also makes a provision that a Chief Minister cannot ask for the dissolution of the Assembly if a no-confidence resolution is pending against him.

The Provincial Assembly is fully autonomous in the matters of enactment. The Governor shall assent to a Bill within seven days and his failure to do so shall be deemed to have assented to the Bill. However certain Money Bills requires the consent of the Governor. Article 115 reads as follows :

“(1) A Money Bill, or a Bill or amendment which if enacted and brought into operation would involve expenditure from the Provincial Consolidated Fund or withdraw from the Public Account of the Province shall not be introduced or moved in the Provincial Assembly except by or with the consent of the Provincial Government.

The rights of the Provinces are safeguarded through the establishment of Council of Common Interests. Article 153 of the Constitution reads as follows :

“(1) There shall be Council of Common Interests, in this Chapter referred to as the Council, to be appointed by the President.

(2) The members of the Council shall be—

(a) The Chief Ministers of the Provinces, and

(b) An equal number of members from the Federal Government to be nominated by the Prime Minister from time to time.

(4) The Council shall be responsible to the Parliament.”

Article 154 describes the functions of the Council as follows :

“(1) The Council shall formulate and regulate policies in relation to matters in Part II of the Federal Legislative List and, in so far as it is in relation to the affairs of the Federation the matter in entry 34 (electricity) in the Concurrent Legislative

List, and shall exercise supervision and control over related institutions.

- (5) If the Federal Government or a Provincial Government is dissatisfied with a decision of the Council, it may refer the matter to Parliament (i.e., The National Assembly and the Senate) in a joint sitting whose decision in this behalf shall be final."

In all fairness the above mentioned system of sharing matters of common interest with each other and in case of a dispute to find out solutions satisfied the provincial leadership to a great extent.

The real problem arose in the distribution of financial powers between the Centre and the Provinces. The following assessment by a scholar on Pakistani constitutional politics is as follows :

"The provinces had every reason to be satisfied with the distribution of legislative powers. They also had legitimate grounds for complaints on the division of financial powers where the revenue heads allocated to them were rigid and inelastic. The Constitution had however, provided a machinery under Article 160 for a more equitable sharing of resources. The task of making recommendation on the distribution of net proceeds of the taxes and making of grants-in-aid was entrusted to the National Finance Commission, consisting of the Ministers of Finance of the Federal and Provincial Governments."¹²

When it came to the practice application of the above mentioned provisions, the trends of centralization became substantially obvious. It was noted that the Central Government during Prime Minister Bhutto's time allowed the provincial autonomy only if the Provinces went along with the policies of his Central Government.

The resource mobilization by the Provinces has been curtailed to a great degree. The major share of revenues goes to the Central Government while the Provinces are left with deficit budgets—year

TABLE 4

93-96

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT REVENUES AND EXPENDITURES, 1972-73-1983-84^a

(Million Rupees)

Items	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83 Revised	1983-84 Budget
Current Account												
Current Revenues												
Tax Revenues	7,316	10,919	12,729	16,593	16,383	20,695	24,159	30,094	34,498	39,305	46,772	58,345
Tax Revenues (gross)	5,396	8,538	10,675	11,409	13,265	16,556	19,339	14,618	27,381	31,136	37,391	47,316
Loss transfers :	4,766	9,445	11,426	13,915	16,112	19,732	23,475	30,698	36,509	40,368	47,370	58,384
Provincial States	874	907	1,404	2,504	2,822	3,196	4,136	6,050	8,628	9,232	8,979	11,074
AJK Government	874	882	1,379	2,481	2,797	3,196	4,136	8,050	8,628	9,232	9,979	11,074
	—	25	25	25	25	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Non-tax Revenues	1,422	2,382	2,704	3,184	3,595	6,140	4,820	5,436	7,617	8,169	9,381	11,031
Post Office	—5	-16	-54	-37	-42	-76	-32	-12	1,014	1,163	1,698	1,587
Telephone and Telegraph	183	162	172	228	240	379	668	847	—	—	—	—
Currency and Mint	108	160	240	335	372	448	407	419	—	—	—	—
Interest Income	468	507	726	1,127	1,569	1,882	1,891	2,364	3,048	3,091	3,719	4,173
State Trading Profits	—	892	769	493	419	310	467	540	1,143	730	208	463
Defence Service Receipts	222	338	425	483	457	344	223	227	1,123	1,494	1,748	2,121
Others	445	339	426	537	600	913	996	1,051	1,289	1,494	2,008	2,292
Current Expenditures	7,110	10,605	16,758	10,172	16,436	19,872	25,366	29,779	33,591	34,245	45,005	58,208
Non-Development	6,945	10,216	13,494	14,344	14,377	17,993	22,005	25,387	28,773	—	—	—
Defence	4,440	4,949	6,914	8,100	8,121	9,874	10,168	12,655	15,300	18,431	23,224	25,219
Internal Security	233	333	714	679	790	828	836	826	931	1,086	1,145	1,392
Interest Payments ^c	1,171	1,509	1,681	2,178	2,721	3,189	3,833	4,599	5,831	7,260	10,622	12,144
General Administration	583	762	812	1,121	1,236	1,120	1,440	1,585	1,802	2,062	2,528	3,517
Community Services	—	—	—	—	—	362	612	697	744	837	978	1,254
Social Services	—	—	—	—	—	583	607	1,119	1,350	1,496	1,916	2,164
Economic Services	—	—	—	—	—	1,187	1,343	939	1,055	1,181	2,396	2,020
Subsidies	—	2,243	2,819	1,398	639	1,070	3,032	2,828	1,425	1,391	1,758	1,916
Others	518	420	554	683	874	—	234	157	537	301	441	2,471
Development Revenue Expenditures	165	389	1,754	1,304	2,056	1,879	3,341	4,392	4,818	5,717	5,040	9,040

Current Expenditures	7,110	10,605	16,758	10,172	16,436	19,872	25,366	29,779	33,591	34,245	45,005	58,208
Non-Development	6,945	10,216	13,494	14,344	14,377	17,993	22,005	25,387	28,773	—	—	—
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Internal Security	233	333	714	679	790	828	836	826	931	1,086	1,145	1,392
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Others	518	420	554	683	874	—	234	137	537	301	441	2,471
Development Revenue Expenditures	165	389	1,754	1,304	2,056	1,879	3,341	4,392	4,818	5,217	5,040	9,040
Current Account Surplus	206	314	-2,240	-1,579	450	823	-1,201	503	1,407	-157	-3,323	-07
Capital Account												
Capital Expenditures	4,022	5,026	9,084	11,870	12,974	13,704	17,318	21,578	73,922	24,161	29,229	30,360
Non-Development Expenditures	2,081	1,792	2,840	3,425	2,577	2,151	4,400	8,413	7,803	9,713	12,850	12,581
Re-payment of Foreign Loans	126	585	903	2,682	1,776	1,104	3,504	5,804	7,633	5,818	9,272	8,481
State Trading	—	—	349	—	—	51	-36	-494	673	301	264	—
Investment	102	101	765	282	318	204	156	95	528	620	903	675
Losses	147	183	58	65	79	112	366	1,134	226	175	414	377
Others	1,704	923	704	784	810	672	1,225	2,256	2,803	1,699	1,982	3,034
Development Expenditures	1,901	3,234	6,244	8,003	9,997	11,553	12,918	12,363	14,509	15,655	16,390	17,785
Indus Tarbela	838	732	1,075	801	619	437	863	694	1,171	1,429	1,083	607
Direct Expenditures	649	1,013	1,551	1,489	2,568	3,500	3,319	3,501	3,090	4,204	1,577	4,373
Losses and Investments	433	1,489	3,620	5,573	6,410	7,616	8,736	8,568	11,796	9,822	13,730	12,810
Autonomous Bodies	(559)	(1,255)	(3,313)	(5,218)	(6,026)	(7,076)	(7,936)	(8,372)	(9,119)	(7,744)	(11,412)	(10,675)
Others	(53)	(230)	(307)	(355)	(360)	(640)	(800)	(196)	(2,879)	(2,078)	(2,318)	(2,116)
Financed by Domestic Resources	727	3,211	1,325	1,572	2,874	4,872	3,490	5,951	12,270	10,507	13,560	13,720
Revenue Account Surplus	206	315	-2,029	-1,579	650	821	1,207	303	1,907	-157	-3,327	111
Autonomous Bodies Resources	—	131	180	417	350	523	975	1,464	2,219	1,909	2,280	2,727
Bank Borrowings	523	867	1,459	1,636	1,293	2,224	2,325	1,427	3,449	5,173	11,063	7,625
(Defended Debt)	(456)	(702)	(655)	(656)	(937)	(1,347)	(1,179)	(1,420)	(2,032)	(3,527)	(7,022)	(5,425)
(Public Debt)	(68)	(165)	(876)	(541)	(108)	(440)	(989)	(310)	(3,417)	(2,706)	(4,047)	(2,210)
(Treasury Deposit Receipts)	(—)	(—)	(-72)	(201)	(165)	(437)	(157)	(-303)	(—)	(—)	(—)	(—)
Recoveries of Loans and Advances	383	453	520	026	007	376	549	077	1,047	2,379	1,687	1,904
Accretion to Reserve Funds ^d	447	389	1,307	840	807	722	112	444	10	426	432	123
Other Deposits and Remittances	-439	488	22	-357	-413	-25	723	1,414	4,308	1,083	1,820	2,540
State Trading (net)	—	—	—	177	25	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Other Capital Receipts ^e	7	91	18	10	-38	19	13	10	—	-448	-375	-582
Foreign Assistance	3,387	3,346	8,766	9,461	7,630	7,237	9,216	12,553	11,374	11,263	14,974	16,775
Project Aid	626	694	1,246	2,117	2,695	3,807	3,966	3,884	3,401	3,688	4,833	7,101
Rupee Concessing Aid	2,737	3,171	7,520	7,244	4,940	3,436	3,436	3,222	8,671	7,772	10,141	9,674
Total Resources	4,044	7,076	10,111	11,033	10,509	12,107	12,709	10,506	23,644	21,810	28,560	30,549
Overall Surplus Deficits	82	2,050	1,027	-793	-2,465	-1,559	-4,612	-3,302	-276	-3,358	-649	180

a. Fiscal year ending June 30. Figures for 1982/83 are revised Government estimates and those for 1983/84 are budget estimates.

b. Interest payments on domestic and foreign loans.

c. Not separately shown until 1974.

d. Excluding appropriations for evidence and reduction of debt.

e. Excluding borrowings from the banking system.

f. Includes telephones and telegraph revenues.

Note: Excluded Federal and Provincial Government Transfers.

Source: Planning and Development Division.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT REVENUES AND EXPENDITURES 1972-73-1983-84^a

(Million Rupees)

Item	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83	1983-84
											Revised	Budget
Current Account												
Current Revenue	2,359	2,812	3,735	5,233	5,621	6,433	7,268	9,266	11,506	12,625	13,302	14,708
Tax Revenues	1,603	1,924	2,788	4,135	4,469	5,030	5,754	7,859	10,987	11,867	12,533	14,059
Provincial Taxes	729	992	1,193	1,398	1,377	1,544	1,618	1,809	2,339	2,635	2,554	2,985
Share of Central Taxes	874	932	1,595	2,737	3,092	3,486	4,136	6,050	8,628	9,232	9,979	11,074
Non-tax Revenues	747	888	947	1,098	1,152	1,403	1,514	1,407	539	758	770	648
Irrigation (gross)	260	377	271	373	396	497	417	472	-578 ^b	-682	-703	-1,002
Forests	78	98	143	134	132	141	224	218	282	254	281	303
Interest Income	56	27	37	32	445	29	73	80	50	92	155	169
Other	353	386	490	539	179	736	800	637	785	1,094	1,037	1,178
Current Expenditures	2,968	3,667	4,875	6,161	6,623	8,133	8,522	9,680	10,301	13,016	14,528	16,629
Non-Development	2,178	2,806	3,929	5,123	5,432	7,035	7,227	8,285	9,066	10,299	12,728	14,227
General Administration	286	348	500	506	610	752	760	746	1,071	1,376	1,634	1,654
Law and Order	210	272	441	508	594	652	824	957	1,070	1,275	1,524	1,702
Community Services	—	—	—	—	—	407	553	570	708	877	1,144	1,387
Social Services	—	—	—	—	—	2,550	2,668	2,860	3,720	3,864	5,460	7,169
Economic Services	—	—	—	—	—	1,164	1,608	1,778	1,190	1,391	1,388	1,677
Subsidies	162	222	155	363	472	704	569	393	1,024	1,115	1,041	1,251
Debt Servicing	—	—	—	—	—	167	188	368	278	401	517	428
Other	—	—	—	—	—	639	47	13	5	—	20	4
Economy Cut	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	-1,405
Development Revenue Expenditures	790	861	946	1,038	1,191	1,098	1,295	1,395	1,235	1,717	1,800	2,402
Current Account Surplus	-618	-855	-1,140	-928	-1,002	-1,700	-1,254	-414	1,203	-609	1,266	-1,921
Capital Account												
Capital Expenditures	1,064	1,998	2,224	2,630	2,760	2,646	3,000	3,196	3,870	4,492	5,337	5,291
Non-Development Expenditures	141	98	66	75	48	55	89	141	182	412	362	571
Loans	16	46	60	74	46	55	105	106	201	358	252	151
Other (net) ^c	125	52	6	1	2	—	-16	35	-19	54	110	420
Development Expenditures	923	1,900	2,158	2,555	2,712	2,591	2,911	3,055	3,688	4,080	4,974	4,720
Financed by Provincial Resources	-506	-576	-862	-478	-784	-1,312	-890	-37	1,798	1,334	-185	-912
Revenue Account Surplus	-620	-855	-1,140	-928	-1,002	-1,700	-1,254	-414	1,203	609	-1,226	-1,921
Unfunded Debt (net)	56	70	55	77	114	176	187	128	206	156	270	324
Recoveries of Loans and Advances	60	50	71	47	36	33	42	53	46	99	225	88
Other ^d	-2	159	152	326	68	179	135	196	339	470	546	597
Overall Surplus/Deficit	-1,570	-2,574	-3,086	-3,108	-3,544	-3,958	-3,890	-3,233	-2,077	-3,158	-5,522	-6,203

a. Fiscal year ending June 30. Figures for 1982/83 are revised Government estimates and those for 1983/84 are budget estimates.

b. Net.

c. Mainly state trading.

d. Net deposits and remittances, accretions to reserve funds and extraordinary income items.

Note: Excludes Federal and Provincial Government transfers.

TABLE 7

COMPOSITION OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT TAX REVENUES 1972-73—1983-84^a

Item	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-1981	1981-82
Provincial Tax Revenues	729	992	1,193	1,398	1,377	1,544	1,618	1,809	2,339	
Direct Taxes	343	415	472	556	418	442	554	497	699	
Land Revenue ^b	167	196	228	260	136	125	291	172	226	
Motor Vehicle Tax	109	121	142	165	171	183	263	325	373	
Property Tax	64	91	97	122	100	101	d	d	21	
Other ^c	3	7	5	9	11	33	d	d	79	
Indirect Taxes	386	577	721	842	959	1,102	1,064	1,312	1,640	
Provincial Excise	61	93	121	47	142	73	75	23	56	
Stamps	139	178	266	333	338	442	528	450	736	
Registration	7	13	23	41	37	57	84	74	105	
Entertainment Duties	60	86	85	109	184	166	e	e	256	
Electricity Duties	27	47	9	6	58	93	e	e	124	
Other	92	160	217	206	200	271	371	765	364	
Share of Federal Taxes	874	932	1,595	2,737	3,092	3,486	4,136	6,050	8,628	
Total Tax Revenues	1,603	1,924	2,788	4,135	4,469	5,030	5,754	7,859	10,967	

a. Fiscal year ending June 30. Figures for 1982/83 are revised Government estimates and those for 1983/84 are budget estimates.

b. Net of irrigation share; also included surcharge on land revenue.

c. Capital gains tax and betterment levies.

d. Included under 'Land Revenue'.

e. Included under 'Other'.

f. Included in 'Other' under Indirect Taxes.

Source: Planning and Development Division.

TABLE 7

105-106

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT TAX REVENUES 1972-73-1983-84 ^a

(Million Rupees)

	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-1981	1981-82	1982-83 Revised	1983-84 Budget
29	992	1,193	1,398	1,377	1,544	1,618	1,809	2,339	2,635	2,554	2,925
43	415	472	556	418	442	554	497	699	831	991	1,029
67	196	228	260	136	125	291	172	226	286	189	143
09	121	142	165	171	183	263	325	373	545	548	614
64	91	97	122	100	101	d	d	21	f	72	75
3	7	5	9	11	33	d	d	79	f	182	197
86	577	721	842	959	1,102	1,064	1,312	1,640	1,804	1,563	1,896
61	93	121	47	142	73	75	23	56	57	72	82
39	178	266	333	338	442	528	450	736	754	759	866
7	13	23	41	37	57	84	74	105	110	123	140
60	86	85	1109	184	166	e	e	256	—	267	288
27	47	9	6	58	93	e	e	124	883	141	303
92	160	217	206	200	271	371	765	364	—	201	217
74	932	1,595	2,737	3,092	3,486	4,136	6,050	8,628	9,232	9,979	11,074
03	1,924	2,788	4,135	4,469	5,030	5,754	7,859	10,967	11,867	12,533	13,999

1982/83 are revised Government estimates and those for 1983/84 are budget estimates.
 charge on land revenue.

Tables 4, 5, 6 and 7 reveal that the Central Government accumulates tax revenues in a much greater proportion than the Provincial governments. In Table 6, we note that in 1982-83 provincial budget there was an overall deficit of 5,522 million rupees while in 1983-84 it rose to 6,203 million. As already explained these deficits are met by the Federal government. Tables 4 and 5 show that the Federal government possesses a wide range of tax revenues ranging from property taxes to sales tax, while in Tables 6 and 7 the composition of Provincial government tax revenues is scanty. For example, in 1983-84 budget, there was a provision of only 2,985 million rupees of Provincial government revenues, while the Central government provided its share of 11,074 million as Central Taxes. Such disparity in the Tax revenues between the act of governments is deliberately imposed by the Central government on the Provinces. An implication of such a disparity is reflected in the inability of the Provincial governments to design or implement social welfare programmes for the people residing in their respective provinces. It is inconceivable that in present state of affairs, the Federal government can attain the genuine demands of the Provincial communities and the ethnic groupings which are directly under the influence of the Provinces. Unless, the tax structure is revised by giving more revenue collecting powers to the Provinces, the developmental programmes will continue to suffer and the balance of power between the Central government and the Provinces will not be as effective as they ought to be.

CONCLUSION

Pakistani ethnic composition has aggravated with the passage of time. In the light of the observations made in this paper, we observe that Punjab Province exists on the basis of linguistic similarities but with the rapid increase in population, it has become too unwieldy to be justified as a single unit. Furthermore with time, we notice a trend dividing the Province into compartments based on colloquial differences. Saraiki speaking have become visibly separated than those living in the Central Punjab or Patohar speaking Punjabies.

Taking Sind Province, the divergence of Sindhi speaking and Urdu speaking population reached ugly proportions as witnessed in the riots of 1972 (which took serious turns in subsequent years) and as a consequence a quota for government services was to be reserved on the basis of Urban-Rural divisions, which in fact was a recognition of the existing linguistic differences in the Province.

In Baluchistan, there are Pushto speaking tribes, Makaranies and Brohies, i.e., apart from the Baluchi speaking residents of Baluchistan Province. The anthropological composition in North West Frontier Province has its own controversies in Hindko speaking people on the one hand and the differences in racial and ethnic characteristics of the population of Swat, Dir, Hunza, etc., on the other. It should be pointed out that these 'states' joined the North West Frontier Province as late as 1970s. Before that they had developed their own identification separate from the Province in which they were asked to join. Not to be ignored is the tribal belt under the Federal control and with a separate set-up.

The point to ponder is that with the changes occurring over history, the original shape of the respective provincial societal composition moved towards refinements thus loosing the rudimentary structures. New requirements now demand fresh re-adjustments in our Federal Structure. The new adjustments must remove intra-Provincial (within a Province) injustices in all the four provinces. At the same time new provinces must be formed on the basis on new realities as discussed above.

We repeat here that according to the 1973 Constitution, Articles 141-152 establishes the institution of the Federation System in Pakistan. Articles 153-174 were included in order to make the Centre-Province relations and inter-Provincial relations more viable and effective. We maintain that 1973 Constitution is a document that enjoys the support of the Pakistani masses through their representatives belonging to various political parties in the Constitution making process of 1972-1973, which is true even today.

An important aspect of the 1973 Constitution which should be taken a serious note of, is contained in Articles 153-154. According to these two Articles, a Council of Common Interests was established to formulate policies and sort out the differences. In a broader context the aim was to achieve integration in matters relating to the Provinces. This vital Council of Common Interests was not taken seriously by the former Prime Minister of Pakistan and therefore Articles 153 and 154 for all practical purposes remained in abeyance. National integration could have been achieved with more success if relevant constitutional provisions were given a fair chance to function.

The strength of a Constitution in relation to solve ethnic issues cannot be measured unless the document is applied in letter and spirit. If the Constitution has any short-comings or defeciciencies there are provisions to make amendments as and when suited to the new requirements arising out of certain adjustments and readjustments in the institutions of a society.

The real problem in Pakistan arose when hinderences were created in the smooth functioning of the Constitution. The conditioning of a system through which various problems are removed should remain the real concern for the analyst of the System of Federation. The learning process of nearly five years (till 1977-July, when military rule was imposed and the Constitution of 1973 was not abrogated although kept in 'abeyance' by the military rulers) in which the Constitution of 1973 remained enforced provided us with problem-solving opportunities, which if introduced, in the document would make it more workable. The suggested amendments can eliminate or lessen the grievances of the Provinces. We would like to stress here that the amendments suggested in the 1973 Constitution must be implemented by the elected National Legislature.

The suggested amendments are as follows :

1. In Article 101, Clause 1A should be introduced saying :
"A person shall not be appointed a Governor of a Province unless the President proposes his name to the

Senate and gets its approval by majority of the total members."

Clause 3 of the same Article should be deleted and a substitute Clause introduced saying :

"The Governor shall hold office as long as he is not removed by the Senate with majority decision." The deleted Clause reads, "The Governor shall hold office during the pleasure of the President."

2. An amendment should be made adding Article 159A, saying : "Matter which concerns either Centre-Province relations or Inter-Provincial affairs, should be referred to the Senate for its approval by the majority vote."
3. Article 232, Clause 1 should read after amendment : "If the President is satisfied that a grave emergency exists in which the security of Pakistan, or any part thereof, is threatened by war or external aggression, or by internal disturbance beyond the power of a Provincial Government to control, he shall refer the matter to the Senate for the approval to issue a Proclamation of Emergency. If approved by $\frac{3}{4}$ of the total members of the Senate, he may issue a Proclamation of Emergency. The Emergency shall remain in force till the time, Senate by simple majority removes it."

The purpose of giving more powers to the Senate is to create a balance between the powers of the Provinces and the Central Government. Such controls as suggested would create constitutional guarantees to the rights of the Provinces and would install confidence in the ethnic groups. The defects are not in the basic infrastructure of the Federal System as established by the 1973 Constitution but in that part of the Constitution which deals with the functioning of the Federal System.

Constitutions function in their proper jurisdiction if they are subjected to the balancing perceptions of divergent political factors,

power-groups and ethnic minorities. The emphasis should be made on the interaction of these groups leading towards a workable compromise. Rejection of a certain group's idea creates lack of confidence and National Inregration cannot be promoted in such a situation. In other words, congenial atmosphere is to be created so as to provide a harmonious environment for the functioning of a Constitution.

Pakistan is not an affluent country and therefore inter-regional contacts through tourism cannot be easily made by the public at large. To compensate this defeciency more contacts between the scholars, journalists, students, etc., are suggested. Another vehicle which conditions a favourable environment for the functioning of a Federation System is the understanding of the problems of other Provinces through media. In Pakistan, where there is a dearth of solid political institutions, such awareness becomes essential.

Bureaucracy, especially the Civil Service of Pakistan has caused great damage to the Federal Structure of Pakistan. It is strongly suggested that in Provinces, the bureaucrats belonging to the Central Services should not be appointed on positions which are within the jurisdiction of the Province. For example, Deputy Commissioners, etc., should come from the provincial service. Alien bureaucrats cause more misunderstanding and discontentment.

Most important of all, we must learn to face a situation, however ugly it might look. To shelf a problem or brush aside a contradiction would do more harm than good. Nations with more balanced Constitutional and Political history than ours carries with them, art of first recognizing an issue and then trying to find out ways to make required adjustments. In Pakistan, it should be done the same way, if the society is to become more integrated and as a result stronger.

APPENDIX I

FOURTH SCHEDULE

[Article 70 (6)]

Legislative Lists

FEDERAL LEGISLATIVE LIST

PART I

1. The defence of the Federation or any part thereof in peace or war the military, naval and air-forces of the Federation and any other armed forces raised or maintained by the Federation ; any armed forces which are not forces of the Federation but are attached to or operating with any of the Armed Forces of the Federation including civil armed forces ; Federal intelligence bureau ; preventive detention for reasons of State connected with defence, external affairs, or the security of Pakistan or any part thereof ; persons subjected to such detention ; industries declared by Federal law to be necessary for the purpose of defence or for the prosecution of war.

2. Military, Naval and Air Force works ; local self-Government in Cantonment areas, within such areas of Cantonment authorities, the regulation of house accommodation in such areas, and the delimitation of such areas.

3. External affairs; the implementing of treaties and agreements, including educational and cultural pacts and agreements, with other countries, extradition, including the surrender of criminals and accused persons to Governments outside Pakistan.

4. Nationality, citizenship and naturalisation.

5. Migration from or into or settlement, in a Province or the Federal Capital.

6. Admission into, and emigration and expulsion from, Pakistan including in relation thereto the regulation of the movements in Pakistan of persons not domiciled in Pakistan ; pilgrimages to places beyond Pakistan.

7. Posts and telegraphs, including telephones, wireless, broadcasting and other like forms of communications, Post Office Saving Bank.

8. Currency, coinage and legal tender.

9. Foreign exchange cheques, bills of exchange, promissory notes and other like instruments.

10. Public debt of the Federation, including the borrowing of money on the security of the Federal Consolidated Fund ; foreign loans and foreign aid.

11. Federal Public Services and Federal Public Service Commission.

12. Federal pensions, that is to say, pensions payable by the Federation or out of the Federal Consolidated Fund.

13. Federal Ombudsmen.

14. Administrative Courts and Tribunals for Federal subjects.

15. Libraries, Museums, and similar institutions controlled or financed by the Federation.

16. Federal agencies and institutes for the following purposes, that is to say, for research, for professional or technical training, or for the promotion of special studies.

17. Education as respects Pakistani students in foreign countries and foreign students in Pakistan.

18. Nuclear energy, including—

(a) mineral resources necessary for the generation of nuclear energy ;

(b) the production of nuclear fuels and the generation and use of nuclear energy ; and

(c) ionizing radiations.

19. Port quarantine, seamen's and marine hospitals and hospitals connected with port quarantine.

20. Maritime shipping and navigation, including shipping and navigation on tidal waters ; Admiralty jurisdiction.

21. Major ports, that is to say, the declaration and delimitation of such ports, and the constitution and powers of port authorities therein.

22. Aircraft and air navigation : the provision of aerodromes ; regulation and organisation of air traffic and aerodromes.

23. Light-houses, including light-ships, beacons and other provisions for the safety of shipping and aircraft.

24. Carriage of passengers and goods by sea or by air.

25. Copyright, inventions, design, trade-marks and merchandise marks.

26. Opium so far as regards sale for export.

27. Import and export across customs frontiers as defined by the Federal Government, inter-provincial trade and commerce, trade and commerce with foreign countries : standard of quality of goods to be exported out of Pakistan.

28. State Bank of Pakistan ; banking, that is to say, the conduct of banking business by corporations other than corporations owned or controlled by a Province and carrying on business only within that Province.

29. The law of insurance, except as respects insurance undertaken by a Province, and the regulation of the conduct of insurance business, except as respects business undertaken by a Province ; Government insurance, except so far as undertaken by a Province by virtue of any matter within the legislative competence of the Provincial Assembly.

30. Stock exchanges and future markets with objects and business not confined to one Province.

31. Corporations, that is to say, the incorporation, regulation and winding-up of trading corporations, including banking, insurance and financial corporations, but not including corporations owned or

controlled by a Province and carrying on business only within that Province, or cooperative societies, and of corporations, whether trading or not, with objects not confined to a Province, but not including universities.

32. National planning and national economic coordination including planning and coordination of scientific and technological research.

33. State lotteries.

34. National high ways and strategic roads.

35. Federal surveys including geological surveys and Federal meteorological organisations.

36. Fishing and fisheries beyond territorial waters.

37. Works, lands and buildings vested in, or in the possession of Government for the purposes of the Federation (not being military, naval or air force works), but as regards property situate in a Province, subject always to Provincial legislation, save in so far as Federal law otherwise provides.

38. Census.

39. Establishment of standard of weights and measures.

40. Extension of the powers and jurisdiction of members of a police force belonging to any Province to any area in another Province, but not so as to enable the police of one Province to exercise powers and jurisdiction in another Province without the consent of the Government of that Province; extension of the powers and jurisdiction of members of a police force belonging to any Province, to railway areas outside that Province.

41. Elections to the office of President, to the National Assembly, the Senate and the Provincial Assemblies; Chief Election Commissioner and Election Commissions.

42. The salaries, allowances and privileges of the President, Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly, Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Senate, Prime Minister, Federal

Ministers, Ministers of State, the salaries, allowances and privileges of the members of the Senate and the National Assembly; and the punishment of persons who refuse to give evidence or produce documents before committees thereof.

43. Duties of customs, including export duties.

44. Duties of excise, including duties on salt, but not including duties on alcoholic liquors, opium and other narcotics.

45. Duties in respect of succession to property.

46. Estate duty in respect of property.

47. Taxes on income other than agricultural income.

48. Taxes on corporations.

[49. Taxes on the sales and purchases of goods imported, exported, produced, manufactured or consumed].

50. Taxes on the capital value of the assets, not including taxes on capital gains on immovable property.

51. Taxes on mineral oil, natural gas and minerals for use in generation of nuclear energy.

52. Taxes and duties on the production capacity of any plant, machinery, undertaking, establishment or installation in lieu of the taxes and duties specified in entries 44, 47, 48, and 49 or in lieu of any one or more of them.

53. Terminal taxes on goods or passengers carried by railway, sea or air; taxes on their fares and freights.

54. Fees in respect of any of the matters in this Part, but not including fees taken in any Court.

55. Jurisdiction and powers of all Courts, except the Supreme Court, with respect to any of matters in this List and, to such extent as is expressly authorised by or under the Constitution, the enlargement of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Courts and the conferring thereon of supplemental powers.

56. Offences against laws with respect to any of the matters in this Part.

57. Inquiries and statistics for the purposes of any of the matters in this Part.

58. Matters which under the Constitution are within the legislative competence of Majlis-i-Shoora (Parliament) or relate to the Federation.

59. Matters incidental or ancillary to any matter enumerated in this Part.

PART II

1. Railways.

2. Mineral oil and natural gas ; liquids and substances declared by Federal law to be dangerously inflammable.

3. Development of industries, where development under Federal control is declared by Federal law to be expedient in the public interest ; institutions, establishments, bodies and corporations administered or managed by the Federal Government immediately before the commencing day, including the ³⁸[Pakistan Water and Power Development Authority and the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation ;] all undertakings, projects and schemes of such institutions, establishments, bodies and corporations, industrial projects and undertakings owned wholly or partially by the Federation or by a corporation set up by the Federation.

4. Council of Common Interests.

5. Fees in respect of any of the matters in this Part but not including fees taken in any Court.

6. Offences against laws with respect to any of the matters in this Part.

7. Inquiries and statistics for the purposes of any of the matters in this Part.

8. Matters incidental or ancillary to any matters enumerated in this Part.

APPENDIX II

CONCURRENT LEGISLATIVE LIST

1. Criminal law, including all matters included in the Pakistan Penal Code on the commencing day, but excluding offences against laws with respect to any of the matters specified in the Federal Legislative List and excluding the use of naval, military and air forces in aid of civil power.
2. Criminal procedure including all matters included in the Code of Criminal Procedure, on the commencing day.
3. Civil procedure, including the law of limitation and all matters included in the Code of Civil Procedure on the commencing day; the recovery in a Province or the Federal Capital of claims in respect of taxes and other public demands, including arrears of land revenue and sums recoverable as such, arising outside that Province.
4. Evidence and oath ; recognition of laws, public acts and records and judicial proceedings.
5. Marriage and divorce ; infants and minors ; adoption.
6. Wills, intestacy and succession save as regards agricultural land.
7. Bankruptcy and insolvency, administrators-general and official trustees.
8. Arbitration.
9. Contracts, including partnership, agency, contracts of carriage, and other special forms of contracts, but not including contracts relating to agricultural land.
10. Trust and trustees.
11. Transfer of property other than agricultural land, registration of deeds and documents.
12. Actionable wrongs, save in so far as included in laws with respect to any of the matters specified in the Federal Legislative List.

13. Removal of prisoners and accused persons from one Province to another Province.

14. Preventive detention for reasons connected with the maintenance of public order, or the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the community ; persons subjected to such detention.

15. Persons subjected to preventive detention under Federal authority.

16. Measures to combat certain offences committed in connection with matters concerning the Federal and Provincial Governments and the establishment of a police for that purpose.

17. Arms, fire-arms and ammunition.

18. Explosives.

19. Opium, so far as regards cultivation and manufacture.

20. Drugs and medicines.

21. Poisons and dangerous drugs.

22. Prevention of the extension from one Province to another of infectious or contagious diseases or pests affecting men, animals or plants.

23. Mental illness and mental retardation, including places for the reception or treatment of the mentally ill and mentally retarded.

24. Environmental pollution and ecology.

25. Population planning and social welfare.

26. Welfare of labour ; conditions of labour, provident funds ; employers' liability and workmen's compensation, health insurance including invalidity pensions, old age pensions.

27. Trade unions; industrial labour disputes.

28. The setting up and carrying on of labour exchanges, employment information bureaus and training establishments.

29. Boilers.

30. Regulation of labour and safety in mines, factories and oil fields.

31. Unemployment insurance.
32. Shipping and navigation on inland waterways as regards mechanically propelled vessels, and the rule of the road on such waterways ; carriage of passengers and goods on inland waterways.
33. Mechanically propelled vehicles.
34. Electricity.
35. Newspapers, books and printing presses.
36. Evacuee property.
37. Ancient and historical monuments, archaeological sites and remains.
38. Curriculum, syllabus, planning, policy, centres of excellence and standards of education.
39. Islamic education.
40. *Zakat*.
41. [Production, censorship and exhibition of cinematograph films].
42. Tourism.
43. Legal, medical and other professions.
[43-A. *Buqaf*].
44. Fees in respect of any of the matters in this List, but not including fees taken in any Court.
45. Inquiries and statistics for the purpose of any of the matters in this List.
46. Offences against laws with respect to any of the matters in this List ; jurisdiction and powers of all Courts except the Supreme Court, with respect to any of the matters in this List.
47. Matters incidental or ancillary to any matter enumerated in this List.

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Book Reviews

William Woodruff, *The Struggle for World Power*,
The Macmillan Press Ltd., Houndmills,
Basingstoke, Hampshire RG 21 2 XS, 1987,
Pages 371, Price £ 35.00.

The chief purpose of writing this book, *The Struggle for World Power*, is to provide those interested in world affairs with a better understanding of the way, the world had shaped itself over the centuries. In so far as history's real importance lies in having contributed to human wisdom, the author's ultimate aim has been not so much to discover the past but the present living in an age of arbitrary power, coercion and terrorism, the influence of 'power politics' as an inherent feature of the relation among sovereign states, is brought home to us daily.

The author investigates the role of power on a world scale because the more he has worked as a historian, the more he has become convinced that modern history only makes sense when placed in the larger context of human experience. Whatever subject we turn today, whether it defence, food, business, technology, transport and communication, energy, pollution, health, or welfare, we are faced with world problems. No longer is any one nation or continent, the centre of world power or world changes ; no longer can we speak of nation, or even of East or West, as separate and distinct. On the contrary, world history since 1500 has been the outcome of a most complicated, convulsive, and sometime paradoxical processes in which the different contributions of the people of all continents are inseparably intermingled. For the first time, mankind is living a single history in which the need for unity is imperative.

The author feels convinced that the greatest difficulty met by anyone who investigates the role of power in modern history from a world point of view is the nature of power itself. Power is so very illusive, not least because its nature, location, and employment undergo constant changes, and it is only in the crucible of war that it can be assessed. At one moment in history, military power is in control ; at another point, economic means are prominent ; at still another, it is the intangible forces that play a central role. Yet there is no clear-cut line which enables us to separate one form of power from another. All that we can say here is that there can be no *Power*, no *Great Power*, no *World Power*, unless it can exert both tangible and intangible force. The intangible world has usually not prevailed unless it has been associated with the more tangible, counter form of power.

It may be mentioned in this context that the desire of one state to impose its will upon another has been a constant factor, and one which, is less strong today than it was in 1500. The meek have not inherited the earth. The strong will subdue the weak. The question before the world remains what it has always been : who shall rule, and who shall be ruled : who will preserve the *status quo* and who will upset it. Despite Christ and Marx, the element of conflict remains. Crude power, strategy and interest are still the language of international relations. Not all wars have arisen out of the lust for power or conquest—emotion, impatience, apprehension, misapprehension, misjudgment, stupidity, and plain cowardice have all played their part—but the majority have. Not all international relations are concerned with the pursuit of interest defined as power, but the majority are : It is not love and voluntary cooperation that determine the outcome of world affairs nor is it the supposed death throes of capitalism ; rather, it is conflicting interests and the ever changing levels of force. Ultimately, the problem is not the frailty of institutions but of the human being.

What has entered a new phase is the destructive power of mankind, which some see as ensuring peace, while others see it enlarging

the chance of total disaster. It is reasonable to think that, having devised weapons that can destroy the world, we have, in fact, neutralized power. It is also reasonable to think that history having resulted in the concentration of military power, it ought to be easier to control it. Whether there will be another major war rests with the USSR and the United States.

War will only cease, as Immanuel Kant said, when there is nothing left to fight over, or because new moral insights are obtained. The truth is that as long as nationalism prevails, we shall always be threatened with a new Armageddon. Just as men have been prepared to transgress the balance of power, so one day they may be foolish enough to transgress the balance of terror.

The author concludes with the remarks that while not disputing the central role of force in the life of any society, man must work for something better. This is where Machiavelli failed us. We cannot be satisfied with Machiavellianism and death. Certainly, mankind will either devise institutions that will ensure international law and order, or much of it shall perish. Peace will not come by exhortation but only by acknowledging the almost insuperable difficulties faced. Somehow, through a recognition of common peril and lasting interests, the terrible dilemma in which the world is placed, there is no viable alternative. It is not world war or world revolution that threatens mankind today. It is world anarchy. There will never be peace as long as we refuse to accept the fact that truth is shared—that there are many paths up life's mountain. The world is going to have to tolerate different concepts of God, man, nature, government, and society. The only feasible kind of unity for the world is one based on diversity. The call is not for cleverness, but for understanding, wisdom and courage. Unheroically and painstakingly, inch by inch, man will have to continue and extend the work of international cooperation. Even then, the best we can hope for is not to banish war entirely, for that is to assume that man is infallible but to limit human folly, of which war is surely the greatest example. It is in reducing ignorance, the source of many wars, that history—

the ignored dimension in human affairs—is vital. Nowhere is it needed more than in the West whose leaders must, almost of necessity, live from one election to the next. Yet this stress on the immediate, on the instant solution; this present shortsightedness; this unwillingness or inability to see things in perspective can only end in total catastrophe. A knowledge of the past will not enable us to create a heaven on earth, but it could make it less of a hell.

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**James A. Bill, *The Eagle and the Lion :
The Tragedy of American-Iranian Relations*,
New Haven and London : Yale University Press, 1988.
Pages 520.**

The Eagle and the Lion : The Tragedy of American-Iranian Relations, is an attempt of a writer who explores the folders of history in an effort to assess the series of events that culminated in the worsening and then snapping of the US-Iranian links. The author solicits the manner in which the American policy makers handled relations between the two countries. He points towards the uneasy contacts between the two countries that goes way back in history and at the same instance searches for the causes of the artificiality of the 'healthy' relationship between the two countries.

The main emphasis of Professor James A. Bill is on the fact that the American policy makers misunderstood those societal dimensions of Iran which play an important part in its foreign policy behavior. For example, the perceptions of the Iranians towards the Europeans/Americans; the sensitivity of the people of Iran towards their religion

and culture and the respect that was given to the dedicated religious leadership. The writer emphasizes the modes adopted by the American foreign policy makers especially in the context of the delicate situations when ever they arose.

In order to reach a logical conclusion of the 'mismanagement', the author is concerned with the deteriorating relations between the two countries,—and for that the book traces out the initial contacts between the Iranians and the Americans which, according to the author, originated as early as 1940s. During that period, the diversity of American interest groups developed in Iran—ranging from the paramilitary formation known as the Persian Gulf Service Command (PGSC); and Military Assistance Advisory Group to the missionary activities.

It is in this setting that the bond between the two countries was reaffirmed after the American intervention of 1951-53 to bring back the Shah to the throne. The relations however reached its height in the 1970s and then baffled the students of international relations with the events of 1978-79 and further.

The central theme of the book administers the factors that have been operating in the Iranian society—obstructing the change as well as emanating it for the benefit of the Americans. The so-called reforms of 1960s is a glaring example. Yet another example is that of the Majlis approved law on October 13, 1964 which "provided the American military personnel and their dependents stationed in Iran with full diplomatic immunity."

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini bitterly opposed the immunity law. The Imam said in protest while addressing the Iranian masses that "if a servant of some American or some cook of some American assassinates your *Marja* (the leading religious leader) in the middle of the *bazaar* or runs over him, the Iranian police do not have the right to apprehend him. Iranian courts do not have the right to try him. The files must be sent to America so that our masters over there can decide what is to be done. They have reduced the Iranian people to a level lower than that of an American dog. If someone

runs over a dog belonging to an American, he will be prosecuted. Even if the Shah himself were to run over a dog belonging to an American, he would be prosecuted. But if an American cook runs over the Shah, the head of state, no one will have the right to interfere with him." The Shah exiled the Imam to Turkey on November 4, 1964 for his protests against the enslavement of his people by the Americans.

The study delivers in detail the American side of the Iranian connections as well peruses the relevant Iranian personalities. The book extensively explains the style, strategy and modes operandi of these actors. It also attempts to examine the reasons which became responsible for the collapse of the apparently 'congenial' U.S.-Iranian relations that existed before the Islamic Revolution of 1979. A part of this question has been attempted in the initial chapters of the book. In these pages, the author highlights the lack of coordination between the different American agencies operating in Iran and attributes this to the misconceived and mismanaged policy that country—before and after the Islamic Revolution.

The arguments emphasized in this lengthy book of more than 520 pages direct towards the deteriorating and the breaking of the relationship which was allowed to go astray even after the Islamic Revolution of 1979. He blames it on the granting of political asylum to the Shah in the United States, which was manoeuvred by the all-powerful Rockefellers and their 'client' Henry Kissinger. Professor Bill draws a vital connection between the economic interests of the Rockefellers—both Nelson and David (Chase Manhattan Bank in Iran) and the decision of the American government to allow the Shah to reside in the United States.

James A. Bill exposes the operating forces in the Iranian as well as the American society that contributed towards the mismanaged affairs. Along with that, he extends his arguments exploring the Iranian society and its undercurrents and the factors that held the pre-Revolutionary society together, although with a fragile foundation. The strong denote of the author's analysis, is reflected

in his detailed psychoanalysis of the personalities who were close to the Shah. However his study overlooks the comprehensive description of the clergy and its relevancy to the Iranian society—especially when evidently it became the main deriving force during and after the Iranian Islamic Revolution of 1979. Perhaps the author felt it more convenient to highlight the role of those personalities and their placement in the Iranian society with whom he was familiar. James A. Bill has already done a study to that effect (*The Politics of Iran Groups, Classes and Modernization*, 1972)—although in a different connotation.

The author gives an extensive explanation of the American failures in Iran and attributes it to the misinterpretation of the events as they took place in the Iranian society. He points out emphatically that if at all the American officials tried to come in grasp with the real sentiments of the Iranian people, it was through the perception of the westernized Iranian elite. The U.S. interference in the affairs of the Iranian society becomes obvious when the intimate links between the respective U.S. Ambassadors and the Shah relating to the domestic matters and policies are discussed. The Iranian Prime Ministers were replaced due to the pressures of the U.S. Ambassadors.

The author nurtures a vital determinant of the CIA in the Iranian-American relations. Professor Bill traces the close contact between the CIA and SAVAK—the most feared secret Iranian Organization. SAVAK was ruthless in its methods of repression and crushed the views of the government opponents with cold brutality. He also exposes the Shah and the elite with having close alliance with the CIA and other clandestine foreign agencies. The masses of Iran were reduced to the status of mere spectators in the unholy game that was being played by the Americans and their allies in Iran.

In fact, Iran had become a society subservient to the whims of the Shah, his courtiers and the 'Pahlevites' (supporters of the Shah) in U.S. which consisted of Congressmen. Financial magnets like Nelson and David Rockefeller and their Chase Manhattan Bank in

Iran : news media people and like wise. This group of people had begun to play an important influential role on the decision makers especially the Presidents to muster the American support for the Shah. This attitude continued even after the revolution as they provided the world with misguided and distorted information about the Islamic revolutionary activities in Iran. We are told that the CIA established contacts with Bani Sadr when he was the President of Iran. This fact was confirmed by the documents found during the take over of the American Embassy by the students. Professor Bill's criticism of the American policy making machines – the State Department, the President, the National Security Council and the Financial Magnates is based on concrete evidence. These elements smoke screened the realities from the objective decision making process. The Iranian society was saturated with the worst type of bribery, corruption and all that was going on with the American blessings. The concept of modernization was intentionally mingled with that of the westernization of the Iranian society.

One might differ in part from the analysis of the writer and would suggest that the Americans as a deliberate policy option, avoided a long term procedure designs towards Iran. The American policy makers understood well that their only interest in Iran was in the smooth flow of oil to the West and for that the sea lanes of the Persian Gulf must be kept open. For the United States strategists, the Shah's stay in power was closely linked with that of the 'future role' of the Iranian military. The American perception was, that with the fall of the Shah, the vacuum created will be filled by the military elite which anyway was pro-United States. This important aspect of the US-Shah relations has been ignored by the author. The real tragedy of the Iranian-American relations was that the U.S. policy makers as well as the vast majority of the intellectuals failed to visualize the real power of Iran—the power of the masses as they were taken for granted. This particular force contains a high dose of self-respect which can also be translated as 'Islamic Nationalism.' The power of the people as documented in the

Iranian history was guided through the channels of the Ulemas. The Americans were taken by surprise by the 'hidden' strength of the Clergy. The U.S. reaction to the Iranian demonstrations for change were thought to be sponsored or at least had the blessings of the Soviets. This single-minded policy analysis had the support of Zbigniew Brzezinsky, the National Security Advisor, who at the later stage of the revolutionary movement suggested to prompt a military coup. General Robert Huyser visited Iran in the last days of the Shah to investigate the position and strength of the Iranian armed forces. By that time the military was heading towards disintegration.

The Ulema class of Iran is prudent, honest and above all trusted by the people. The religious class under the guidance of Imam Khomeini originated from the soil of the nation and had the ability to lead the masses or *Mustazafin* (the oppressed). The Imam's relationship with the people was of a unique nature. He learned from the people and in turn gave guidance to them—thus a cycle of guiding and learning was completed. In this system of communication, the people also attained the role of leadership and at the same instance were followers. Thus the vacuum left by the Shah was not filled by the military but by the oppressed people of Iran.

Concluding, one must give credit to Professor James A. Bill for his understanding of the Iranian society and his analysis with compassion. *The Eagle and the Lion : The Tragedy of American-Iran Relations*, no doubt is an appreciated contribution not only to the literature of US-Iran relations but also to the study of Iranian as well as American decision makers. This is the best book so far written by an American author.

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Statements

TEXT OF THE FOURTH SUMMIT OF THE SAARC'S JOINT COMMUNIQUE

Islamabad, December 29–31, 1988.

The President of Bangladesh, the King of Bhutan, the Prime Minister of India, the President of Maldives, the King of Nepal, the Prime Minister of Pakistan and President of Sri Lanka met at the fourth summit of the South Asian Association for Regional cooperation at Islamabad from December 29-31, 1988. The meeting was marked by an atmosphere of mutual understanding and spirit of accommodation.

2. The heads of state or government reaffirmed their commitment to the principles and objectives of the association enshrined in the SAARC charter and renewed their determination to work collectively towards the attainment of these objectives. They issued the Islamabad Declaration.

3. The heads of state or government were deeply shocked at the armed attack on the Republic of Maldives on 3rd November, 1988 aimed at destabilising the government and taking over the country. They strongly condemned these acts of violence which disrupted the peace and security of a member state they expressed full solidarity with the government of Maldives.

4. The heads of state or government expressed concern at the high incidence of drug production, trafficking and abuse. They decided to declare 1989 as the "SAARC year against drug abuse" in order to focus attention of drug-related problems facing the region.

The Centre for South Asian Studies is grateful to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, (Director SAARC) for providing material on South Asian Regional Cooperation. The above text has been taken from *The Times of India*, New Delhi, dated 1st January, 1989.

The called upon member states to prepare and implement national programmes in this regard.

5. They welcomed the launching of SAARC chairs, fellowships and scholarships schemes and the youth volunteers programme. They recognised that education was one of the principal areas requiring urgent attention in the region and decided to include education among the agreed areas of cooperation. For this purpose they decided to set up a technical committee and accepted the offer of Bangladesh to chair the committee.

6. The heads of state or government agreed to launch "SAARC-2000—basic needs perspective" which called for a perspective regional plan with specific targets to be met by the end of the century in areas of core interest such as food, clothing, shelter, education, primary healthcare, population planning and environmental protection. In this context they welcomed the offer of the government of Pakistan to host a centre for human resource development and directed the Secretary-General to convene an expert group meeting of member countries to work out modalities for the realisation of "SAARC-2000—basic needs perspective."

7. The heads of state or government welcomed the idea of holding South Asian festivals from time to time and accepted the offer of India to host the first such festival.

8. The heads of state or government directed the standing committee to examine the desirability of establishing a regional body to promote cultural links among member states.

9. They welcomed the coming into force of the SAARC regional convention on suppression of terrorism. They stressed the importance of the adoption of enabling measures at the national level that would be necessary in order to fully implement the provisions of the convention.

10. They welcomed the agreement regarding the establishment of South Asian Food Security Reserve in August this year, which marked a major breakthrough in the common endeavours of the

governments of member countries of SAARC to assist each other in food emergency situations.

11. The heads of state or government expressed their satisfaction at the progress achieved in the implementation of the Integrated Programme of Action (IPA). They recognised the need for focusing attention on more concrete and result-oriented activities within the SAARC framework.

12. They welcomed the establishment of the SAARC Agricultural Information Centre (SAIC) at Dhaka and were of the view that proposals for the setting up of regional institutions, focusing on problems of common concern in the region, should be given priority.

13. They reiterated their earlier commitment to accord priority to the needs of children in national development plans. They decided to declare 1990 as the "SAARC year of the girl child" and directed that specific programmes and activities be undertaken to increase public awareness of the problems of the girl child.

14. They expressed satisfaction at the progress in the studies underway regarding the feasibility of cooperation in areas of trade, manufactures and services. In the meantime, they directed the Secretary-General to convene a special meeting of the group of coordinators to identify any specific areas where cooperation was feasible immediately. They directed that the report of the group should be presented to the next session of the standing committee and the council of ministers.

15. The heads of state or government expressed profound sorrow at the natural disasters suffered by Bangladesh, Nepal, India and Pakistan in 1988 and urged that the study on the causes and consequences of natural disasters and the protection and preservation of the environment be completed in the shortest period of time so as to provide a rational basis for identifying areas keeping in view the potentials and possibilities of evolving a regional plan of action, particularly to strengthen disaster management capabilities and to protect and preserve the environment.

16. They expressed satisfaction at the concrete steps being taken for the implementation of the SAARC Audio Visual Exchange (SAVE) programme. They directed that social, economic and technical themes should be given emphasis by the SAVE programme.

17. Recalling the usefulness of the earlier ministerial meeting on women in development held in India in 1986, the heads of state or government called for the holding of a second ministerial level meeting and welcomed the offer of the government of Pakistan to host the meeting.

18. They expressed satisfaction that pursuant to the direction given by the Kathmandu Declaration for enhancing people-to-people contact, concrete steps had been taken by including regional NGOs and professional bodies in SAARC activities.

19. They decided that any country in the region subscribing to the objectives and principles of the charter may be admitted as a member of the association by a unanimous decision of the heads of state or government.

20. The heads of state or government noted with satisfaction the effective functioning of the SAARC secretariat and its role in coordinating SAARC activities. They appreciated the work of the SAARC Secretary-General in the discharge of his responsibilities and thanked His Majesty's Government of Nepal for the assistance and cooperation extended to the secretariat.

21. The heads of state or government gratefully accepted the offer of the Government of Sri Lanka to host the fifth SAARC summit in Colombo in 1989.

22. The heads of state or government expressed thier deep appreciation for the outstanding manner in which the Prime Minister of Pakistan had conducted the meetings as the chairperson of the fourth SAARC summit. They also expressed profound gratitude for the gracious hospitality extended to them by the government and people of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and for the excellent arrangement made for the conference.

NO ATTACK ON NUCLEAR PLANTS AGREEMENT

The following is the text of agreement on the prohibition of attack against nuclear installations and facilities between the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Republic of India.

The Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Government of the Republic of India, hereinafter and referred to as the contracting parties, reaffirming their commitments to durable peace and the development of friendly and harmonious bilateral relations. Conscious of the role of confidence building measures in promoting such bilateral relations based on mutual trust and goodwill have agreed as follows :

Article I : Each party shall refrain from undertaking, encouraging or participating in, directly or indirectly, any action aimed at causing the destruction of, or damage to, any nuclear installation or facility in the other country.

The term 'nuclear installation or facility' includes nuclear power and research reactors, fuel fabrications, uranium enrichment, isotopes separation and reprocessing facilities as well as any other installations with fresh or irradiated nuclear fuel and materials in any form and establishments storing significant quantities of radioactive materials.

Article II : Each contracting party shall inform the other on 1st January of each calendar year of the latitude and longitude of its nuclear installations and facilities and whenever there is any change.

Article III : This agreement is subject to ratification. It shall come into force with effect from the date on which the instruments of ratification are exchanged.

Done at Islamabad on this thirtyfirst day of December 1988, in two copies each in Urdu, Hindi and English, the English text being authentic in case of and difference or dispute of interpretation.

CULTURAL COOPERATION ACCORD

The following is the text of the cultural cooperation agreement between the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Government of the Republic of India :

The Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Government of the Republic of India (hereinafter referred to as the contracting parties, inspired by a common desire to establish and develop closer cultural relations, and desirous of promoting and developing the relations and understanding between Pakistan and India in the realms of art, culture, archaeology, education, mass media and sport, have agreed as follows :

Article 1 : The contracting parties shall facilitate and encourage cooperation in the fields of art, culture, archaeology, education, mass media of information and sports in order to contribute towards a better knowledge of their respective cultures and activities in these fields.

Article 2 : Each contracting party may establish in the territory of the other cultural centres in accordance with laws, regulations and general policy of the respective host government. Prior clearance of the host government would be obtained before any such centre is established. The details regarding the establishment of such centres shall be settled between the two countries by means of an additional protocol to be negotiated after this agreement comes into force.

Article 3 : The contracting parties shall encourage and facilitate :

- (a) Reciprocal visits of academicians, education administrators, professors and experts in agreed areas for delivering lectures, study tours and special courses.
- (b) Reciprocal visits of representatives of educational, literary artistic, sports and journalists' associations and organizations.
- (c) Participation in congresses conferences, symposia and seminars.

Article 4 : The contracting parties shall encourage and facilitate :

- (a) Exchange in the field of art and culture and in the field of mass media such as documentaries, radio and television.
- (b) Exchange of materials in the field of education, sports, archaeology.
- (c) Translation and exchange of books, periodicals and other educational, cultural and sports publications, and wherever possible exchange of copies of art objects.

Article 5 : Both contracting parties shall endeavour to provide facilities and scholarships to students and research scholars of each other's country to study in its institutions of higher education and research and to participate in practical training programmes.

Article 6 : The contracting parties shall examine the diplomas certificates and university degrees granted by the other party with a view to arriving at their equivalence.

Article 7 : Each contracting party shall endeavour to present different facets of the life and culture of the other party through the media of radio, television and Press by exchange of suitable materials and programmes.

Article 8 : The contracting parties shall facilitate :

- (a) Exchange of artists, poets, writers and musician.
- (b) Exchange of art and other exhibitions.
- (c) Participation in each other's international film festivals.

Article 9 : The contracting parties shall encourage visits of sports teams between the two countries and shall facilitate, subject to the national laws and regulations in force, their stay and movements in their respective territories.

Article 10 : The contracting parties shall to the extent possible ensure that text-books prescribed for their educational institutions, particularly those relating to history and geography, do not contain any misrepresentation of facts about each other's country.

Article 11 : For the achievement of the objective of the agreement, the India-Pakistan joint commission will formulate cultural and educational exchange programmes and review the implementation of the agreement.

Article 12 : This agreement is subject to ratification. It shall enter into force on the date of exchange of the instruments of ratification. It shall remain in force for a period of three years and shall be renewed automatically for each subsequent period of three years unless either contracting party gives to the other a six months written notice in advance of its intention to terminate it. This agreement may be modified by mutual consent.

In witness whereof the undersigned representatives being duly authorised thereto by their respective governments, have hereto signed this agreement and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done at Islamabad on this tenth day of Pausa 1960 (Saka Era) corresponding to the twentieth day of Jamadi-ul-Awwal 1409 A.H. and the thirty-first day of December 1988, in two originals, each in Urdu, Hindi and English languages, all the text being equally authentic, except in case of doubt when the English text shall prevail.

AVOIDANCE OF DOUBLE TAXATION

Following is the text of the agreement between the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Republic of India for the avoidance of double taxation of income derived from international air transport :

The Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Government of the Republic of India desiring to conclude an agreement for the avoidance of double taxation of income derived from international air transport have agreed as follows :

Article 1 (Taxes Covered) :

1. This agreement shall apply to taxes on income imposed on behalf of a contracting State or of its political sub-divisions or

local authorities irrespective of the manner in which they are levied.

2. The existing taxes to which this agreement shall apply are :

(a) In case of Pakistan :

(i) The Income Tax,

(ii) The Super Tax, and

(iii) The Surcharge.

(Hereinafter referred to as 'Pakistan Tax').

(b) In case of India :

(i) The Income Tax, including any surcharge thereon, and

(ii) The Surtax :

(Hereinafter referred to as 'Indian Tax').

3. This agreement shall also apply to any identical or substantially similar taxes which are imposed after the date of signature of this agreement in addition to, or in place of the taxes referred to in paragraph 2 of this Article. The competent authority of a contracting State shall as soon as possible or at least at the end of each year notify the other of any substantive changes which are made in its taxation law.

Article 2 (Definitions) :

1. In this agreement, unless the context otherwise requires :

(a) The terms 'A Contracting State' and 'The Other Contracting State' mean Pakistan or India, as the context requires.

(b) The term 'Tax' means 'Pakistan Tax' or 'India Tax' as the context requires.

(c) The term 'Enterprise of a Contracting State' means :

(i) An airline designated by the Government of that State in pursuance of the agreement between the Government of

the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Government of the Republic of India relating to air services dated July 16, 1976 (as amended or revised from time to time), or

- (ii) An airline which is authorised by the Government of that State by a general or special arrangement between the two contracting States to operate chartered flights between or beyond their territories.
- (d) The term 'International Traffic' means any transport by an aircraft operated by an enterprise of a contracting State, except when the aircraft is operated solely between places in the other contracting States.
- (e) The term 'Competent Authority' means :
 - (i) In case of India, the Central Government in the Ministry of Finance (Department of Revenue) or their authorised representative ; and
 - (ii) In case of Pakistan, the Central Board of Revenue or their authorised representative.

2 As regards the application of the agreement by a contracting State, and term not defined therein shall, unless the context otherwise requires, have the meaning which it has under the law of that State, concerning the taxes to which the agreement applies.

Article 3 (Avoidance of Double Taxation) :

1. Profits derived by an enterprise of a contracting State from the operation of aircraft in international traffic shall be exempted from tax in the other contracting State.

2. The provisions of paragraph 1 shall also apply to the profits from the participation in a pool, a joint business or an international operating agency.

3. For the purposes of paragraph 1, interest on funds connected with the operation of aircraft in international traffic shall be regarded

as profits derived from the operation of such aircraft.

Article 4 (Residual Provisions) :

The laws in force in either of the contracting States will continue to govern the assessment and taxation of income in the contracting States, except where express provision to the contrary is made in this agreement.

Article 5 (Entry into Force) :

Each contracting State shall notify to the other completion of the procedure required by its law for the bringing into force of this agreement. The agreement shall enter into force the first day of the second month following the month in which the later of these notifications has been given and shall have effect in respect of income derived on or after the 1st day of July, 1986.

Article 6 (Termination) :

1. This agreement shall continue in effect indefinitely, but either contracting State may, on or before the 30th day of June in any calendar year from the date of its entry into force, give notice of termination to the other contracting State and in such event, this agreement shall cease to be effective :

(a) In Pakistan in respect of any assessment year on or after the 1st day of July of the second calendar year, following the year in which the notice is given.

(b) In India, in respect of any assessment year commencing on or after the 1st day of April of the second calendar year, following the year in which the notice is given.

2. In case a comprehensive agreement for the avoidance of double taxation, with respect to taxes on income, including *inter alia*, income derived from international air transport is concluded between the contracting States, then notwithstanding anything to the contrary in paragraph 1, this agreement shall cease to have effect from the date on which such comprehensive agreement enters into force.

In witness whereof the undersigned, duly authorised thereto, have signed this agreement.

Done at Islamabad on this 31st day of December, 1988 in two originals, each in Hindi and English languages, both texts being equally authentic. In case of divergence between the two texts, the English text shall be the operative one.

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”سارک کے وجود کو خطرہ۔“

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روزنامہ نوائے وقت ، ۷ جنوری ۱۹۸۹

Chronology of Important Events

SOUTH ASIAN REGION

January to June 1989

BANGLADESH

- May 6* Bangladesh Government thanked the government and people of Pakistan for sending relief goods for cyclone victims in Bangladesh.

INDIA

- January 25* It was reported that there was a sharp contrast between India and Pakistan's defence expenditures much more in 1981 as compared to 1971. India's defence expenditures in this period were 30.8 billion dollars, whereas Pakistan's were 8.2 billion dollar in this period.
- February 3* Indian Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi alleged that Pakistan was receiving nuclear technology and radio active isotopes from West Germany for the construction of nuclear bombs.
- 4 A spokesman of Pakistan's foreign office stated that it was a baseless allegation of receiving nuclear technology from West Germany. He said that it was India which had imported from West Germany 95 kg., of pure beryllium metal which could be used for making 20 hydrogen bombs.
- 6 The talks between heads of Pakistan Rangers and India's Border Security Force (BSF) for joint patrolling of common borders failed due to India's deviation from previously agreed proposals.

The above Chronology has been prepared by Mrs. Mussarrat Javed Cheema, Research Assistant, Centre for South Asian Studies, University of the Punjab, Lahore.

February 8 Prime Minister Mohtarama Benazir Bhutto noted that the Siachin Glacier issue was an 'unnecessary irritant' in bilateral relations between India and Pakistan. India could rectify the situation by withdrawing its forces from the Siachin Glacier to the pre-Simla Agreement position.

.. The Indian Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi said that Pakistan was capable of carrying nuclear warhead, and showed his concern about the testing of the surface-to-surface missiles.

14 The Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi congratulated Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto on her successful visit to China.

March 1 Mr. Natwar Singh, stated in the Lok Sabha that India would welcome Pakistan's re-entry into the Commonwealth.

30 India rejected the Pakistan's proposals for regional or bilateral approach to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

April 2 A spokesman of Pakistan foreign office described that it was a baseless allegation by Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, that Pakistan's nuclear programme was weapon oriented. He also stated that Pakistan's nuclear programme was for peaceful purpose.

4 It was reported by the Commercial Secretary of Pakistan's Embassy to India, that exports from India to Pakistan doubled during the last three months as compared to the last year.

11 India's Ambassador to Pakistan Mr. Jyotindra Nath Dixit, arrived in Islamabad to take charge of his duties.

.. Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi alleged Pakistan of providing aid to Sikh militants in East Punjab, and he also expressed the hope that Mohtarama Benazir Bhutto's Government would lend its support to India to end terrorism in Kashmir and in the Indian Punjab. He stated it in the Indian Parliament.

27 It was a false statement that Pakistani troops had established two new posts in the Siachin Glacier area. It was reported by the Pakistan's Ministry of Defence.

- May 10* It was reported that there were heavy casualties in clashes between Pakistani and Indian troops. The Pakistani troops destroyed two newly built Indian bases in the area.
- 11* Indian Troops in Gyong Sector of Siachin Glacier wanted to occupy dominating heights for establishing new posts. The Pakistani troops undertook appropriate defensive measures to counter the Indian moves. It was reported by a spokesman of Pakistan's Ministry of Defence.
- 13* Pakistan and India signed an agreement to increase the number of flights on the Indo-Pak routes.
- 23* Addressing in the Senate, Pakistan's Foreign Minister Sahibzada Yaqub Khan told that the firing of Agni missile by India was a matter of concern, because it posed a direct threat to regional security and international peace.
- 24* An agreement was signed in Islamabad between Pakistan's Interior Secretary and Indian Home Secretary to take concrete measures to contain terrorism, drug trafficking, smuggling and illicit border crossing.
- 25* The Indian Embassy in Pakistan denied reports published in Pakistan national dailies that it was the 'Agni' missile which landed near Bhakhar. It landed in the Bay of Bengal.
- June 4* Pakistan and India, after the five-day boundary talks, agreed to hold their next meeting in New Delhi.
- 7* The heads of Pakistan Rangers and Indian Border Security Force (BSF) agreed for joint patrolling of their common border.
- 9* According to the Indian Foreign Ministry, India had rejected Pakistan's proposal to put a ban on nuclear tests because the proposals were unrealistic.
- 14* Indian Ministry of External Affairs expressed the concern over the sale of F-16 Jets to Pakistan by the United States.
- 17* The Defence Secretaries of India and Pakistan agreed to solve the Siachin issue based on the redeployment of forces to reduce the chances of conflict and to avoid the use of force in conformity with the Simla Agreement.

June 19 According to Indian Government spokesman, she (India) denied the reports of any compromise with Pakistan on the withdrawal of troops from the Siachin Glacier.

20 According to Pakistan's foreign office spokesman an agreement had been signed between India and Pakistan on the withdrawal of troops from the Siachin Glacier. He gave no comments on India's denial to this effect.

NEPAL

May 2 It was reported that Pakistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs expressed the hope that Nepal and India, through mutual consultations would soon be able to reach an amicable settlement of the problems created by the expiration of trade and transit treaties between them in the spirit of SAARC and good neighbourliness.

June 22 Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Sahibzada Yaqub Khan went to Nepal on a two-day official visit.

23 Pakistan expressed her willingness to provide all possible assistance to Nepal to meet its economic difficulties. Sahibzada Yaqub Khan said that Pakistan had been in touch with the Indian Government to resolve the Nepalese conflict with India in the spirit of SAARC and good neighbourliness.

SAARC

April 8 It was agreed at the fourth meeting of the SAARC technical committee in Islamabad to establish a SAARC convention on drug control, and a SAARC Institute on drug abuse control.

June 26 Sri Lankan Foreign Minister Mr. Ranjanvijerantne, sent a message to Pakistan Foreign Minister, Sahibzada Yaqub Khan, stating that Sri Lanka would boycott the SAARC Foreign Ministers meeting in Islamabad to protest against India's refusal to withdraw her troops from the island.

28 The Seventh SAARC Foreign Minister's meeting was postponed due to Sri Lanka's warning that it would neither host nor attend the next summit of SAARC if India did not withdraw all her troops from Sri Lanka before July 29.

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

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

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

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

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