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JULY 1990

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.

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Muslim Minority in India

Dr. Mrs. FARHAT IMRANA ASLAM

Babri Mosque has put in the limelight the question of the future of Muslim minorities in India. There are other minorities, the Sikhs, the Untouchables, the Jains, the Buddhists and many more, about which much has not been written. India has been described as a nation which is a conglomeration of all sorts of people with different faiths, ethnic background, speaking different languages and having distinct cultures. These multitudes have made India as an abode where everyone could live according to what it thinks worth living for.

The concept of minorities is not new. It has always been observed that there were people who differed in some form from the majority people, and the majority tolerated them and even helped them to preserve their distinct position. The minority problem becomes acute only when the majority attempts at the annihilation of the minority or when the minority becomes aspirant for nationhood seeking separate statehood of their independent existence. In such a state of affairs, the conflicts and clashes are bound to take place and the minorities do often succeed in attaining independent status. But by and large, the minorities have to accept their fate and live in harmony with the majority being left with no other options.

Dr. Mrs. Farhat Imrana Aslam, Principal, Government Degree College for Women, Kasur.

Muslim Minority in India

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The Muslims, all over the world, constitute over a billion people. All of them are not free and they do not live in independent States of their own. Recently, a gigantic effort was made to understand the problem of the Muslim minorities all over the world and a comprehensive survey of their problems and prospects was carried out. The largest Muslim minority lives in India; only in Soviet Union the number of Muslims has arisen to 46 million. The problems of Muslim minorities in other States are of different nature, and they are resolved with the cooperation of the respective governments as well as public opinion in the world, in general, and the support and help of the Muslim States in particular. However, the issue of Muslim minorities in the world is a continuing problem.¹

The other minorities in the world are of not less importance. They are also striving hard to preserve their distinct entities and their special characteristics which are dear to them. At the moment, in Europe and in other States, the majorities are taking keen interest to preserve the minorities so that the cultural diversity is maintained within the State and the life is made more pleasant and beautiful. But general principle is that the unity of the nation will be strengthened more by preserving the distinct position of the minorities rather than adopting measures by which this status is either denied or their position is destroyed.

Pakistan, in fact, emerged out of India on a claim that the Muslims were a nation by any definition and therefore were entitled to a separate homeland where they constituted the majorities. Muslims, who were rulers before the British came, could not agree to a status of minority community under the Hindus who were to stay as a perpetual majority.²

With the creation of Pakistan, one hard reality had to be faced. Muslims would live in a State of Bharat where the Hindus harboured hostility against them. The Indian Congress, since its inception, have pleaded that it believed in the policy of secularism. It interpreted this secularism as the one in which the State should not patronise religion. The religion is a matter between individual and the God, and the State should not interfere in this. They also

thought the religion and politics should be kept apart. Democratic pattern should have higher priority.

Mr. Donald Eugene Smith wrote a comprehensive study on secularism in India. He surveyed the social, political, moral and constitutional aspects of India's secularism. Very rightly so, he came out with a conclusion that India was not a secular State but it was trying to become a secular one.³ This is a monumental work which has been discussed and debated. But the Indian Government and its policy-makers adhered to the thought of secularism and reiterated such thoughts in a number of announcements spread over the years.

The Preamble to the Indian Constitution suggests the secular orientation of the document :

We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a sovereign democratic republic and to secure to all its citizens : justice, social, economic and political; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; and to promote among them all fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation; in our Constituent Assembly this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution.⁴

The spirit of the Preamble to the Constitution is incorporated in Article 25 which states :

25(1) Subject to public order, morality and health and to the other provisions of this Part, all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion.

Nothing in this article shall affect the operation of any existing law or prevent the State from making any law-regulating or restricting any economic, financial, political or other secular activity which may be associated with religious practice; providing for social welfare and

reform or the throwing open of Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all classes and sections of Hindus.⁵

The courts in India played a vital role in describing matters which are religious in nature and also what constitutes secularism, giving emphasis on the autonomy of the people in their decision :

In *Commissioner, Hindu Religious Endowments, Madras v. Sirur Mutt*, it was stipulated that a religious denomination or organization enjoys complete autonomy in the matter of deciding as to what rites and ceremonies are essential.

In a case *M. H. Qureshi v. State of Bihar*, it was ruled by the Court : We have, however, no material on record before us which will enable us to say, in the face of the foregoing facts, that the sacrifice of a cow on that day is an obligatory overt act for a Mussalman to exhibit his religious belief and idea.⁶

Knowing that Indian people and its Government may not do what it was professing under the holocaust of arsens and killing that came in the aftermath of the independence of India and Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam and even Mr. Gandhi came out with the announcements that the protection of life and honour in respect of the minorities were the responsibilities of the respective Governments. When things went worst, even the Quaid made strong statements and reminded India of its responsibility to look after its people.

In a lengthy question-answer session, the Quaid-e-Azam stated his position with regard to the minorities in India and Pakistan :

Question : "You must have seen reports that in one or two provinces Congress Ministries have indicated their intention of abolishing separate electorates and weightage ?"

Mr. M. A. Jinnah : "I cannot go into these details. The actual provisions with regard to protection and safeguards can be discussed in the two Constituent Assemblies where the minorities are represented."

Question : "Will they be discussed by the Constituent Assemblies jointly or separately?"

Mr. M. A. Jinnah : "I cannot prophesy. In the first instance, it is really the dominion of each Constituent Assembly. Representatives of the minorities are in both Constituent Assemblies and, therefore, those are problems for the Constituent Assemblies of Hindustan and Pakistan to deal with. I can only express the hope that they will be dealt with in a manner which will give the minorities a sense of security and confidence. I cannot discuss the details."

Question : What are your comments on recent statements and speeches of certain Congress leaders to the effect that if Hindus in Pakistan are treated badly, they will treat Muslims in Hindustan worse ?"

Mr. M. A. Jinnah : "I hope they will get over this madness and follow the line, I am suggesting. It is no use packing up the statements of this man here or that man there. You must remember that in every country there are crooks, cranks and what I call mad people."

Question : "Would you like minorities to stay in Pakistan or would you like exchange of population ?"

Mr. M. A. Jinnah : "As far as I can speak for Pakistan, I say that there is no reason for any apprehension on the part of the minorities in Pakistan. It is for them to decide what they should do. All I can say is that there is no reason for any apprehension so far as I can speak about Pakistan. It is for them to decide. I cannot order them."⁷

Quaid-e-Azam issued a statement on 15 September, 1947 :

I explained to these representatives of the Delhi Muslims that we are straining every nerve to do all that we can for them and are in constant communication with the Indian Dominion Government on this subject. I discussed it at great length with Lord Ismay, who came to Karachi recently.⁸

Quaid-e-Azam viewed minorities as full citizens of Pakistan. In his concept, the citizens were equal as they were equal in the eyes of law :

Minorities belonging to different faiths living in Pakistan or Hindustan do not cease to be citizens of the respective States by virtue of their belonging to a particular faith, religion or race. I have repeatedly made it clear, especially in my opening speech to the Constituent Assembly, that the minorities in Pakistan would be treated as our citizens and will enjoy all the rights and privileges that any other community gets. Pakistan shall pursue that policy and so all it can to create a sense of security and confidence in the non-Muslim minorities in Pakistan.⁹

Regarding the minorities in India, his opinion was very clear. He thought that they had to play a role in India in a new set-up and India should treat them as free citizens :

To the Muslim minority and their leaders left in India, I have already conferred advice that they must reorganise themselves under their own chosen leadership as they have a very big part to play in safeguarding the rights and interests of many millions. They have already professed under my advice their loyalty to the Government of India and made their position clear on the very first day when they attended the Indian Dominion Constituent Assembly.¹⁰

In spite of this, insidious propaganda is going on that they have been let down by the Muslim League and Pakistan is indifferent to what may happen to them. The Muslim minority in India have played a magnificent part in the achievement and establishment of Pakistan. They were fully alive to the consequences that they would have to remain in Hindustan as minorities but not at the cost of their self-respect and honour. "Nobody visualised that a powerful section in India was bent upon the ruthless extermination of Muslims and had prepared a well-organised plan to achieve that end. This gangsterism, I hope, will be put down ruthlessly by the Indian Government, otherwise they will forfeit their claim to be a civilised Government."¹¹

In order to give form to these noble ideas, he was thinking that both the Governments should sit together and work out a policy which should provide protection, security and confidence to the minorities in both countries :

We are deeply concerned with their welfare and future, and we shall do everything in our power to avert the danger that they are facing. I sincerely hope that with the cooperation of the Indian Dominion, we shall be able to secure a fair deal for them.¹²

Quaid-e-Azam referred to the statement of the Congress and the Muslim League in which they expressed their desire to offer full protection to the minorities in their respective States when they accepted the June 3 Plan : "In accepting the Plan, even before then, solemn declarations were made both by the Congress and the Muslim League that the minorities of both States would be given a fair deal and that safeguards for them should be secured specially for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights in consultation with them and that position is not seriously questioned even now by any responsible person."¹³

Liaquat Ali Khan continued the policy pronouncements of Quaid-e-Azam. Speaking at Jessore on March 21, 1950, Liaquat Ali Khan referred to the flight of Hindus :

As Muslims it is the duty of every Pakistani to protect the minorities which is as necessary as protecting ourselves. Islam as a religion is opposed to any tyranny by the strong upon the weak. A nation which exercises tyranny on its weaker elements is sure to suffer in the long run. God's vengeance is silent but it is sure to come. It is in the interests of Pakistan and its inhabitants that the minorities should continue to live in the country . . . Pakistan's Constitution, as has already been resolved upon, will be based upon Islamic principles. There can be no better guarantee for the minorities than the proposed Constitution's Islamic basis which vouchsafes the gospels of peace, equality and justice.¹⁴

On March 22, 1950, Liaquat Ali Khan, in a broadcast from Dacca Radio Station, stated :

I have been deeply distressed at the happenings during the last few weeks in East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam and at the situation arising therefrom during the last four days. I have toured those districts of East Bengal, where the effects of this madness are more prominently visible. I have met the *Muhajireen* who have sought sanctuary in Pakistan and also met members of the minority community who have suffered in the disturbances.

I want to assure the minorities in Pakistan that they are entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other section of Pakistanis. The protection of the minorities and their social progress is our sacred duty. I never want and I am sure this is shared by every Pakistani that no person belonging to the minority community should leave Pakistan. My desire is that those who have left Pakistan out of fear should return. In spite of this, those who want to go will be free to exercise their choice to do so.

I am proceeding to New Delhi, in the hope that we shall, with our united efforts, create peaceful conditions in India and Pakistan and remove all misunderstandings which have created tension between the two countries. I appeal to every Pakistani to pray for the success of this conference, so that minorities of both countries may live a peaceful and honourable life and relations between Pakistan and India so improve that they become real friends by understanding each other, thus making it possible for all the inhabitants of this sub-continent to live that life.¹⁵

On April 8, 1950, an agreement was reached between India and Pakistan regarding minorities and a statement to this effect was made by Liaquat Ali Khan in Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on April 10, 1950 :

The agreement, it will be seen, has two aspects : it deals with fundamental rights of the minorities and with measures for

preventing communal disorder and for dealing with it effectively, should such disorder occur at any time in any part of India or Pakistan. In its special aspect, the Agreement deals with the present situation in West Bengal, Assam, Tripura and East Bengal with particular reference to the question of suppression of disorder wherever it is still occurring, the stoppage of present exodus of minorities by creating conditions necessary for the restoration of confidence, the return of refugees to their homes and the machinery for the implementation of these purposes.

The fundamental rights reiterated in the Agreement are in accordance with the principles of the Objectives Resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in March 1949. These rights include complete equality of citizenship, irrespective of religion, protection of life, property, personal honour and culture and freedom of occupation, speech and worship subject to law and public morality. Both Governments have reaffirmed that the enjoyment of these rights is guaranteed to all minorities and have also stated that members of the minority communities have equal opportunity with members of the majority community to participate in public life, hold political and other offices and to serve in the country's civil and armed forces. At the same time, a most important principle has been re-emphasised that the allegiance and loyalty of the minorities is to the State of which they are citizens and it is to the Government of their own State that they should look for the redress of their grievances.¹⁶

In order to keep the passions under control, it was agreed that the members should not indulge in publishing sensational news :

Among measures of general application approved by the two Governments to prevent or deal with communal disturbances are the punishment of those found guilty of offences against persons and property and other criminal offences; the imposition of collective fines where necessary; the prevention of dissemination of

news and mischievous opinion calculated to rouse communal passion by Press or radio or by any individual or organisation and the punishment of those responsible for such dissemination; the prevention of propaganda directed against the territorial integrity of either country or purporting to incite war between them, and prompt and effective action against individuals or organisations responsible for such propaganda. Other important features of the general aspect of the Agreement are non-recognition of forced conversions and the setting up of an agency to assist in the recovery of abducted women.¹⁷

Regarding the arrangements which should be made for the proper implementation of the provisions of the Agreement, it was agreed to set up Commissions and the Ministers were to supervise the works :

In the part of the Agreement relating to conditions in West Bengal, Assam, Tripura and East Bengal, a number of special provisions have been made which apply in addition to the general provisions referred to above. These special provisions are necessary in view of the unsettled conditions which are responsible for the present exodus. The most important of these measures is the decision of the Governments of Pakistan and India to depute two Ministers, one from each Government, to remain in the affected areas for such period as may be necessary in order to help restore confidence, to facilitate the return of the refugees to their homes and generally to assist in implementation of the provisions of the Agreement. These two Ministers will work together in close cooperation and I earnestly hope that with the authority of the two Governments behind them, they will soon succeed in the accomplishment of their noble mission. Another important measure that has been accepted by both the Governments is that a Minister of the minority community will be included in the Governments of West Bengal, Assam and East Bengal. The existing Provincial Minority Boards in West Bengal and East

Bengal will be abolished and Minority Commissions will be established in West Bengal, Assam and East Bengal. Each Commission will consist of a Minister of the Provincial or State Government concerned and a representative, each of the majority communities, chosen by and from among their respective representatives in the Provincial or State Legislature. These Commissions will observe and report on the implementation of the Agreement and advise on action to be taken on their recommendations.¹⁸

About the property of the migrants, Liaquat Ali Khan commented on the Agreement :

The rights of migrant to ownership of his immovable property and occupancy in land will not be disturbed. His immovable property will be restored to him provided he returns to his home not later than December 31, 1950; where restoration is not possible the Government concerned will take steps to rehabilitate the migrant. The right to dispose of immovable property by sale, by exchange or otherwise has been recognised.¹⁹

Liaquat Ali Khan observed that the Agreement, if implemented in the right spirit, would bring about a better atmosphere for the minorities in the respective countries : "I believe, and so does the Prime Minister of India, that this Agreement, if properly implemented, will lead to the eradication of fear and suspicion which stalk this sub-continent today."²⁰

In order to see that the implementation of the Agreement is done according to the spirit of the Pact, it was felt that : "The Prime Minister of India and I will be meeting from time to time to review the implementation of this Agreement as well as to consider other problems of common concern. In the interests of both India and Pakistan, as indeed in the interests of the world peace, it is essential that we should settle all outstanding issues by peaceful means and promote the growth of friendship and good neighbourliness between our two countries."²¹

In a press statement on 29 April 1950 on the eve of departure to the United States, Liaquat Ali Khan said : "So far as Pakistan is concerned, every individual has fully endorsed this Pact."²² About India, he was also certain that Pandit Nehru and his Government wished fully to implement the Pact : "I am confident that Pandit Nehru and his Government wish fully to implement the Pact."²³

With regard to implementation of the Agreement, Liaquat Ali Khan made it clear that the Pact has been implemented by Pakistan in letter and spirit :

I think all impartial observers will support me when I say that my Government as well as the Government of East Bengal have done their best to implement the Delhi Agreement. The East Bengal Government can justly claim priority in taking all the measures required by the Agreement. The joint tours of the two Ministers appointed by the Governments of Pakistan and India have proved beneficial and have helped to restore confidence in the minority communities. This has certainly been the case in East Bengal. The work of the Central Ministers and the Minority Commissions and District Minority Boards in our respective areas have been under constant review by the Prime Minister of India and myself, although we have had occasionally to have good reason to be satisfied with the progress that has been made.²⁴

With regard to the Indian efforts in implementing the Minority Accord, Liaquat Ali Khan stated :

The real obstacle in the way of the Delhi Agreement is the attitude and activity of a strong section of West Bengal Hindus and West Bengal Press. They have continued in utter violation of the Agreement to disseminate false and exaggerated news and mischievous opinions calculated to arouse communal passions and hatred between India and Pakistan. The Delhi Agreement specifically laid down that those guilty of such activity shall be

rigorously dealt with and both Governments undertook not to permit such propaganda and to take prompt and effective action against individuals or organisations guilty of it. We have repeatedly drawn the attention of the Government of India to the open and flagrant violations of the Agreement in these respects. The Government of India, although sincerely desirous of promoting the objects of the Agreement, have for one reason or another, felt unable to take action against either of those organisations or the West Bengal Press.

So far as Mr. Mandal's allegations about the treatment of the minorities in West Pakistan are concerned, the leaders of the Scheduled Castes and other minorities have already refuted these allegations in the Press and given Mr. Mandal the lie direct. His allegation that a large number of Hindu Temples and Gurdwaras in Karachi and Sind are in possession of Muslims and have been put to secular use is a distortion of facts. It is true that in some cases the migrating Hindu trustees have sold temple properties, as for example, Gur Miandir in Karachi, which was sold to a European purchaser in 1948. In other cases, residential tenements attached to Temples and Gurdwaras have been hired or leased to refugees but the sacred precincts of the temple itself are not allowed to be occupied. The properties including the Karachi Pinjrapole which have been declared to be no-evacuee are in the process of being restored to owners or trustees.²⁵

During the lifetime of Liaquat Ali Khan, relations between India and Pakistan deteriorated as is evident from the letters and telegrammes exchanged between the two Prime Ministers. Subsequently, the two countries adopted different foreign policies and their attitude differed widely. Minorities in Pakistan settled down as Government of Pakistan sincerely implemented the Minorities Agreement of April 8, 1950. However, the Indian Government continued to harbour ill-will against Pakistan and this was quite evident from the wars which were imposed on Pakistan. In 1986, in

a statement by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, a brief resume was given which provided the information about how the Liaquat-Nehru Pact was implemented.

In his written answer, Mr. Zain said : "The Liaquat-Nehru Pact was signed against the background of communal tension in East Pakistan and the neighbouring Indian States of West Bengal, Assam and Tripura in early 1950. The bulk of the agreement dealt with the specific questions pertaining to the four above mentioned territories where communal disturbances had recently occurred. It is, however, true that the measures agreed upon at that time in regard to these territories were also of general scope and, therefore, according to exigency, applicable to any part of India and Pakistan. The Liaquat-Nehru Pact does not contain a termination clause. For several years and particularly since 1971, the Government of India has not, however, considered itself to be bound by this Pact. This attitude of the Government of India precludes any meaningful action by the officials of the Pakistan Embassy in New Delhi in this regard.

"Our Embassy in India", he said, "is bound by the policy of the Government of Pakistan. We do not interfere in the internal affairs of India. At the same time, we have repeatedly said that we cannot be indifferent to the sufferings of innocent people especially those with whom we have ties of common faith, culture and history. It has been our earnest hope that the measures adopted by the Government of India to safeguard the life and property of the Muslim minority are effective and successful," the Minister added.²⁶

Over the years, the Muslims in India were subjected to all kinds of cruelties. The Hindu-Muslim riots resulted in the loss of life and property of the Muslims. The Muslims were unable to celebrate their religious ceremonies. Their places of worship were the targets of attacks by the extremist Hindus. Babri Mosque issue highlighted the poor plight of the Muslims and the danger to which their religious places were exposed to.

In the *History of Ayodhya* by Hans Baker (A Critique-V: Hans Baker Findings At a Glance), gives a brief narrative of the true tale of Babri Mosque which is reproduced :

Ramayana has basically a fictional character.

Capital of Desratha and Rama was Benaras.

Ayodhya is the creation of Poet's imagination.

The remains of the fort built by Muslims in 13-14th C.A.D. are called Ram-Kot.

No Gupta ruler built any temple at Ayodhya in 4-5th C.A.D.

The ritual of *Ramnavmi* does not require a temple.

Janamasthan of Rama is 910 m westwards of Lomasa, which is only 350 m away from Babri Masjid.

Another *Janamasthan* of Rama is 1835 m eastwards of Vignesvara. But Vignesvara itself lies in 80 degrees East, 800 m away from Babri Masjid. Thus *Janamasthan* turns out to be 2635 m away.

The process of demarcating *Janambhumi* was started by Casanya in *Vrindaban* in 1516 A.D. and it reached Ayodhya after the death of Baber.

No Rama idol is found upto 18th C.A.D.

In Ayodhya only 3 (11 per cent) temples were *Vaishnava* in 11-12th C.A.D. Four temples built in Ayodhya during this period *Candrahari*, *Dharmahari*, *Guptahari* and *Vishnuhari* have nothing to do with Rama Legend.

Ramanand (1299-1410 A.D.) did not found a *Ramaite Vaisnava* sect in Ayodhya. He was an exponent of *Sant* Movement.

The first *Ramanandi Math* was built in Ayodhya in the middle of 18th C.A.D.

Rama Bhakti is a worship of the name, and not of the form of Rama.

Vaishnavas first arrived in Ayodhya in 16th C.A.D.

Ayodhya was a stronghold of Bheel tribals upto 13th C.A.D. when Muslims drove them out.

Only three temples exclusively dedicated to Rama have been documented : (i) Rama temple, Pavnar, (ii) Rajivalocana temple, Rajim, (iii) Malayasinha temple, Mukundpur. *Janambhumi* temple figures nowhere.

Many superious *tirthas* have been created by Pandas, like *Lokanatha*, *Gomotyam Ramatirathe*, *Kopamukha*, *Mandara*, and *Dvipa*, etc.

The door-jamb kept in *Jammasthan-Sita Rasol* temple and the pillars used in Babri Masjid are not necessarily from one and the same temple.

Rama's place of sacrifice -- *Treta ke Thakur*, is a *pia fraud*, i.e., a pious fraud to conceal a fraud.²⁷

The case pertaining to the Ram *Janambhoomi*--Babri Masjid is to come up before the full bench of the Allahabad High Court, comprising S. C. Mathur, Brijesh Kumar and S. H. A. Raza on August 7. The court have framed 43 issues in this dispute spanning nearly two centuries. The court has set July 15 the deadline for submitting all the documents. It has also directed the Archaeological Department of Uttar Pradesh and other departments to provide, carbon-dating a proper survey, photographs and video-recording of the building and other relevant material. Five cases are pending before the court. Four before the unlocking of the door under orders of a local magistrate, and the fifth filed by a former judge of the Allahabad High Court Deokinandan Agarwal, for the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, on behalf of the deity. It quotes a Lahore High Court judgement of 1938 which ruled that a deity was a juristic person, and, therefore, could not be removed without its consent.

The chronological order of the developments provides an insight into the controversy over the Babri Mosque. The important dates in this regards are :

- 1855 : The first eruption of violence leading to large scale killing and destruction of property in Faizabad.
- 1856 : Settlement between the community leaders that they will not use this issue to divide the people.
- 1856 : Annexation of *Oudh* by the British.
- 1857 : The leader who brought about a peaceful settlement between Hindus and Muslims hanged by the British.
- 1859 : Muslims forbidden by the British for using the mosque. Their use restricted to only the northern gate.
- 1885 : Local Mahant seeks permission to construct a temple on the '*Ram Chabutra*'. British judge denies him permission.
- 1934 : Major riots in Faizabad and Ayodhya. Mosque badly damaged, but later repaired at Government expenses.
- 1939 : A *Shia-Sunni* dispute arises over the ownership of the mosque. The argument : Since the mosque was built by a Shia Meer Baqi, a Deputy of Mughal Emperor Baber, it was a *Shia* mosque. Hence, the Sunni Muslim Waqf Board had no rights over this mosque.
- 1946 : A civil court order confirms the rights of the Sunni Muslim Waqf Board over this site.
- 1949 : On the night of December 22/23, the idols of Ram and Sita appear in the mosque's precincts after a nine-day '*Path*' of *Ramcharit Manas* outside the mosque.
- 1950 : January 16, the first case by Gopal Singh Visharad seeking that the place be declared *Ram Janambhoomi* comes up before the Civil Court, Faizabad. Another similar case comes by Ramachandra Paramhans Das in March.

- 1959: A third case was on behalf of Nirmoni Akhara, Ayodhya claiming that the disputed site was *Ram Janambhoomi*.
- 1961: In April, the U.P. Central Board of Sunni Waqf files a suit claiming that since the place was traditionally a mosque, the praying rights of Muslims be restored. This was subsequently converted into the leading suit by the civil court of Faizabad.
- 1984: October 7, the *Ram Janambhoomi* Action Committee comes into being. The same day as *Tala Kholo'* (open the lock) agitation is launched. A '*Rath Yatra*' to mobilise public opinion was planned. The agitation was called off temporarily due to Indira Gandhi's assassination.
- 1985: October 23, the agitation revived from 25 places, spear-headed by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad.
- 1986: January 25, a Faizabad lawyer, Umesh Pandey files a case in the local Munsif Court that since there was no threat to law and order, restrictions on *pūja* be lifted. The Munsif declines to pass any orders as the file of the main case of 1950 was in the High Court.²⁸

The issues before the Three-member Bench of the Allahabad High Court are :

- Whether the building is a mosque. If so, whether built by Baber, as alleged by the plaintiff, or by Meer Baqi, as alleged by the defendant Number 13.
- Whether the plaintiff (Sunni Muslim Waqf Board) had no right to maintain the present suit since no valid notification under Section 5(1) of the Muslim Waqf Act No. XIII of 1936 was ever made in respect of the property in dispute.
- Whether the suit is barred by limitation as it was filed after the commencement of U.P. Muslim Waqf Act, 1960.
- Whether the present suit is representative, the plaintiff representing the Muslims and the defendant representing the Hindus.

Whether the idols were placed on the night of December 22/23, 1949, inside the building as alleged in the plaint or were they in existence before.

Whether the building in question could be controlled by Sunni Waqf Board as it was allegedly constructed by Meer Baqi, a Shia, and its subsequent *Mutawallis* were also Shias.²⁹

Till 1984-85, the Union Home Ministry Annual Reports included detailed information on both major and minor incidents of communal conflict and the number of people killed (usually underestimated). But since 1985, the Reports no longer include systematic details on the earlier pattern. They only contain some perfunctory references made in a cavalier fashion. The figures given here from 1984 are unofficial estimates, based on reports in the Delhi Press, released by the People's Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR), Delhi :

Incident and Communal Conflicts

Year	No. of Incidents	No. Killed
1960-63	343	181
1963-64	1125	1733
1965-67	326	92
1967-68	484	290
1968-71	1090	869
1971-72	512	600
1972-76	864	NA
1976-77	30	11
1977-79	490	207
1979-80	229	272
1980-83	1597	936
1984	600	3500
1985-86	2400	1600 ³⁰

Writing editorially, the *Radiance Views* in its issue of 28 January--3 February 1990, had stated that the Muslims' problem is that they want to live and die in India as Muslims and this is what constitutes a problem for them, while the Indians would like to make them lose their identity and get integrated by saying goodbye to Islamic principles and ideas. Muslims, however, are unwilling to get assimilated through these efforts of annihilation. Muslims have not only resisted assimilation but annihilation also, sometimes resorted to by a section of paramilitary organisations like the PAC of U.P. and the BMP of Bihar. Endeavours have been made to fiddle with and de-Muslimise their educational institutions like the Aligarh Muslim University and the Jamia Millia Islamia. More shameful is the fact that efforts to that effect have been made by the power-that-be. One could give margin to the pseudo-nationalists as their 'business' depends upon Muslim-baiting and Muslim-phobia. But what to say when the Ruling Party, the Government.³¹

Muslim heritage in the form of Urdu, Muslim Personal Law, and the Muslim way of living is constantly under threat. Apart from the discrimination in service and denial of equal opportunities in the public life, the religious monuments and shrines are also in jeopardy. After the Muslim educational institutions, Muslim shrines happen to be the target. In this regard too, the Congress Government has not played a role that may add to its stature. Idols were surreptitiously put in the Babri Masjid when the Congress was in power in U.P. It was during the Congress-I rule that the doors of the Babri Masjid were thrown open for idol-worship. The Ram Janambhoomi Mukti Yajni Samiti was positively encouraged rather emboldened to fiddle with Muslim life, property and sentiments on the shrine issue. Besides the shrine at Ayodhya, two more mosques in Varanasi and Mathura are on the hit list. The impending show-down continues to threaten Muslims.

The United Nations, through its Universal Declaration of Human Rights, affirmed through various articles the right of its citizens to profess and practise their faith. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought,

conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Depriving one of one's identity tantamounts to one's ideological and psychological murder. Right to one's identity is so important that even the United Nations through its Universal Declaration of Human Rights affirmed it through various articles :

All incitement to or acts of violence, whether by individuals or organizations, against any race or group of persons of another colour or ethnic origin shall be considered an offence against society and punishable under law.³²

The days were never better for the Muslims in India. But the Indian Elections of 1989 posed a serious threat as Bhartiya Janata Party, which is based on the concept of Hindu Revivalism, was elected to the Parliament with impressive number of seats and it assumed a vital position in the Parliamentary life of India. As king-makers, it threw its lot with the National Front and Mr. V. P. Singh was encrowned as Prime Minister of India. It is in this light that it announced that the party stands for demolition of the Babri Mosque and raising in its place a temple as it deems that it was their Ram's *Janambhoomi*. The fate of Singh was sealed as it was clear that his Government could not maintain itself without the support of the Bhartiya Janata Party. He gallantly fought against the Congress and it was not possible for him to solicit the support of the same party against which he fought and won. He went down fighting but without losing his hold on principles or sacrificing, what he called the mainstay of his thinking, secularism.

The attitude of Indian Muslims has to be gauged and they have to, for the first time, make out a case for themselves and live under new hard realities. What is their future in India, has to be determined by the Muslims in India themselves. However, the Muslims of Pakistan and the Muslims all over the world could hardly ignore them.

In this crucial position, today, and in days to come, what Pakistan should do and what policies should it adopt, are the vital issues on which the scholars of Pakistan should ponder and come up with their proposals and suggestions which are more feasible and which are in the best interest of India and Pakistan, as well as peace and harmony for this part of the world.

Bhartiya Janata Party has declared that in the ensuing General Elections, which are to take place in May 1991, if voted to power; it would, irrespective of the verdict of the High Court, build the temple in place of the Babri Mosque. This shows that the extremists would ride roughshod and the Constitution of India, based on philosophy of secularism, would be torn to shreds. The past picture is dreadful. In days to come, it would be frightfully deadly for the Muslims of India.³³

The minority about which Government of Pakistan and people of Pakistan have expressed strong views in favour of providing them full protection is that of a Hindu minority. There are 1.27 million Hindus in Pakistan, of which 1.2 million reside in Sind. Their largest contingent is in Hyderabad (Sind) which is 85 per cent of the total of Hindu population in Pakistan. Any patriotic Pakistani would welcome the idea that the Hindus should live in peace and their religious places are given full protection and due respect. This is what Islam preaches, as tolerance to other religions is the basic principle of Islam. It would be the height of a folly to organize reprisal against Hindus in Pakistan for what the Hindus are doing in India regarding the Babri Mosque or general behaviour towards the Muslims or other minorities in India. It is only through good behaviour towards minorities that Pakistan has earned a high stature in the Comity of Nations. This principle should not be abandoned despite provocation from across the border in India. Let the Indian scholars and the government adopt a human approach towards the Muslim minority, bringing the Muslim minority in the national fold for national integration and for striking an image of true democracy based on its philosophy of secularism.

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The 1952 - Bengali Language Movement : A Stimulating Force in Bengali Nationalism

SYED HUMAYUN

Language has always been a dominant factor in giving a people a sense of their own identity.¹ It would not be wrong to observe that Bengali Nationalism grows centering this question of language. The Bengalis are very much proud of their language which is considered as one of the richest of the sub continent languages and literatures.² They are attached to their language and culture, to put in Von Vorys words, "vigorously and aggressively."³ The Bengalis were naturally hurt and became angry when the ruling Muslim League elites pursued a discriminatory attitude towards Bengali language and culture ever since independence. The disenchantment of the Bengalis developed, as an observer maintains, "into a predominant concern with regionalism which ultimately shaped into Bengali Nationalism and a successful movement for secession."⁴

The language controversy came into limelight when Dhirendranath Dutt, a Hindu member from East Bengal, moved an amendment, to the Constituent Assembly rules⁵ to permit Bengali to be used in the House along with Urdu and English.⁶ Championing the cause of Bengali as state language the same member maintained :

"I can assure the House that I do so not in a spirit of narrow provincialism. . . . I know Sir, that Bengali is a provincial language, but so far our state is concerned, it is the language of the majority of the state and it stands on a different footing, therefore, . . . the state language of the state should be the language which is used by the majority of the people of the state and for that, Sir, I consider that Bengali language is a *lingua franca* of our state."⁷

As the suggestion was coming from the Hindu member, the ruling Muslim League elites became suspicious of the mover's intention. Liaquat Ali Khan, thus retorted :

"I had thought that the object of the amendment was an innocent one, in that it was intended to include Bengali among the media of expression of the Assembly, but now the object seems to be to create a rift between the peoples of Pakistan and to take away from the Muslims that unifying link which can be achieved by a common language."⁸

Pleading the cause of Urdu, Liaquat Ali Khan further maintained :

". . . The mover should realise that Pakistan has been created because of the demand of a hundred million Muslims in this sub-continent and language of the hundred million Muslims is Urdu. It is necessary for a nation to have one language and that language can only be Urdu and no other language."⁹

Liaquat Ali Khan, however, seemed to have failed to understand that Dutt was representing the genuine grievance of a common Bengali. Even before Dutt, many organizations, such as Gana Azadi League, Muslim Chatra League and Tamaddun Mujlis had already demanded to make Bengali the state language of Pakistan along with Urdu.¹⁰ Liaquat Ali Khan's categorical announcement in favour of Urdu naturally incited these organizations to come to the streets. On February 26, 1948 the students of Dacca University and other institutions called for a *hartal* (strike) and organized a protest demonstration against the decision of the Government to

impose Urdu as the only national language of Pakistan. To carry on the Movement, a State Language Committee of Action was formed with two representatives from each of the following organizations and bodies : Tamaddun Majlis, Salimullah Muslim Hall, Fazlul Haq Muslim Hall and other Halls and East Pakistan Muslim Students' League.¹¹ Towards the middle of March 1948, the Movement became violent when the students resorted to *gherao-tactics* (forcible occupation) of the Government Offices and consequently, as a result of encounter with police, many were injured and arrested.¹² This compelled a reluctant Nazimuddin, the Chief Minister of East Bengal, to negotiate with the Action Committee and consequently the former had to accept all the demands¹³ under duress. As Nazimuddin was not sincere to the demands the aggrieved party naturally came to the street again to register their protests.¹⁴ Unnerved and fumbling at the renewal of agitation by the students, Nazimuddin thus invited the Governor-General Quaid-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah to visit East Bengal immediately.¹⁵ On March 21, Mr. Jinnah, addressing a mammoth Dacca gathering, declared in unequivocal terms :

"... let me make it very clear to you that the state language of Pakistan is going to be Urdu and no other language."¹⁶

There was commotion at the meeting and a section of people staged a walkout.¹⁷ Quaid-i-Azam was confronted with another ugly situation at the Dacca University Convocation ceremony where he had a hard time to pacify the aggrieved Bengali students. He pointed out that the Bengalis could choose any language they wished for official use in the province, but he reiterated the need to make Urdu the language of communication between the provinces and declared :

"Make no mistake about it. There can be one state language, if the component parts of the state are to march forward in unison, and that language in my opinion, can only be Urdu."¹⁸

The Bengali students were not convinced and it is said that there was such a row that Quaid-i-Azam had to leave the convocation hall abruptly

without finishing his written speech.¹⁹ He was also reported to have held discussion with members of the Action Committee but no one was satisfied and the meeting ended in complete fiasco.²⁰ He could realize the gravity of the situation and "from that day, as a Bengali observer maintains, till his sad demise the Quaid-i-Azam never spoke a word on the language issue."²¹ His successors, however, continued the apathetic attitude towards Bengali. The interim report of the Basic Principles Committee, presented by Liaquat Ali, stated flatly, "Urdu should be the national language of the state."²² As a reaction, the Grand National Convention, called to register the Bengalis' protest against the Report, demanded, "Bengali and Urdu should be the two state languages of the United States of Pakistan."²³

The language issue had deeper social, cultural, economic and political implications. Almost all the Muslim League elites were Aligarh-oriented who had some predilection for Urdu. It would not be wrong to say that one aspect of Pakistan movement had also been to preserve the sanctity of Urdu language against the onslaught of Hindi and its supporters.²⁴ As Urdu had been regarded as the language of the Muslim Nation of the sub-continent,²⁵ the ruling Muslim League elites, therefore, wanted to make Urdu the lingua franca of the state. Secondly, although Bengali flourished under patronage of Muslim rulers,²⁶ modern Bengali has been overwhelmingly contributed by Hindu writers and ideas.²⁷ Besides the script of Bengali is derived from Deva Nagri²⁸ which is closely associated with Hindu mythology. Thus to the Muslim League elites who were outright champion of Muslim nationalism, Bengali appeared to be a Hindu language and hence un-Islamic.²⁹ Thirdly, the Muslim League elites also felt that if Bengali language was encouraged then Bengali nationalism would get more impetus and East Bengalis (East Pakistanis) and West Bengalis (Indian Bengalis) would move closer to each other which in effect would undermine Pakistani nationalism. The Bengalis, on the other hand, apprehended that language policy of the ruling elites not only threatened their language and culture but their economic interest as well. If Urdu became the lingua franca then that would impose an extra-burden on the Bengali youth. In order to play an effective role in the national

affairs a young Bengali would have to master a difficult language in addition to English and Bengali. In competition for career with his counter-parts from the other Wing who were well-acquainted with Urdu language, a young Bengali would always have lagged far behind. This would further aggravate the already precarious situation as far as Bengali representation in state career services was concerned. The sensitivity of the Bengali intelligentsia to the language issue thus had not only political but economic foundation. More than cultural pride was, Sexton rightly observes, "involved in the language dilemma."³⁰ It was, therefore, difficult, if not impossible for the Bengalis to accept Urdu as the sole national language.

The language controversy assumed new dimension towards the beginning of 1952 when Prime Minister Nazimuddin, who hailed from Bengal and who was well-acquainted with the Bengalis' sentiments for their language, declared once again that Urdu would be the lingua franca of the nation.³¹ The students and intelligentsia burst into anger and a wave of protests and demonstrations swept the province. The All-Party State Language Committee of Action, formed on January 31, 1952, had ordered for a general strike throughout the province and notified that it would organize a mammoth demonstration for adoption of Bengali as a national language on February 21 at the Dacca University Campus.³² To desist the demonstrators the Government imposed Section 144 of Pakistan Criminal Procedure Code (Under the law, assembly of more than four persons in public is regarded as illegal) which, however, proved counter-productive. With firm determination the agitators led by the leftist students, decided to violate the Section 144.³³ The result was bloodshed³⁴ and the day became a Martyr's Day or *Shohid Day* as the Bengalis call it.³⁵ The incident of 21 February created myths, symbols and slogans which subsequently shaped the Bengali nationalism.³⁶ Indeed it was a historic day because it left deep imprints on the future course of Pakistan history. The day reminded the Bengalis every year that to get what was their due as a matter of justice they had to shed their blood. It reminded those who gave, as a Bengali observer comments, 'their todays' for 'our tomorrow.'³⁷ Every year hundreds and thousands of people walked

bare-footed in silent procession from the Shohid Memorial to the burial ground for offering prayers. Memorial meetings and symposia were held regularly. Newspapers and magazines brought out special issues. Rounaq Jahan thus observes, "A whole new literary and cultural tradition grew out of the events of February 21."³⁸

The Language Movement now bathed in the blood of the Martyrs, drew the attention of the provincial administration. The East Bengal Legislative Assembly, under Government's patronage, unanimously adopted a resolution which recommended to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan that "Bengali be made one of the State Languages of Pakistan."³⁹ Unfortunately, the central ruling elites still could not appreciate the Bengali sentiment over the language issue. Thus when Nur Ahmed, a Bengali Muslim Leaguer moved a resolution, (after two months of that tragic firing incident) in the Constituent Assembly demanding that Bengali and Urdu be recognized as the national languages of Pakistan,⁴⁰ Pirzada Abdus Sattar, the Law Minister, retorted that there was "no immediate necessity of taking a decision thereon."⁴¹ Interestingly during debates over the language issue no other Bengali except Dhirendranath Dutt and Professor Raj Kumar Chakraverty supported Nur Ahmed. Taking note of the deliberate silence maintained by the Bengali members, Dutt openly accused the Government to sealing their mouth.⁴² Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan from Punjab, however, made a prophetic warning and observed :

"If we from West Pakistan are going to oppose that urge of the people of East Pakistan, we will be responsible for starting trouble in East Pakistan, which may damage the very fabric of my country and my nation."⁴³

But the house did not pay any heed to this timely warning. Not only that it rejected Nur Ahmed's resolution and the amendment motion moved by the Law Minister was adopted by 41 to 12 votes.⁴⁴

The calculated indifference of the central elites towards Bengali language, went a long way in paving the way for formation of the United

Front of all the opposition forces in East Bengal in 1954. The 21 Points Election Manifesto of the United Front gave utmost importance to language issue which demanded, inter alia, to :

- (a) Make Bengali one of the State Languages of Pakistan, (point 1).
- (b) Erect a monument to commemorate the memory of those martyrs who gave their lives for the Bengali Language on February 21, 1952, and to compensate the bereaved families; (point 17);
- (c) Declare 21st February as *Shohid Day* and a public holiday.⁴⁵ (point 18).

The landslide victory of the United Front in the Election alerted the ruling elites and thus the Constituent Assembly on May 9, 1954 adopted the language formula which read :

"The official languages of Pakistan Republic should be Urdu and Bengali and such other languages as might be declared to be such by the Head of the State on the recommendation of the Provincial Legislatures concerned. Members of the Parliament should have the right to speak in Urdu and Bengali in addition to English."⁴⁶

Maulana Abdur Rashid Tarkabagish delivered the first speech in Bengali in the Constituent Assembly. Final recognition to Bengali was given by Article 214 of 1956 Constitution which stipulated :

"The State Languages of Pakistan shall be Urdu and Bengali . . . and . . . English shall continue to be used for official purposes for the period of twenty years."⁴⁷

All these were, however, conceded not with open heart. There had been violent demonstrations in West Wing especially in the capital city of Karachi, against the official decision recognising Bengali as state language.⁴⁸ These forces once again raised their voice after Ayub Khan's coup and started talking about revising the language formula in order to adopt Urdu as the only state language. President Ayub Khan, however, emphatically declared

that the language issue was settled once and for all and it would not be reopened.⁴⁹ Ayub Khan's Constitution thus proposed that the national languages of Pakistan should be Bengali and Urdu.⁵⁰

Although Bengali was accorded official status but propaganda against Bengali language and culture continued. Official favouritism for Urdu continued unabated.⁵¹ West Pakistani press carried out the campaign pointing out the inferior character of Bengali language and culture.⁵² During the later stages of Ayub Khan's regime (1958-69) a systematic campaign was started to immunize Bengali language and culture from all Hindu influences. The old policy of Islamization of Bengali was revived and intensified.⁵³ Tagore songs which are considered as part and parcel of Bengali culture and social life, were banned by the Government.⁵⁴ The observance of *Pahela Baishakh* (Bengali New Year's Day) and *Basant* (Spring Festival) came to be regarded as un-Islamic.⁵⁵ All these moves were looked upon as new onslaught on Bengali language and culture and these naturally evoked a sense of consternation and indignation among the literate circles.⁵⁶ Condemning these actions a meeting of Bengali intellectuals alleged that "the assault on the culture of the province is in the ultimate analysis an attack on the economic and political rights of the people."⁵⁷

To sum up, the discriminatory and indifferent attitude of the ruling elites towards Bengali language and culture had brought tremendous change in the outlook of the Bengalis. The Bengalis who had overwhelmingly voted for the establishment of a state in the name of Islam now turned more secular. No wonder the mantle of leadership was taken from the Islam-oriented parties by many secular and left-oriented parties like Awami League, Ganatantri Dal and the Youth League. Indeed the language issue provided the leftist parties an opportunity to exploit the sentiment of common Bengalis. It is also said that the Language Movement was primarily led by the communists.⁵⁸ The Language Movement, thus, gave a permanent place to the leftist parties in East Bengal.

Another great impact that the Language Movement had was upon the young student community. The students became much allergic to the political

slogan of Islam that no student organization in the name of Islam could appeal to them any more. And it should be remembered that today's young are the future leaders of tomorrow.

"The language Movement also made the Bengalis conscious about their economic, social and political rights. It was, in fact, the harbinger of a more wide-spread autonomy movement. Anissuzzaman has rightly observed, "a conflict on cultural plane assumed the nature of a democratic movement."⁵⁹ We may end with Ziring's observation :

The language movement affected the Bengalis as a people; a latent cultural nationalism was fused to a political cause."⁶⁰

It may be said safely that after the creation of Bangladesh the tide of sentiments has turned in favour of Islam and Islamic values. Without this reference, the Bangladeshis could hardly fall back on anything to sustain their independent statehood.

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- (a) The East Bengal Assembly (which was in session at that time) should adopt a Resolution for making Bengali as the official language of East Bengal and the medium of instruction in all stages of education.
- (b) The East Bengal Assembly should by another resolution recommend to the Central Government to make Bengali one of the State Languages.
- (c) He (the Chief Minister) should release all political prisoners arrested during the movement and should withdraw bans from all newspapers both in East Bengal and in Calcutta which supported and gave publicity to the movement.
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30. Roy Keith Sexton, *Pakistan : the Divided States : A Study in National Unity*, (Unpublished M. A. Thesis), University of California, Berkely, 1956, p. 61 ; S. A. Akanda (ed.), op. cit., p. 16.
31. *The Pakistan Observer*, January 27, 1952.

The Muslims, all over the world, constitute over a billion people. All of them are not free and they do not live in independent States of their own. Recently, a gigantic effort was made to understand the problem of the Muslim minorities all over the world and a comprehensive survey of their problems and prospects was carried out. The largest Muslim minority lives in India; only in Soviet Union the number of Muslims has arisen to 46 million. The problems of Muslim minorities in other States are of different nature, and they are resolved with the cooperation of the respective governments as well as public opinion in the world, in general, and the support and help of the Muslim States in particular. However, the issue of Muslim minorities in the world is a continuing problem.¹

The other minorities in the world are of not less importance. They are also striving hard to preserve their distinct entities and their special characteristics which are dear to them. At the moment, in Europe and in other States, the majorities are taking keen interest to preserve the minorities so that the cultural diversity is maintained within the State and the life is made more pleasant and beautiful. But general principle is that the unity of the nation will be strengthened more by preserving the distinct position of the minorities rather than adopting measures by which this status is either denied or their position is destroyed.

Pakistan, in fact, emerged out of India on a claim that the Muslims were a nation by any definition and therefore were entitled to a separate homeland where they constituted the majorities. Muslims, who were rulers before the British came, could not agree to a status of minority community under the Hindus who were to stay as a perpetual majority.²

With the creation of Pakistan, one hard reality had to be faced. Muslims would live in a State of Bharat where the Hindus harboured hostility against them. The Indian Congress, since its inception, have pleaded that it believed in the policy of secularism. It interpreted this secularism as the one in which the State should not patronise religion. The religion is a matter between individual and the God, and the State should not interfere in this. They also

thought the religion and politics should be kept apart. Democratic pattern should have higher priority.

Mr. Donald Eugene Smith wrote a comprehensive study on secularism in India. He surveyed the social, political, moral and constitutional aspects of India's secularism. Very rightly so, he came out with a conclusion that India was not a secular State but it was trying to become a secular one.³ This is a monumental work which has been discussed and debated. But the Indian Government and its policy-makers adhered to the thought of secularism and reiterated such thoughts in a number of announcements spread over the years.

The Preamble to the Indian Constitution suggests the secular orientation of the document :

We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a sovereign democratic republic and to secure to all its citizens : justice, social, economic and political; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; and to promote among them all fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation; in our Constituent Assembly this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution.⁴

The spirit of the Preamble to the Constitution is incorporated in Article 25 which states :

25(1) Subject to public order, morality and health and to the other provisions of this Part, all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion.

Nothing in this article shall affect the operation of any existing law or prevent the State from making any law-regulating or restricting any economic, financial, political or other secular activity which may be associated with religious practice; providing for social welfare and

reform or the throwing open of Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all classes and sections of Hindus.⁵

The courts in India played a vital role in describing matters which are religious in nature and also what constitutes secularism, giving emphasis on the autonomy of the people in their decision :

In *Commissioner, Hindu Religious Endowments, Madras v. Sirur Mutt*, it was stipulated that a religious denomination or organization enjoys complete autonomy in the matter of deciding as to what rites and ceremonies are essential.

In a case *M. H. Qureshi v. State of Bihar*, it was ruled by the Court : We have, however, no material on record before us which will enable us to say, in the face of the foregoing facts, that the sacrifice of a cow on that day is an obligatory overt act for a Mussalman to exhibit his religious belief and idea.⁶

Knowing that Indian people and its Government may not do what it was professing under the holocaust of arsens and killing that came in the aftermath of the independence of India and Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam and even Mr. Gandhi came out with the announcements that the protection of life and honour in respect of the minorities were the responsibilities of the respective Governments. When things went worst, even the Quaid made strong statements and reminded India of its responsibility to look after its people.

In a lengthy question-answer session, the Quaid-e-Azam stated his position with regard to the minorities in India and Pakistan :

Question : "You must have seen reports that in one or two provinces Congress Ministries have indicated their intention of abolishing separate electorates and weightage ?"

Mr. M. A. Jinnah : "I cannot go into these details. The actual provisions with regard to protection and safeguards can be discussed in the two Constituent Assemblies where the minorities are represented."

Question : "Will they be discussed by the Constituent Assemblies jointly or separately?"

Mr. M. A. Jinnah : "I cannot prophesy. In the first instance, it is really the dominion of each Constituent Assembly. Representatives of the minorities are in both Constituent Assemblies and, therefore, those are problems for the Constituent Assemblies of Hindustan and Pakistan to deal with. I can only express the hope that they will be dealt with in a manner which will give the minorities a sense of security and confidence. I cannot discuss the details."

Question : What are your comments on recent statements and speeches of certain Congress leaders to the effect that if Hindus in Pakistan are treated badly, they will treat Muslims in Hindustan worse ?"

Mr. M. A. Jinnah : "I hope they will get over this madness and follow the line, I am suggesting. It is no use packing up the statements of this man here or that man there. You must remember that in every country there are crooks, cranks and what I call mad people."

Question : "Would you like minorities to stay in Pakistan or would you like exchange of population ?"

Mr. M. A. Jinnah : "As far as I can speak for Pakistan, I say that there is no reason for any apprehension on the part of the minorities in Pakistan. It is for them to decide what they should do. All I can say is that there is no reason for any apprehension so far as I can speak about Pakistan. It is for them to decide. I cannot order them."⁷

Quaid-e-Azam issued a statement on 15 September, 1947 :

I explained to these representatives of the Delhi Muslims that we are straining every nerve to do all that we can for them and are in constant communication with the Indian Dominion Government on this subject. I discussed it at great length with Lord Ismay, who came to Karachi recently.⁸

Quaid-e-Azam viewed minorities as full citizens of Pakistan. In his concept, the citizens were equal as they were equal in the eyes of law :

Minorities belonging to different faiths living in Pakistan or Hindustan do not cease to be citizens of the respective States by virtue of their belonging to a particular faith, religion or race. I have repeatedly made it clear, especially in my opening speech to the Constituent Assembly, that the minorities in Pakistan would be treated as our citizens and will enjoy all the rights and privileges that any other community gets. Pakistan shall pursue that policy and so all it can to create a sense of security and confidence in the non-Muslim minorities in Pakistan.⁹

Regarding the minorities in India, his opinion was very clear. He thought that they had to play a role in India in a new set-up and India should treat them as free citizens :

To the Muslim minority and their leaders left in India, I have already conferred advice that they must reorganise themselves under their own chosen leadership as they have a very big part to play in safeguarding the rights and interests of many millions. They have already professed under my advice their loyalty to the Government of India and made their position clear on the very first day when they attended the Indian Dominion Constituent Assembly.¹⁰

In spite of this, insidious propaganda is going on that they have been let down by the Muslim League and Pakistan is indifferent to what may happen to them. The Muslim minority in India have played a magnificent part in the achievement and establishment of Pakistan. They were fully alive to the consequences that they would have to remain in Hindustan as minorities but not at the cost of their self-respect and honour. "Nobody visualised that a powerful section in India was bent upon the ruthless extermination of Muslims and had prepared a well-organised plan to achieve that end. This gangsterism, I hope, will be put down ruthlessly by the Indian Government, otherwise they will forfeit their claim to be a civilised Government."¹¹

In order to give form to these noble ideas, he was thinking that both the Governments should sit together and work out a policy which should provide protection, security and confidence to the minorities in both countries :

We are deeply concerned with their welfare and future, and we shall do everything in our power to avert the danger that they are facing. I sincerely hope that with the cooperation of the Indian Dominion, we shall be able to secure a fair deal for them.¹²

Quaid-e-Azam referred to the statement of the Congress and the Muslim League in which they expressed their desire to offer full protection to the minorities in their respective States when they accepted the June 3 Plan : "In accepting the Plan, even before then, solemn declarations were made both by the Congress and the Muslim League that the minorities of both States would be given a fair deal and that safeguards for them should be secured specially for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights in consultation with them and that position is not seriously questioned even now by any responsible person."¹³

Liaquat Ali Khan continued the policy pronouncements of Quaid-e-Azam. Speaking at Jessore on March 21, 1950, Liaquat Ali Khan referred to the flight of Hindus :

As Muslims it is the duty of every Pakistani to protect the minorities which is as necessary as protecting ourselves. Islam as a religion is opposed to any tyranny by the strong upon the weak. A nation which exercises tyranny on its weaker elements is sure to suffer in the long run. God's vengeance is silent but it is sure to come. It is in the interests of Pakistan and its inhabitants that the minorities should continue to live in the country . . . Pakistan's Constitution, as has already been resolved upon, will be based upon Islamic principles. There can be no better guarantee for the minorities than the proposed Constitution's Islamic basis which vouchsafes the gospels of peace, equality and justice.¹⁴

On March 22, 1950, Liaquat Ali Khan, in a broadcast from Dacca Radio Station, stated :

I have been deeply distressed at the happenings during the last few weeks in East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam and at the situation arising therefrom during the last four days. I have toured those districts of East Bengal, where the effects of this madness are more prominently visible. I have met the *Muhajireen* who have sought sanctuary in Pakistan and also met members of the minority community who have suffered in the disturbances.

I want to assure the minorities in Pakistan that they are entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other section of Pakistanis. The protection of the minorities and their social progress is our sacred duty. I never want and I am sure this is shared by every Pakistani that no person belonging to the minority community should leave Pakistan. My desire is that those who have left Pakistan out of fear should return. In spite of this, those who want to go will be free to exercise their choice to do so.

I am proceeding to New Delhi, in the hope that we shall, with our united efforts, create peaceful conditions in India and Pakistan and remove all misunderstandings which have created tension between the two countries. I appeal to every Pakistani to pray for the success of this conference, so that minorities of both countries may live a peaceful and honourable life and relations between Pakistan and India so improve that they become real friends by understanding each other, thus making it possible for all the inhabitants of this sub-continent to live that life.¹⁵

On April 8, 1950, an agreement was reached between India and Pakistan regarding minorities and a statement to this effect was made by Liaquat Ali Khan in Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on April 10, 1950 :

The agreement, it will be seen, has two aspects : it deals with fundamental rights of the minorities and with measures for

preventing communal disorder and for dealing with it effectively, should such disorder occur at any time in any part of India or Pakistan. In its special aspect, the Agreement deals with the present situation in West Bengal, Assam, Tripura and East Bengal with particular reference to the question of suppression of disorder wherever it is still occurring, the stoppage of present exodus of minorities by creating conditions necessary for the restoration of confidence, the return of refugees to their homes and the machinery for the implementation of these purposes.

The fundamental rights reiterated in the Agreement are in accordance with the principles of the Objectives Resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in March 1949. These rights include complete equality of citizenship, irrespective of religion, protection of life, property, personal honour and culture and freedom of occupation, speech and worship subject to law and public morality. Both Governments have reaffirmed that the enjoyment of these rights is guaranteed to all minorities and have also stated that members of the minority communities have equal opportunity with members of the majority community to participate in public life, hold political and other offices and to serve in the country's civil and armed forces. At the same time, a most important principle has been re-emphasised that the allegiance and loyalty of the minorities is to the State of which they are citizens and it is to the Government of their own State that they should look for the redress of their grievances.¹⁶

In order to keep the passions under control, it was agreed that the members should not indulge in publishing sensational news :

Among measures of general application approved by the two Governments to prevent or deal with communal disturbances are the punishment of those found guilty of offences against persons and property and other criminal offences; the imposition of collective fines where necessary; the prevention of dissemination of

news and mischievous opinion calculated to rouse communal passion by Press or radio or by any individual or organisation and the punishment of those responsible for such dissemination; the prevention of propaganda directed against the territorial integrity of either country or purporting to incite war between them, and prompt and effective action against individuals or organisations responsible for such propaganda. Other important features of the general aspect of the Agreement are non-recognition of forced conversions and the setting up of an agency to assist in the recovery of abducted women.¹⁷

Regarding the arrangements which should be made for the proper implementation of the provisions of the Agreement, it was agreed to set up Commissions and the Ministers were to supervise the works :

In the part of the Agreement relating to conditions in West Bengal, Assam, Tripura and East Bengal, a number of special provisions have been made which apply in addition to the general provisions referred to above. These special provisions are necessary in view of the unsettled conditions which are responsible for the present exodus. The most important of these measures is the decision of the Governments of Pakistan and India to depute two Ministers, one from each Government, to remain in the affected areas for such period as may be necessary in order to help restore confidence, to facilitate the return of the refugees to their homes and generally to assist in implementation of the provisions of the Agreement. These two Ministers will work together in close cooperation and I earnestly hope that with the authority of the two Governments behind them, they will soon succeed in the accomplishment of their noble mission. Another important measure that has been accepted by both the Governments is that a Minister of the minority community will be included in the Governments of West Bengal, Assam and East Bengal. The existing Provincial Minority Boards in West Bengal and East

Bengal will be abolished and Minority Commissions will be established in West Bengal, Assam and East Bengal. Each Commission will consist of a Minister of the Provincial or State Government concerned and a representative, each of the majority communities, chosen by and from among their respective representatives in the Provincial or State Legislature. These Commissions will observe and report on the implementation of the Agreement and advise on action to be taken on their recommendations.¹⁸

About the property of the migrants, Liaquat Ali Khan commented on the Agreement :

The rights of migrant to ownership of his immovable property and occupancy in land will not be disturbed. His immovable property will be restored to him provided he returns to his home not later than December 31, 1950; where restoration is not possible the Government concerned will take steps to rehabilitate the migrant. The right to dispose of immovable property by sale, by exchange or otherwise has been recognised.¹⁹

Liaquat Ali Khan observed that the Agreement, if implemented in the right spirit, would bring about a better atmosphere for the minorities in the respective countries : "I believe, and so does the Prime Minister of India, that this Agreement, if properly implemented, will lead to the eradication of fear and suspicion which stalk this sub-continent today."²⁰

In order to see that the implementation of the Agreement is done according to the spirit of the Pact, it was felt that : "The Prime Minister of India and I will be meeting from time to time to review the implementation of this Agreement as well as to consider other problems of common concern. In the interests of both India and Pakistan, as indeed in the interests of the world peace, it is essential that we should settle all outstanding issues by peaceful means and promote the growth of friendship and good neighbourliness between our two countries."²¹

In a press statement on 29 April 1950 on the eve of departure to the United States, Liaquat Ali Khan said : "So far as Pakistan is concerned, every individual has fully endorsed this Pact."²² About India, he was also certain that Pandit Nehru and his Government wished fully to implement the Pact : "I am confident that Pandit Nehru and his Government wish fully to implement the Pact."²³

With regard to implementation of the Agreement, Liaquat Ali Khan made it clear that the Pact has been implemented by Pakistan in letter and spirit :

I think all impartial observers will support me when I say that my Government as well as the Government of East Bengal have done their best to implement the Delhi Agreement. The East Bengal Government can justly claim priority in taking all the measures required by the Agreement. The joint tours of the two Ministers appointed by the Governments of Pakistan and India have proved beneficial and have helped to restore confidence in the minority communities. This has certainly been the case in East Bengal. The work of the Central Ministers and the Minority Commissions and District Minority Boards in our respective areas have been under constant review by the Prime Minister of India and myself, although we have had occasionally to have good reason to be satisfied with the progress that has been made.²⁴

With regard to the Indian efforts in implementing the Minority Accord, Liaquat Ali Khan stated :

The real obstacle in the way of the Delhi Agreement is the attitude and activity of a strong section of West Bengal Hindus and West Bengal Press. They have continued in utter violation of the Agreement to disseminate false and exaggerated news and mischievous opinions calculated to arouse communal passions and hatred between India and Pakistan. The Delhi Agreement specifically laid down that those guilty of such activity shall be

rigorously dealt with and both Governments undertook not to permit such propaganda and to take prompt and effective action against individuals or organisations guilty of it. We have repeatedly drawn the attention of the Government of India to the open and flagrant violations of the Agreement in these respects. The Government of India, although sincerely desirous of promoting the objects of the Agreement, have for one reason or another, felt unable to take action against either of those organisations or the West Bengal Press.

So far as Mr. Mandal's allegations about the treatment of the minorities in West Pakistan are concerned, the leaders of the Scheduled Castes and other minorities have already refuted these allegations in the Press and given Mr. Mandal the lie direct. His allegation that a large number of Hindu Temples and Gurdwaras in Karachi and Sind are in possession of Muslims and have been put to secular use is a distortion of facts. It is true that in some cases the migrating Hindu trustees have sold temple properties, as for example, Gur Miandir in Karachi, which was sold to a European purchaser in 1948. In other cases, residential tenements attached to Temples and Gurdwaras have been hired or leased to refugees but the sacred precincts of the temple itself are not allowed to be occupied. The properties including the Karachi Pinjrapole which have been declared to be no-evacuee are in the process of being restored to owners or trustees.²⁵

During the lifetime of Liaquat Ali Khan, relations between India and Pakistan deteriorated as is evident from the letters and telegrammes exchanged between the two Prime Ministers. Subsequently, the two countries adopted different foreign policies and their attitude differed widely. Minorities in Pakistan settled down as Government of Pakistan sincerely implemented the Minorities Agreement of April 8, 1950. However, the Indian Government continued to harbour ill-will against Pakistan and this was quite evident from the wars which were imposed on Pakistan. In 1986, in

a statement by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, a brief resume was given which provided the information about how the Liaquat-Nehru Pact was implemented.

In his written answer, Mr. Zain said : "The Liaquat-Nehru Pact was signed against the background of communal tension in East Pakistan and the neighbouring Indian States of West Bengal, Assam and Tripura in early 1950. The bulk of the agreement dealt with the specific questions pertaining to the four above mentioned territories where communal disturbances had recently occurred. It is, however, true that the measures agreed upon at that time in regard to these territories were also of general scope and, therefore, according to exigency, applicable to any part of India and Pakistan. The Liaquat-Nehru Pact does not contain a termination clause. For several years and particularly since 1971, the Government of India has not, however, considered itself to be bound by this Pact. This attitude of the Government of India precludes any meaningful action by the officials of the Pakistan Embassy in New Delhi in this regard.

"Our Embassy in India", he said, "is bound by the policy of the Government of Pakistan. We do not interfere in the internal affairs of India. At the same time, we have repeatedly said that we cannot be indifferent to the sufferings of innocent people especially those with whom we have ties of common faith, culture and history. It has been our earnest hope that the measures adopted by the Government of India to safeguard the life and property of the Muslim minority are effective and successful," the Minister added.²⁶

Over the years, the Muslims in India were subjected to all kinds of cruelties. The Hindu-Muslim riots resulted in the loss of life and property of the Muslims. The Muslims were unable to celebrate their religious ceremonies. Their places of worship were the targets of attacks by the extremist Hindus. Babri Mosque issue highlighted the poor plight of the Muslims and the danger to which their religious places were exposed to.

In the *History of Ayodhya* by Hans Baker (A Critique-V: Hans Baker Findings At a Glance), gives a brief narrative of the true tale of Babri Mosque which is reproduced :

Ramayana has basically a fictional character.

Capital of Desratha and Rama was Benaras.

Ayodhya is the creation of Poet's imagination.

The remains of the fort built by Muslims in 13-14th C.A.D. are called Ram-Kot.

No Gupta ruler built any temple at Ayodhya in 4-5th C.A.D.

The ritual of *Ramnavmi* does not require a temple.

Janamasthan of Rama is 910 m westwards of Lomasa, which is only 350 m away from Babri Masjid.

Another *Janamasthan* of Rama is 1835 m eastwards of Vignesvara. But Vignesvara itself lies in 80 degrees East, 800 m away from Babri Masjid. Thus *Janamasthan* turns out to be 2635 m away.

The process of demarcating *Janambhumi* was started by Casanya in *Vrindaban* in 1516 A.D. and it reached Ayodhya after the death of Baber.

No Rama idol is found upto 18th C.A.D.

In Ayodhya only 3 (11 per cent) temples were *Vaishnava* in 11-12th C.A.D. Four temples built in Ayodhya during this period *Candrahari*, *Dharmahari*, *Guptahari* and *Vishnuhari* have nothing to do with Rama Legend.

Ramanand (1299-1410 A.D.) did not found a *Ramaite Vaisnava* sect in Ayodhya. He was an exponent of *Sant* Movement.

The first *Ramanandi Math* was built in Ayodhya in the middle of 18th C.A.D.

Rama Bhakti is a worship of the name, and not of the form of Rama.

Vaishnavas first arrived in Ayodhya in 16th C.A.D.

Ayodhya was a stronghold of Bheel tribals upto 13th C.A.D. when Muslims drove them out.

Only three temples exclusively dedicated to Rama have been documented : (i) Rama temple, Pavnar, (ii) Rajivalocana temple, Rajim, (iii) Malayasinha temple, Mukundpur. *Janambhumi* temple figures nowhere.

Many superious *tirthas* have been created by Pandas, like *Lokanatha*, *Gomotyam Ramatirathe*, *Kopamukha*, *Mandara*, and *Dvipa*, etc.

The door-jamb kept in *Jammasthan-Sita Rasol* temple and the pillars used in Babri Masjid are not necessarily from one and the same temple.

Rama's place of sacrifice -- *Treta ke Thakur*, is a *pia fraus*, i.e., a pious fraud to conceal a fraud.²⁷

The case pertaining to the Ram *Janambhoomi*--Babri Masjid is to come up before the full bench of the Allahabad High Court, comprising S. C. Mathur, Brijesh Kumar and S. H. A. Raza on August 7. The court have framed 43 issues in this dispute spanning nearly two centuries. The court has set July 15 the deadline for submitting all the documents. It has also directed the Archaeological Department of Uttar Pradesh and other departments to provide, carbon-dating a proper survey, photographs and video-recording of the building and other relevant material. Five cases are pending before the court. Four before the unlocking of the door under orders of a local magistrate, and the fifth filed by a former judge of the Allahabad High Court Deokinandan Agarwal, for the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, on behalf of the deity. It quotes a Lahore High Court judgement of 1938 which ruled that a deity was a juristic person, and, therefore, could not be removed without its consent.

The chronological order of the developments provides an insight into the controversy over the Babri Mosque. The important dates in this regards are :

- 1855 : The first eruption of violence leading to large scale killing and destruction of property in Faizabad.
- 1856 : Settlement between the community leaders that they will not use this issue to divide the people.
- 1856 : Annexation of *Oudh* by the British.
- 1857 : The leader who brought about a peaceful settlement between Hindus and Muslims hanged by the British.
- 1859 : Muslims forbidden by the British for using the mosque. Their use restricted to only the northern gate.
- 1885 : Local Mahant seeks permission to construct a temple on the '*Ram Chabutra*'. British judge denies him permission.
- 1934 : Major riots in Faizabad and Ayodhya. Mosque badly damaged, but later repaired at Government expenses.
- 1939 : A *Shia-Sunni* dispute arises over the ownership of the mosque. The argument : Since the mosque was built by a Shia Meer Baqi, a Deputy of Mughal Emperor Baber, it was a *Shia* mosque. Hence, the Sunni Muslim Waqf Board had no rights over this mosque.
- 1946 : A civil court order confirms the rights of the Sunni Muslim Waqf Board over this site.
- 1949 : On the night of December 22/23, the idols of Ram and Sita appear in the mosque's precincts after a nine-day '*Path*' of *Ramcharit Manas* outside the mosque.
- 1950 : January 16, the first case by Gopal Singh Visharad seeking that the place be declared *Ram Janambhoomi* comes up before the Civil Court, Faizabad. Another similar case comes by Ramachandra Paramhans Das in March.

- 1959 : A third case was on behalf of Nirmoni Akhara, Ayodhya claiming that the disputed site was *Ram Janambhoomi*.
- 1961 : In April, the U.P. Central Board of Sunni Waqf files a suit claiming that since the place was traditionally a mosque, the praying rights of Muslims be restored. This was subsequently converted into the leading suit by the civil court of Faizabad.
- 1984 : October 7, the *Ram Janambhoomi* Action Committee comes into being. The same day as *Tala Kholo'* (open the lock) agitation is launched. A '*Rath Yatra*' to mobilise public opinion was planned. The agitation was called off temporarily due to Indira Gandhi's assassination.
- 1985 : October 23, the agitation revived from 25 places, spear-headed by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad.
- 1986 : January 25, a Faizabad lawyer, Umesh Pandey files a case in the local Munsif Court that since there was no threat to law and order, restrictions on *puja* be lifted. The Munsif declines to pass any orders as the file of the main case of 1950 was in the High Court.²⁸

The issues before the Three-member Bench of the Allahabad High Court are :

- Whether the building is a mosque. If so, whether built by Baber, as alleged by the plaintiff, or by Meer Baqi, as alleged by the defendant Number 13.
- Whether the plaintiff (Sunni Muslim Waqf Board) had no right to maintain the present suit since no valid notification under Section 5(1) of the Muslim Waqf Act No. XIII of 1936 was ever made in respect of the property in dispute.
- Whether the suit is barred by limitation as it was filed after the commencement of U.P. Muslim Waqf Act, 1960.
- Whether the present suit is representative, the plaintiff representing the Muslims and the defendant representing the Hindus.

Whether the idols were placed on the night of December 22/23, 1949, inside the building as alleged in the plaint or were they in existence before.

Whether the building in question could be controlled by Sunni Waqf Board as it was allegedly constructed by Meer Baqi, a Shia, and its subsequent *Mutawallis* were also Shias.²⁹

Till 1984-85, the Union Home Ministry Annual Reports included detailed information on both major and minor incidents of communal conflict and the number of people killed (usually underestimated). But since 1985, the Reports no longer include systematic details on the earlier pattern. They only contain some perfunctory references made in a cavalier fashion. The figures given here from 1984 are unofficial estimates, based on reports in the Delhi Press, released by the People's Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR), Delhi :

Incident and Communal Conflicts

Year	No. of Incidents	No. Killed
1960-63	343	181
1963-64	1125	1733
1965-67	326	92
1967-68	484	290
1968-71	1090	869
1971-72	512	600
1972-76	864	NA
1976-77	30	11
1977-79	490	207
1979-80	229	272
1980-83	1597	936
1984	600	3500
1985-86	2400	1600 ³⁰

Writing editorially, the *Radiance Views* in its issue of 28 January--3 February 1990, had stated that the Muslims' problem is that they want to live and die in India as Muslims and this is what constitutes a problem for them, while the Indians would like to make them lose their identity and get integrated by saying goodbye to Islamic principles and ideas. Muslims, however, are unwilling to get assimilated through these efforts of annihilation. Muslims have not only resisted assimilation but annihilation also, sometimes resorted to by a section of paramilitary organisations like the PAC of U.P. and the BMP of Bihar. Endeavours have been made to fiddle with and de-Muslimise their educational institutions like the Aligarh Muslim University and the Jamia Millia Islamia. More shameful is the fact that efforts to that effect have been made by the power-that-be. One could give margin to the pseudo-nationalists as their business' depends upon Muslim-baiting and Muslim-phobia. But what to say when the Ruling Party, the Government.³¹

Muslim heritage in the form of Urdu, Muslim Personal Law, and the Muslim way of living is constantly under threat. Apart from the discrimination in service and denial of equal opportunities in the public life, the religious monuments and shrines are also in jeopardy. After the Muslim educational institutions, Muslim shrines happen to be the target. In this regard too, the Congress Government has not played a role that may add to its stature. Idols were surreptitiously put in the Babri Masjid when the Congress was in power in U.P. It was during the Congress-I rule that the doors of the Babri Masjid were thrown open for idol-worship. The Ram Janambhoomi Mukti Yajni Samiti was positively encouraged rather emboldened to fiddle with Muslim life, property and sentiments on the shrin issue. Besides the shrine at Ayodhya, two more mosques in Varanasi and Mathura are on the hit list. The impending show-down continues to threaten Muslims.

The United Nations, through its Universal Declaration of Human Rights, affirmed through various articles the right of its citizens to profess and practise their faith. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought,

conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Depriving one of one's identity tantamounts to one's ideological and psychological murder. Right to one's identity is so important that even the United Nations through its Universal Declaration of Human Rights affirmed it through various articles :

All incitement to or acts of violence, whether by individuals or organizations, against any race or group of persons of another colour or ethnic origin shall be considered an offence against society and punishable under law.³²

The days were never better for the Muslims in India. But the Indian Elections of 1989 posed a serious threat as Bhartiya Janata Party, which is based on the concept of Hindu Revivalism, was elected to the Parliament with impressive number of seats and it assumed a vital position in the Parliamentary life of India. As king-makers, it threw its lot with the National Front and Mr. V. P. Singh was encrowned as Prime Minister of India. It is in this light that it announced that the party stands for demolition of the Babri Mosque and raising in its place a temple as it deems that it was their Ram's *Janambhoomi*. The fate of Singh was sealed as it was clear that his Government could not maintain itself without the support of the Bhartiya Janata Party. He gallantly fought against the Congress and it was not possible for him to solicit the support of the same party against which he fought and won. He went down fighting but without losing his hold on principles or sacrificing, what he called the mainstay of his thinking, secularism.

The attitude of Indian Muslims has to be gauged and they have to, for the first time, make out a case for themselves and live under new hard realities. What is their future in India, has to be determined by the Muslims in India themselves. However, the Muslims of Pakistan and the Muslims all over the world could hardly ignore them.

In this crucial position, today, and in days to come, what Pakistan should do and what policies should it adopt, are the vital issues on which the scholars of Pakistan should ponder and come up with their proposals and suggestions which are more feasible and which are in the best interest of India and Pakistan, as well as peace and harmony for this part of the world.

Bhartiya Janata Party has declared that in the ensuing General Elections, which are to take place in May 1991, if voted to power; it would, irrespective of the verdict of the High Court, build the temple in place of the Babri Mosque. This shows that the extremists would ride roughshod and the Constitution of India, based on philosophy of secularism, would be torn to shreds. The past picture is dreadful. In days to come, it would be frightfully deadly for the Muslims of India.³³

The minority about which Government of Pakistan and people of Pakistan have expressed strong views in favour of providing them full protection is that of a Hindu minority. There are 1.27 million Hindus in Pakistan, of which 1.2 million reside in Sind. Their largest contingent is in Hyderabad (Sind) which is 85 per cent of the total of Hindu population in Pakistan. Any patriotic Pakistani would welcome the idea that the Hindus should live in peace and their religious places are given full protection and due respect. This is what Islam preaches, as tolerance to other religions is the basic principle of Islam. It would be the height of a folly to organize reprisal against Hindus in Pakistan for what the Hindus are doing in India regarding the Babri Mosque or general behaviour towards the Muslims or other minorities in India. It is only through good behaviour towards minorities that Pakistan has earned a high stature in the Comity of Nations. This principle should not be abandoned despite provocation from across the border in India. Let the Indian scholars and the government adopt a human approach towards the Muslim minority, bringing the Muslim minority in the national fold for national integration and for striking an image of true democracy based on its philosophy of secularism.

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The 1952 - Bengali Language Movement : A Stimulating Force in Bengali Nationalism

SYED HUMAYUN

Language has always been a dominant factor in giving a people a sense of their own identity.¹ It would not be wrong to observe that Bengali Nationalism grows centering this question of language. The Bengalis are very much proud of their language which is considered as one of the richest of the sub continent languages and literatures.² They are attached to their language and culture, to put in Von Vorys words, "vigorously and aggressively."³ The Bengalis were naturally hurt and became angry when the ruling Muslim League elites pursued a discriminatory attitude towards Bengali language and culture ever since independence. The disenchantment of the Bengalis developed, as an observer maintains, "into a predominant concern with regionalism which ultimately shaped into Bengali Nationalism and a successful movement for secession."⁴

The language controversy came into limelight when Dhirendranath Dutt, a Hindu member from East Bengal, moved an amendment, to the Constituent Assembly rules⁵ to permit Bengali to be used in the House along with Urdu and English.⁶ Championing the cause of Bengali as state language the same member maintained :

"I can assure the House that I do so not in a spirit of narrow provincialism. . . . I know Sir, that Bengali is a provincial language, but so far our state is concerned, it is the language of the majority of the state and it stands on a different footing, therefore, . . . the state language of the state should be the language which is used by the majority of the people of the state and for that, Sir, I consider that Bengali language is a *lingua franca* of our state."⁷

As the suggestion was coming from the Hindu member, the ruling Muslim League elites became suspicious of the mover's intention. Liaquat Ali Khan, thus retorted :

"I had thought that the object of the amendment was an innocent one, in that it was intended to include Bengali among the media of expression of the Assembly, but now the object seems to be to create a rift between the peoples of Pakistan and to take away from the Muslims that unifying link which can be achieved by a common language."⁸

Pleading the cause of Urdu, Liaquat Ali Khan further maintained :

". . . The mover should realise that Pakistan has been created because of the demand of a hundred million Muslims in this sub-continent and language of the hundred million Muslims is Urdu. It is necessary for a nation to have one language and that language can only be Urdu and no other language."⁹

Liaquat Ali Khan, however, seemed to have failed to understand that Dutt was representing the genuine grievance of a common Bengali. Even before Dutt, many organizations, such as Gana Azadi League, Muslim Chatra League and Tamaddun Mujlis had already demanded to make Bengali the state language of Pakistan along with Urdu.¹⁰ Liaquat Ali Khan's categorical announcement in favour of Urdu naturally incited these organizations to come to the streets. On February 26, 1948 the students of Dacca University and other institutions called for a *hartal* (strike) and organized a protest demonstration against the decision of the Government to

impose Urdu as the only national language of Pakistan. To carry on the Movement, a State Language Committee of Action was formed with two representatives from each of the following organizations and bodies : Tamaddun Majlis, Salimullah Muslim Hall, Fazlul Haq Muslim Hall and other Halls and East Pakistan Muslim Students' League.¹¹ Towards the middle of March 1948, the Movement became violent when the students resorted to *gherao-tactics* (forcible occupation) of the Government Offices and consequently, as a result of encounter with police, many were injured and arrested.¹² This compelled a reluctant Nazimuddin, the Chief Minister of East Bengal, to negotiate with the Action Committee and consequently the former had to accept all the demands¹³ under duress. As Nazimuddin was not sincere to the demands the aggrieved party naturally came to the street again to register their protests.¹⁴ Unnerved and fumbling at the renewal of agitation by the students, Nazimuddin thus invited the Governor-General Quaid-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah to visit East Bengal immediately.¹⁵ On March 21, Mr. Jinnah, addressing a mammoth Dacca gathering, declared in unequivocal terms :

"... let me make it very clear to you that the state language of Pakistan is going to be Urdu and no other language."¹⁶

There was commotion at the meeting and a section of people staged a walkout.¹⁷ Quaid-i-Azam was confronted with another ugly situation at the Dacca University Convocation ceremony where he had a hard time to pacify the aggrieved Bengali students. He pointed out that the Bengalis could choose any language they wished for official use in the province, but he reiterated the need to make Urdu the language of communication between the provinces and declared :

"Make no mistake about it. There can be one state language, if the component parts of the state are to march forward in unison, and that language in my opinion, can only be Urdu."¹⁸

The Bengali students were not convinced and it is said that there was such a row that Quaid-i-Azam had to leave the convocation hall abruptly

without finishing his written speech.¹⁹ He was also reported to have held discussion with members of the Action Committee but no one was satisfied and the meeting ended in complete fiasco.²⁰ He could realize the gravity of the situation and "from that day, as a Bengali observer maintains, till his sad demise the Quaid-i-Azam never spoke a word on the language issue."²¹ His successors, however, continued the apathetic attitude towards Bengali. The interim report of the Basic Principles Committee, presented by Liaquat Ali, stated flatly, "Urdu should be the national language of the state."²² As a reaction, the Grand National Convention, called to register the Bengalis' protest against the Report, demanded, "Bengali and Urdu should be the two state languages of the United States of Pakistan."²³

The language issue had deeper social, cultural, economic and political implications. Almost all the Muslim League elites were Aligarh-oriented who had some predilection for Urdu. It would not be wrong to say that one aspect of Pakistan movement had also been to preserve the sanctity of Urdu language against the onslaught of Hindi and its supporters.²⁴ As Urdu had been regarded as the language of the Muslim Nation of the sub-continent,²⁵ the ruling Muslim League elites, therefore, wanted to make Urdu the lingua franca of the state. Secondly, although Bengali flourished under patronage of Muslim rulers,²⁶ modern Bengali has been overwhelmingly contributed by Hindu writers and ideas.²⁷ Besides the script of Bengali is derived from Deva Nagri²⁸ which is closely associated with Hindu mythology. Thus to the Muslim League elites who were outright champion of Muslim nationalism, Bengali appeared to be a Hindu language and hence un-Islamic.²⁹ Thirdly, the Muslim League elites also felt that if Bengali language was encouraged then Bengali nationalism would get more impetus and East Bengalis (East Pakistanis) and West Bengalis (Indian Bengalis) would move closer to each other which in effect would undermine Pakistani nationalism. The Bengalis, on the other hand, apprehended that language policy of the ruling elites not only threatened their language and culture but their economic interest as well. If Urdu became the lingua franca then that would impose an extra-burden on the Bengali youth. In order to play an effective role in the national

affairs a young Bengali would have to master a difficult language in addition to English and Bengali. In competition for career with his counter-parts from the other Wing who were well-acquainted with Urdu language, a young Bengali would always have lagged far behind. This would further aggravate the already precarious situation as far as Bengali representation in state career services was concerned. The sensitivity of the Bengali intelligentsia to the language issue thus had not only political but economic foundation. More than cultural pride was, Sexton rightly observes, "involved in the language dilemma."³⁰ It was, therefore, difficult, if not impossible for the Bengalis to accept Urdu as the sole national language.

The language controversy assumed new dimension towards the beginning of 1952 when Prime Minister Nazimuddin, who hailed from Bengal and who was well-acquainted with the Bengalis' sentiments for their language, declared once again that Urdu would be the lingua franca of the nation.³¹ The students and intelligentsia burst into anger and a wave of protests and demonstrations swept the province. The All-Party State Language Committee of Action, formed on January 31, 1952, had ordered for a general strike throughout the province and notified that it would organize a mammoth demonstration for adoption of Bengali as a national language on February 21 at the Dacca University Campus.³² To desist the demonstrators the Government imposed Section 144 of Pakistan Criminal Procedure Code (Under the law, assembly of more than four persons in public is regarded as illegal) which, however, proved counter-productive. With firm determination the agitators led by the leftist students, decided to violate the Section 144.³³ The result was bloodshed³⁴ and the day became a Martyr's Day or *Shohid Day* as the Bengalis call it.³⁵ The incident of 21 February created myths, symbols and slogans which subsequently shaped the Bengali nationalism.³⁶ Indeed it was a historic day because it left deep imprints on the future course of Pakistan history. The day reminded the Bengalis every year that to get what was their due as a matter of justice they had to shed their blood. It reminded those who gave, as a Bengali observer comments, 'their todays' for 'our tomorrow.'³⁷ Every year hundreds and thousands of people walked

bare-footed in silent procession from the Shohid Memorial to the burial ground for offering prayers. Memorial meetings and symposia were held regularly. Newspapers and magazines brought out special issues. Rounaq Jahan thus observes, "A whole new literary and cultural tradition grew out of the events of February 21."³⁸

The Language Movement now bathed in the blood of the Martyrs, drew the attention of the provincial administration. The East Bengal Legislative Assembly, under Government's patronage, unanimously adopted a resolution which recommended to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan that "Bengali be made one of the State Languages of Pakistan."³⁹ Unfortunately, the central ruling elites still could not appreciate the Bengali sentiment over the language issue. Thus when Nur Ahmed, a Bengali Muslim Leaguer moved a resolution, (after two months of that tragic firing incident) in the Constituent Assembly demanding that Bengali and Urdu be recognized as the national languages of Pakistan,⁴⁰ Pirzada Abdus Sattar, the Law Minister, retorted that there was "no immediate necessity of taking a decision thereon."⁴¹ Interestingly during debates over the language issue no other Bengali except Dharendra Nath Dutt and Professor Raj Kumar Chakraverty supported Nur Ahmed. Taking note of the deliberate silence maintained by the Bengali members, Dutt openly accused the Government to sealing their mouth.⁴² Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan from Punjab, however, made a prophetic warning and observed :

"If we from West Pakistan are going to oppose that urge of the people of East Pakistan, we will be responsible for starting trouble in East Pakistan, which may damage the very fabric of my country and my nation."⁴³

But the house did not pay any heed to this timely warning. Not only that it rejected Nur Ahmed's resolution and the amendment motion moved by the Law Minister was adopted by 41 to 12 votes.⁴⁴

The calculated indifference of the central elites towards Bengali language, went a long way in paving the way for formation of the United

Front of all the opposition forces in East Bengal in 1954. The 21 Points Election Manifesto of the United Front gave utmost importance to language issue which demanded, inter alia, to :

- (a) Make Bengali one of the State Languages of Pakistan, (point 1).
- (b) Erect a monument to commemorate the memory of those martyrs who gave their lives for the Bengali Language on February 21, 1952, and to compensate the bereaved families; (point 17);
- (c) Declare 21st February as *Shohid Day* and a public holiday.⁴⁵ (point 18).

The landslide victory of the United Front in the Election alerted the ruling elites and thus the Constituent Assembly on May 9, 1954 adopted the language formula which read :

"The official languages of Pakistan Republic should be Urdu and Bengali and such other languages as might be declared to be such by the Head of the State on the recommendation of the Provincial Legislatures concerned. Members of the Parliament should have the right to speak in Urdu and Bengali in addition to English."⁴⁶

Maulana Abdur Rashid Tarkabagish delivered the first speech in Bengali in the Constituent Assembly. Final recognition to Bengali was given by Article 214 of 1956 Constitution which stipulated :

"The State Languages of Pakistan shall be Urdu and Bengali . . . and . . . English shall continue to be used for official purposes for the period of twenty years."⁴⁷

All these were, however, conceded not with open heart. There had been violent demonstrations in West Wing especially in the capital city of Karachi, against the official decision recognising Bengali as state language.⁴⁸ These forces once again raised their voice after Ayub Khan's coup and started talking about revising the language formula in order to adopt Urdu as the only state language. President Ayub Khan, however, emphatically declared

that the language issue was settled once and for all and it would not be reopened.⁴⁹ Ayub Khan's Constitution thus proposed that the national languages of Pakistan should be Bengali and Urdu.⁵⁰

Although Bengali was accorded official status but propaganda against Bengali language and culture continued. Official favouritism for Urdu continued unabated.⁵¹ West Pakistani press carried out the campaign pointing out the inferior character of Bengali language and culture.⁵² During the later stages of Ayub Khan's regime (1958-69) a systematic campaign was started to immunize Bengali language and culture from all Hindu influences. The old policy of Islamization of Bengali was revived and intensified.⁵³ Tagore songs which are considered as part and parcel of Bengali culture and social life, were banned by the Government.⁵⁴ The observance of *Pahela Baishakh* (Bengali New Year's Day) and *Basanto* (Spring Festival) came to be regarded as un-Islamic.⁵⁵ All these moves were looked upon as new onslaught on Bengali language and culture and these naturally evoked a sense of consternation and indignation among the literate circles.⁵⁶ Condemning these actions a meeting of Bengali intellectuals alleged that "the assault on the culture of the province is in the ultimate analysis an attack on the economic and political rights of the people."⁵⁷

To sum up, the discriminatory and indifferent attitude of the ruling elites towards Bengali language and culture had brought tremendous change in the outlook of the Bengalis. The Bengalis who had overwhelmingly voted for the establishment of a state in the name of Islam now turned more secular. No wonder the mantle of leadership was taken from the Islam-oriented parties by many secular and left-oriented parties like Awami League, Ganatantri Dal and the Youth League. Indeed the language issue provided the leftist parties an opportunity to exploit the sentiment of common Bengalis. It is also said that the Language Movement was primarily led by the communists.⁵⁸ The Language Movement, thus, gave a permanent place to the leftist parties in East Bengal.

Another great impact that the Language Movement had was upon the young student community. The students became much allergic to the political

slogan of Islam that no student organization in the name of Islam could appeal to them any more. And it should be remembered that today's young are the future leaders of tomorrow.

"The language Movement also made the Bengalis conscious about their economic, social and political rights. It was, in fact, the harbinger of a more wide-spread autonomy movement. Anissuzzaman has rightly observed, "a conflict on cultural plane assumed the nature of a democratic movement."⁵⁹ We may end with Ziring's observation :

The language movement affected the Bengalis as a people; a latent cultural nationalism was fused to a political cause."⁶⁰

It may be said safely that after the creation of Bangladesh the tide of sentiments has turned in favour of Islam and Islamic values. Without this reference, the Bangladeshis could hardly fall back on anything to sustain their independent statehood.

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- (a) The East Bengal Assembly (which was in session at that time) should adopt a Resolution for making Bengali as the official language of East Bengal and the medium of instruction in all stages of education.
- (b) The East Bengal Assembly should by another resolution recommend to the Central Government to make Bengali one of the State Languages.
- (c) He (the Chief Minister) should release all political prisoners arrested during the movement and should withdraw bans from all newspapers both in East Bengal and in Calcutta which supported and gave publicity to the movement.
- (d) He should set up a high power commission to enquire into the atrocities of the police and officers commanding them.
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Pro-Turkish Feelings of Muhammad Ali Jauhar as Reflected in his Letters

MOHAMMAD IQBAL CHAWLA

INTRODUCTION

The later half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century witnessed the twilight of the Muslim political power. The Ottoman Empire was on its death bed in the early twentieth century.

The Muslims of the subcontinent looked upon the Ottoman Sultanate as the true Caliphate of Islam, especially after the downfall of the Mughal Empire in India in 1857. They openly used to recite his name in the *Khutbah*.¹ In the late 19th Century, attempts were made by some thinkers and leaders to revitalize the institution of *Khilafat* by preaching Pan-Islamism.² Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din Afghani was the originator of this idea in modern times. His efforts were directed at making the Muslims of various countries realize that they could resist the onslaught of Western imperialism only by uniting themselves under the banner of Islam. This unity of *Millat* could be achieved through strengthening of the kingdom of the Caliphate. The theory of Afghani greatly stirred the Indian Muslims. During the wars of the Turks against the Russians and later with other Christian powers of Europe the Indian Muslims collected funds for them.

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In spite of Syed Ahmad Khan's views on this question, the interest of the Muslims of India in the affairs of the Turkey continued and grew in intensity. The Young Turks, who were mostly Western educated,³ were able to depose the despotic Hamid II and framed a new constitution. This step overjoyed the Indian Muslims. Shibli Naumani, who had written many poems comprising pro-Turkish feelings, said that this revolution was due to consultation of the Quran⁴ by the Young Turks. Yet, they had not been able to fully introduce substantial reforms. Their country was forced to take up arms to preserve its integrity and frontiers due to Tripolitan war in 1911.

Muhammad Ali Jauhar (1878-1931)⁶ was a staunch pro-Turk throughout his life; he remained an advocate of the legacy of caliphate and integrity of the Turkish Empire. He left no stone unturned to save the caliphate and the Empire. For this purpose, he struggled as a devout Muslim.

His writings inspired the Muslims and general readers. He was among the leaders of the All-India Muslim League,⁷ one of the key organizers of the Aligarh Muslim University, principal propagandist and fund raiser for the medical mission sent to alleviate Turkish sufferings in the Balkan wars, and one of the main architects of the *Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Ka'aba*. Above all, he was the most vocal champion of Pan-Islamism and the main organizer and leader of the Muslim *Khilafat* Movement in India.

His correspondence reveals his un-flinching commitment to Pan-Islamism and the defence of his community interests in India and abroad. His argumentative and impressive letters to the influential personalities of that time throw light on his love for Islam and support for the Turkish Empire.

PRO-TURKISH FEELINGS IN HIS LETTERS

Mohammad Ali believed that "Islam is super a national and not national, that the basis of Islamic sympathy is not a common domicile or common parentage but a common outlook on life and common culture." And embodiment of that common culture is the *Khilafat*,¹⁰ the institution that was

born when Hazrat Abu Bakar became the new leader of the community in 632 A.D.¹¹

Islam is not a bundle of dogmas and doctrines that theologians plague humanity with. It is a complete scheme of life, a perfect code of conduct and comprehensive social polity, encompassing the entire human race and, in fact, the entire creation. And it has two centres. The Island of Arabia, the sanctuary of Islam, the land of the prophets. The Caliph is the commander of the faithful and his commandments must be obeyed by all Muslims so long, and so long only, as they are not at variance with the commandments of God and the traditions of His Prophet.

The *Khilafat* is primarily applied to the supreme leader of the Muslim community as the leader of community exercising the 'temporal' functions of Mohammad (PBUH) while the *Imam* is applied to him as the religious leader of the community and derives from his function of leading the prayers of the community which, in the view of *Sunnis*, was his most important function.¹² But Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar believes that since there is to be no lacerating distinction between things temporal and things spiritual, the *Khalifa* is something more than a pope and cannot be vaticanised.¹³ The *Khalifa* is not infallible. He could be removed for renouncing the spirit of Islam. The temporal power of the *Khalifa* is to defend the faith of the Muslims of the world.

Mohammad Ali believed that Ottoman Empire was the real Representative of the centre of Islam, and the future development of the Islamic world¹⁴ depended mainly upon its integrity. The Caliph is the real representative of the Holy Prophet, and the commander of the faithful.

Keeping in view his theory about the caliphate and his functions, we could get better understanding of his feelings and views. Turko-Italy war started in 1911,¹⁶ and Italy was the aggressor. The Turkish army was not allowed by the British to pass through Egypt to counter Italy. This embarrassed the Muslims all over the world. Then the Balkan war started in 1912.¹⁷ The Muslims, on the strength of their friendship with Britain,

expected in 1912 that Whitehall would help Turkey. When they were disappointed in the hope, they related it to the Delhi *Durbar* decision, put two and two together, and concluded that Britain was deliberately trying to crush the Muslims in India as well as elsewhere.¹⁸

About attack on Tripoli, Mohammad Ali urged the British to make alliance with Mohammadon powers and Kingdoms so that their own territorial loyalty and extra-territorial patriotism should work in the same direction.¹⁹

The Muslims of Delhi founded Red Crescent Society for the relief of Turkish war sufferers.²⁰ On account of Mohammad Ali's personal interest loan²¹ was sent to Turkey to meet the losses.

. . . On the authority of His Majesty's Government Your Excellency's predecessor gave a most solemn pledge "in regard to the Holy places of Arabia. . . . This pledge was to the effect that these Holy places and Jeddah will be immune from attack or molestation by the British military and naval forces . . . and it is clear that the Arabs of the holiest of the Holy places of Islam were threatened with certain starvation in order to compel them to revolt against their temporal sovereign and renounce the allegation which they owed under the law of Islam to the legitimate successor of the Arabian Prophet."²²

For Mohammad Ali the cruel occurrences in Tripoli and Balkan, at Holy Mashed and Tabriz took place so that the temporal power of Islam might be so weakened that it might become liable to suffer, without adequate power to prevent, for the curtailment of its spiritual influence through the pressure of the temporal power of rival creeds. The immediate result of these wars was the arrangement of medical mission²³ of India led by Dr. Mukhtar Insari for Turkey, Mohammad Ali donated two lakhs of rupees to materialize this programme.

Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Ka'aba was set up due to Mohammad Ali's active role in 1913.²⁴ Its main objective was to unite the Muslims of India to

protect the Holy places of Islam against the possible non-Muslim aggression.²⁵ In fact the real object before its promoters was to further the political programme of Pan-Islamism.

Mohammad Ali suggested to Talat Beg, a Turkish leader, the need of economic, cultural and social development of relations between the Indians and Turks.²⁶ Mohammad Ali developed cordial relations with the influential personalities of Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, England, Italy and India. He used to contact them on the *Khilafat* issue.

Mohammad Ali played a key role in the establishment of the Medina University in Turkey, schemes for colonisation through the contributions from the *Comrade* and *Zamindar* relief funds, and pushing the sale of Turkish bonds in India.²⁷

Mohammad Ali was vehemently critical of the British policy towards Turkey. He concluded that Turkey had almost lost the Balkan war before it had been declared, for it was not fought on the battle fields of the Balkan, but in the editorial sanctums and on the public platforms, in the pulpits, in the clubs, and in the drawing rooms of Western Europe.²⁸

When the herald of first world war was perceived by Mohammad Ali, he declared that the Muslims would neither be with Russia, England and France nor with tripple alliance. All these were a menace to Turkey. He contended that the Muslims would be victors. He added that Europe deserved punishment for its infamous conduct during the recent wars and it would be God sent if Europe were crippled.³⁰

When it was clear from the changing situations that Turkey could not but involve in the war, Mohammad Ali suggested that the policy of Germany is stupid and Turkey must refrain from war.

The outbreak of the first World War enwrapped Turkey too. Muslims of India were soothed by British assurance that they were not fighting against Turkey. And they pledged that after the war *Khilafat* and Ottoman Empire would not be eliminated. Moreover, *Jazirat-ul-Arab* would be immune from

attack and molestation by the British military and naval forces. At the request of British Government, the Government of France and Russia had given similar assurances.³²

To avoid disturbance and chaos in the country, prominent leaders, especially Ali Brothers were interned or put behind bars. Mohammad Ali believed that they were traitors to their community.³³ Although the belated and supurious call to *Jehad* by Turkey 'fell on deaf ears' in the non-Ottoman Muslim lands, yet concern for Turkey and her fate was widespread. Muslim soldiers fought in the war on the British side. After the end of the war, it became crystal clear that contrary to her erstwhile promises, Britain and her allies were averse to giving Turkey a fair deal and 'a just peace'. Ironically enough, the Greeks had launched in May 1919 an invasion of defeated Turkey with British blessings.

The Indian Muslims realised that the *Khilafat* could not survive without Turkish independence, hence the Greek raid was as much a threat to the *Khilafat* as to Turkish independence. The mounting Muslim anxiety finally led to the setting up of an All-India *Khilafat* Committee at Bombay in 1919, with branches all over the country.

The Ali Brothers were released on December 28, 1919.³⁴ Though they were unmatched heroes and champions of the Turkish cause, yet they were, then, in an entirely new atmosphere.³⁵ In December, 1919, the Congress, the Muslim League, the *Khilafat* Conference, the *Jamiat Ulma-i-Hind* called their session in Amritsar. Hakim Ajmal Khan was President of Muslim League's session.³⁶ Ali Brothers also joined the session demanded from the British to assure Egyptian Nationalists for self-determination. They stated that they would boycott the British army if it was sent for anti-Islamic purposes. Mohammad Ali Jinnah supported the anti-peace celebration in India because he could not tolerate dismemberment of Turkey.³⁷ The session of *Khilafat* Conference decided to send a deputation under Mohammad Ali Jauhar to plead the *Khilafat* cause. Before this, a joint Hindu-Muslim deputation met with the Viceroy to enlist the support of the Government of India for *Khilafatist* cause. The response of the Viceroy was not positive.³⁸

The Treaty of Servres was published on May 14, 1920. The Muslims of India were perturbed and anguished over the treaty. Because by this the Caliph had become a puppet in the Allied hands. Thrace was given to Greece, the fertile crescent, i.e., Iraq, Syria and Palestine were taken by Britain and France as mandatories. In the meantime, the Greeks, on the persuasion of the British, not only occupied Smyrna and coastal regions, Adrianople and parts of Eastern Thrace, but were also, pushing manacingly forward into Antolia itself.

It was the time of stress and strain for the Muslim. It was considered a religious invasion of the Muslims by the Christians. When this development occurred Mohammad Ali Jauhar was in England with his deputation. He pleaded the cause of Turkey in Britain.

It is obvious that Turkey has and could have, no 'rights of suzerainty or jurisdiction' over *Mussulmans* who are not her subjects; but it is equally obvious that the Sultan of Turkey as *Khalifa* has, and must continued to have so long as holds that office, his very considerable 'jurisdiction' over Muslims who are "subject to the sovereignty or protectorate of any other state." The law of Islam clearly prescribes the character and extent of the 'jurisdiction' pertaining to the office of *Khalifa*, and we can not but protest most emphatically against this indirect, but none the less palpable, attempt on the part of Great Britain and her allies to force on the *Khalifa* a surrender of such 'jurisdiction', which must involve the abdication of the *Khilafat*. The proposal, we are constrained to say, constitutes a grave and intolerable encroachment on the fundamental religious cannons of Islam.

He gave the rationale of Caliphate in Islam. He alarmed them that removal or elimination of Caliphate would enrage the Muslims. It was not only an attack on the temporal power of the Sultan but also a raid on religion because it snatched the right of the Caliph to protect the Muslims of other states. He also informed them of a saying of the Holy Prophet that the Muslims should not allow a non-Muslim to get control over *Jazirat-ul-Arab*,⁴¹

He enlightened them that the non-Muslim control over *Jazirat-ul-Arab*, which included Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia, or non-Muslim mandates over these areas would infuriate the Muslims, because it was against the spirit of Islam.⁴²

According to the treaty, the Caliph also lost the right to protect Hijaz. The Maulana believed that the Caliph was the servant of the Holy places and, he warned them that he must remain its warden. Any attempt to reduce his status or restrict his rights and prerogatives over the *Harems* of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem would never be tolerated by the Muslims of the world.⁴³ Mohammad Ali entreated the English government to modify their posture towards Turkey, and their intentions in regard to mandates in Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia, which were part of *Jazirat-ul-Arab*.⁴⁴

If their demands were not fulfilled it would be an attack on the religious freedom of the Muslims of India, and it would be repugnant to the declaration of 1858 by Queen Victoria,⁴⁵ which guaranteed protection of the religious sanctuary and sentiments of the Muslims of India in return to their loyalty to the British Empire.

He told them that if their religious freedom was not respected, the result would be nasty for the British. He briefed them that Non-Cooperation Movement had started in India, and the Muslims of India started migration to Afghanistan,⁴⁶ because they considered it *Jazirat-ul-Harab* then. But the mighty and victorious government of England did not pay any heed to his eloquent speeches and letters. The trip to England proved fruitless. Mohammad Ali had also joined Non-Cooperation Movement to pressurize the government to save Turkey and the Caliphate. Mahatma Gandhi and the Hindus espoused the Muslim cause to achieve home rule. Mohammad Ali gave life to the movement by his tour of the country and by his enthusiastic and fervent speeches and writings.

At the same time, in a *Fatwa* published from the view point of *Sharia*, laid down by Abul Kalam Azad that the "Indian Muslims have no choice but

to migrate from India" and that "all Muslims who would like to fulfil Islamic obligations must quit India."⁴⁷

At that time, it seemed that the government would accept the demands of the non-cooperationists but the incident of *Chaura Chauri* on February 4, 1922 led Gandhi to call off the movement. This weakened the pressure of the *Khilafatists* on the British. Most of the leaders were arrested, Maulana Jauhar was among them.

In November 1922 the Grand National Assembly deposed Sultan-Caliph Mohmet VI and in his place was elected Abdul Majid as a Caliph but not as a Sultan. This meant withdrawal of temporal authority and the conversion of the Caliphate office into some sort of a spiritual or papal office. Then on March 3, 1924, *Khilafat* was abolished by the Kemalists. The decision dismayed and disillusioned the Indian Muslims who requested Kamal himself to assume the Caliphal office but he refused. The Maulana strictly criticised this decision and disliked the new secular government of Turkey.⁴⁸

CONCLUSION

The raid of Westerners on Turkey was tripple one -- on the Muslim faith, its institution; and its very territory, including the Holy places. Essentially the time required solidarity and unity among the Muslim *Umah*. According to Maulana Jauhar, it was the religious duty of a Muslim to preserve his religion, culture and integrity. Thus, he made an effort to withstand the violation of their faith and heritage. Essentially it was not a militant movement. It was symbolised by the *Millat*. The unique structure built on the pillars of spiritual enlightenment and peace. It must be saved at all costs from the threatening obstruction, because not only did it reflect Muslim solidarity, but it alone attested to the dictum that the Muslims must obey the call of Islam.⁴⁹

Islam and *Khilafat* were synonymous; and this identity to him was so complete and pervasive that he could not reconcile his own existence as a

Muslim in a world devoid of both the person and the constitution of *Khilafat*, for how could a body survive without a heart.⁵⁰

He wrote letters, almost to all influential leaders of the allies. He conveyed the Muslim concern over the Turkish Empire and Caliphate to them. His cogent expression in writing and speeches though impressed the recipients but could not change the overall British Policy regarding the Middle East. Though Mohammad Ali left no stone unturned to preserve the Ottoman Empire and Sultan, yet he could not achieve his aim. At one time he could fight with the non-Muslims but not the Young Turks. The Caliphate was abolished by the Muslims themselves (Turks) then what could he do? The 'Sickman of Europe' could have been dismembered even in the nineteenth century but Britain and her allies gave substantial support for survival of Turkey just to contain Russian aggrandisement. The weakness of the Ottoman Empire resulted in its downfall. Mohammad Ali, perhaps could not visualize its incurable diseases, rather, he gave to Eastern question an emotional than a rational approach. One can not challenge his sincere struggle, but it is equally true that living in India under British rule, he could do nothing more than what he did for this sacred cause.

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Trade between Pakistan and Sri Lanka during 1970s

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The decade of seventies occupies an important place in the history of trade relations between Pakistan and Sri Lanka. With the separation of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) in 1971, Pakistan had to search for new sources of supply of those commodities it used to procure from East Pakistan, particularly tea, coconut and spices. Similarly, Sri Lanka, usually in need of rice, petroleum products, fish and cotton yarn, found that these commodities would be imported from Pakistan. Where they had become surplus after the delinking of its eastern wing. Thus, as a result of closure of East Pakistan market, favourable conditions for mutual trade between Pakistan and Sri Lanka were created which were fully utilised to the advantage of both the countries. The present article throws light on the important characteristics of the expansion of trade between Pakistan and Sri Lanka during seventies from both bilateral and regional points of view.

I

Bilaterally speaking, the decade of seventies saw a big jump in import-export trade between Pakistan and Sri Lanka due to the East Pakistan crisis as explained above. Tables 1 and 2 point out the major features of this expanded trade.

IMPORT OF PAKISTAN FROM SRI LANKA

Main items of imports of Pakistan from Sri Lanka were tea and natural rubber. Other items were of nominal importance.

Tea :

With the fall of East Pakistan the imports of tea increased significantly, and Pakistan after United Kingdom became the second biggest buyer of tea from Sri Lanka. In 1975 Pakistan took the lead as the largest buyer of Sri Lankan tea. However with the normalisation of trade relations with Bangladesh towards the end of seventies imports from Sri Lanka gradually declined.

TABLE I
Overall Value of Pakistan's Trade with Sri Lanka¹

(Rupees in million)

Year	Imports	Exports		Balance
1970-71	18.4	57.9	+	39.5
1971-72	109.4	65.3	+	44.1
1972-73	298.1	205.3	--	92.8
1973-74	356.0	128.4	--	227.6
1974-75	546.1	600.4	+	54.3
1975-76	504.5	360.2	--	144.3
1976-77	433.6	436.5	--	7.1
1977-78	633.0	232.0	--	401.0
1978-79	423.0	423.4	+	0.4
1979-80	442.9	381.4	--	61.5
1980-81	325.0	273.8	--	51.2

TABLE 2
Value of Imports from Sri Lanka
1975-76

(Rupees in million)

No.	Items	Rupees
1.	Tea	400.1
2.	Betal leaves	31.8
3.	Rubber and rubber products	30.5
4.	Copra and lard oil	9.5
5.	Copra and palm nuts	8.1
6.	Betal nuts	4.5
7.	Bamboos, canes and other vegetables materials for brooms and brushes	3.7
8.	Spices	3.4
9.	Birileaves	2.9
10.	Yarn of coir and jute	2.5
11.	Coffee, raw	1.9
12.	Sisal and coir fibre	1.0
13.	Timber and wood	0.6
14.	Artsilk and synthetic yarn and thread	0.6
15.	Brooms, brushes and brush materials	0.6
16.	Paper and paper bags	0.4
17.	Chemicals and chemical preparations	0.4
18.	Iron and steel products	0.5
19.	Machinery, equipment and parts	0.5
20.	Milk and butter, dry and canned	0.3
21.	Fruit and vegetables	0.3
22.	Coconut fresh and desicated	0.2
23.	Minerals and ores, crude	0.2
24.	Dyeing and tanning extracts	0.2
25.	Jute hessian, twine and bags	0.1
Total :		504.8

TABLE 3
Quantity wise Imports of Tea and Rubber
from Sri Lanka 1970-78

(In million Kg.)

Year	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
Tea ³	0.3	13.1	22.6	30.3	27.5	34.4	28.3	27.6	19.4
Rubber ⁴	2.4	2.0	3.0	7.9	7.7	6.8	5.4	5.1	8.0

In real terms the decline was more on account of fall in price of tea in the international market. Kenya, Bangladesh and Malawi spurred by the prices of 1977, also expanded their production. China had emerged as an important exporter of tea.

Miscellaneous Imports

In terms of percentage to total imports from Sri Lanka, copra imports were largest in 1977-78 followed by Coir Yarn. Coir Yarn is a by-product of coconut and is used for making mats and mattresses. Increase in nutmeg import was substantial for this period Table 4.

TABLE 4
Miscellaneous Imports (in terms of percentage)
to total Export of each item of Sri-Lanka

Items	1977	1978
Rubber ⁵	3.5	5.3
Coconut oil ⁶	105.0	0.4
Copra ⁷	84.9	93.5
Fresh coconut ⁸	-	15.57
Coir Yarn ⁹	26.1	20.2
Cardmoms ¹⁰	0.3	1.9
Nutmeg ¹¹	-	6.8

Exports of Pakistan to Sri Lanka

Pakistan was the biggest supplier of rice in 1976. This position, however declined during the period of 1977-78. The decline was attributed mainly to two factors. First, larger supplies were made available under China-Sri Lanka Rubber-Rice Agreement in 1977, and re-export of Burmese rice from China to Sri Lanka. Second the Government of Sri Lanka took off subsidy from food. Almost half of the population switched off from rice to wheat. This led to the reduction in total imports of rice thereby affecting supplies from Pakistan as well.¹²

TABLE 5
Value of Exports to Sri Lanka
1975 - 76¹³

(Rupees in million)

Sr. No.	Items	Rupees
1.	Rice (all kinds)	214.6
2.	Petroleum and products	78.9
3.	Fish fresh, dried and frozen	20.2
4.	Spices	17.1
5.	Cotton yarn and thread	10.5
6.	Tobacco, raw and manufactured	8.8
7.	Medical and pharmaceutical products	3.3
8.	Misc. Chemical preparations	2.1
9.	Sewing and other machines and parts thereof	1.7
10.	Molasses and glucose	0.8
11.	Live animals	0.6
12.	Fruit and vegetables	0.4
13.	Ships stores (items not specified)	0.4
14.	Gums, resins, crude drugs, plants, seeds and flower	0.2
15.	Rubber tyres and tubes	0.2
16.	Cotton fabrics	0.2
17.	Building board, paper boxes and other paper products	0.1
18.	Chemicals	0.1
19.	Other textile products	0.1
Total		360.3

Miscellaneous Exports

Besides petroleum and its products, other export were of small value. But as a group these were of substantial amount. Most of these were consumer goods.

Balance of Trade

Pakistan's trade with Sri Lanka uptill 1970 was of a marginal value. During the decade (1970-80) it showed a sharp increase leading to a persistant negative balance of trade. The individual years like 1974, and 1978-79 are however, exceptions when a surplus was obtained, see Table 1.

In short, the increase in import bill during 1970-80 was due to :

- (a) Separation of East Pakistan leading to higher demand of certain consumer goods from Sri Lanka.
- (b) Import prices of tea continued to increase during this period.
- (c) Export of rice was drastically curtailed from 41.1 per cent in 1976 to 27 per cent in 1977 and to 17.5 per cent in 1978, see Table 6.
- (d) In 1971 the devaluation of Sri Lankan rupee was caused as a result of linking with U. S. dollars instead of pound sterling. In 1973 it suffered from further depreciation and once again it was devalued in 1977.

In later years the size of deficit was cut down with more control on imports and expansion in exports. This trend has to be further enhanced by bilateral trade arrangements.

II

In intra regional trade in South Asia, Pakistan was the biggest customer of Sri Lanka. The percentage share varied in individual years, but Pakistan remained main buyer as shown in Table 4 depicting Sri Lanka's trade exports.

Sri Lanka's imports from Pakistan declined during this period. Iran in 1976-77, India and Burma in 1978 emerged as major suppliers, see Table 7.

TABLE 6
 Intra Regional Trade : Export in South Asian Countries¹⁴
 Sri Lanka Trade Export (Percentage Share)

Year	India	Maldives	Bangladesh	Burma	Iran	Pakistan
1974	0.13	0.18	0.48		2.16	7.75
1975	0.07	0.13	0.31		2.79	8.79
1976	0.04	0.13	0.43	0.04	2.07	7.54
1977	0.16	0.07	0.21		1.85	8.05
1978	0.84	0.09	0.41	0.02	4.30	6.72

TABLE 7
 Intra Regional Trade Import in South Asian Countries¹⁵
 Sri Lanka Trade Import (Percentage Share)

Year	India	Maldives	Bangladesh	Burma	Iran	Pakistan
1974	4.81	0.40	0.06	4.48	3.48	6.12
1975	2.85	0.19	0.02	2.30	4.15	4.17
1976	3.90	0.70	-	4.97	10.75	5.92
1977	5.95	0.01	0.06	2.78	9.75	4.05
1978	8.47	0.03	0.05	3.40	5.85	1.17

International Trade

Both countries traded heavily with industrially advanced countries during the selected period 1972 -- 78. In the world trade Pakistan's share of export to Sri Lanka rose from 2.23 per cent to 4.16 per cent as depicted in Table 8. However, Sri Lanka's exports to Pakistan declined from 7.77 per cent to 5.54 per cent. This decline could be attributed to normalisation of trade relation with Bangladesh.

TABLE 8
Exports to Various parts of the World¹⁶

(Percentage)

Country	Industrial Countries	Oil exporting Countries	Less Developed Countries	Pakistan	Sri Lanka	South Asian Countries
PAKISTAN						
1972	59.89	10.98	25.73	-	2.23	2.29
1978	40.90	29.36	24.23	-	4.16	5.26
SRI LANKA						
1972	37.35	7.98	14.66	7.77	-	8.26
1978	44.02	17.05	26.07	5.54	-	6.73

Import percentage of Pakistan declined excepting oil exporting countries, with which it registered an increase from 7.99 per cent. Pakistan's share of imports from Sri Lanka dropped from 3.75 per cent to 1.49 per cent during 1972-78. Similarly Sri Lanka's share of imports from Pakistan during the same period decreased from 4.06 per cent to 1.22 per cent. However, Sri Lanka imports continued to increase from industrially advanced countries. The direction of import from various parts is shown in Table 9.

TABLE 9
Exports from Various parts of the World¹⁷

(Percentage)

Country	Industrial Countries	Oil exporting Countries	Less Developed Countries	Pakistan	Sri Lanka	South Asian Countries
PAKISTAN						
1972	65.6	7.99	16.97	-	3.75	5.29
1978	64.5	13.67	16.45	-	1.49	4.33
SRI LANKA						
1972	42.76	19.06	21.26	4.06	-	9.39
1978	56.72	16.53	21.00	1.22	-	10.07

The need for diversification of trade in Pakistan and Sri Lanka was desirable. Both were heavily reliant not only on industrially developed countries but also on oil exporting countries for their imports and consequently both countries faced the problems of deficit in the balance of trade.

To explore the bilateral trade potential between the two countries import projections were used which were on the basis of 1980 for 1984 indicated in Table 10. As by the mid 1980, Sri Lanka was near to achieving self-sufficiency.

TABLE 10
Import Projections of Sri Lanka 1980 and 1984¹⁸

(Million tons and US\$)

Items	1980 Volume	Value	1984 Volume	Value
Rice	616	178	-	-
Wheat	191	38	750	228
Other Consumer Goods	-	258	-	413

The above import figures indicate the fact that the rice was the major food item, and wheat a supplementary diet. The import of wheat in 1980 was only 30 per cent of the import of rice. It has been estimated that 750 thousand million tons of wheat shall have to be imported in 1984. From projections till middle of the next decade, it is clear that wheat can capture largest share of the market in terms of volume as well as value, while rice, being the major food item, could also share the market.

Rice :

Domestic production of rice in Sri Lanka was expected to increase from 91 million bushels in 1978 to 122 million bushels in 1984. The remaining requirement of rice could be met from exportable surplus from the South Asian countries either through bilateral trade agreement or directly by making cash payment.

Pakistan had a productive capacity and exportable surplus, as given in Table 11.

TABLE 11
Production and Export of Rice from Pakistan

Year	Export of Rice ¹⁹ (Thousand M. Tons)	Yield Per Hecter ²⁰ (Kg.)
1970-71	182	1466
1971-72	198	1549
1972-73	789	1577
1973-74	597	1623
1974-75	478	1439
1975-76	782	1531
1976-77	945	1565
1977-78	879	1553
1978-79	1015	1615
1979-80	1087	1581

It, was therefore, evident that, with the existing institutional framework, better trade agreement and quality control, rice export to Sri Lanka could expand to a significant extent.

Wheat :

Though a supplementary diet, a big push was expected by 1984. Its imports were projected to jump from 191 thousand million tons in 1980 to 750 thousand million tons in 1984. Wheat was not grown in Sri Lanka and, therefore, its entire quantity had to be imported.

In view of the higher productive capacity indicated by yield per hectore, Pakistan had potential to meet a large part of the Sri Lanka's requirements which were being met by imports from USA.

Textile :

Textile import by Sri Lanka started increasing from 1975 onward, Table 12.

TABLE 12
Sri Lanka Imports of Textile from 1970-78 ²¹
(In percentage share to total imports)

Year	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
Percentage	8.6	8.7	8.6	6.5	6.2	3.8	6.2	7.6	8.3

At the same time, textile export by Pakistan were expanding during the period of 1973 to 1978. Export of readymade garments during this period had also shown a steady increase. However, during 1977 a sharp decrease was observed in the export of readymade garments, Table 13.

TABLE 13
Pakistan Textile and Readymade Garments Export ²²

(In Million rupees)

Year	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Cotton Cloth	1416.8	1312.5	1359.4	1603.3	1741.2	2135.2	2416.0
Readymade Garments	1167.4	244.9	328.4	417.7	130.7	376.6	731.2

Sri Lanka imported from Pakistan from July 1978 to June 1979 textile yarn and thread for 7817 thousand rupees, woven cotton fabric for 950 thousand rupees and articles of textile material for 32,166 thousand rupees. Sri Lanka's own readymade garment industry depends upon 80 per cent of imported raw materials.

Other Exports :

Some of these having significant value include fish/fresh and simply preserved, vegetables fresh and simply preserved, petroleum crude and partly refined. These collective export value from July 1978 to June 1979 was 63.460 thousand rupees. Besides these items, leather, scientific instruments, cutlery, perfumery and cosmetic worth 1431 thousand rupees were exported during the same period. All the above items could safely be placed under 'other consumer goods' category. Import projection of Sri Lanka from 1980-84 Table 10 showed an increase of other consumer goods' from 258 million U.S. dollars in 1980 to 413 million U.S. dollars in 1984.

As consumer goods were exported to Sri Lanka and market was expanding, trade promotion tactics were needed to boost it to a sufficient degree.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Pakistan emerged as an important trading partner of Sri Lanka in South Asia during 1970s.
2. Pakistan remained biggest customer of tea from Sri Lanka during this period.
3. Pakistan's export to Sri Lanka declined during the last years of this decade.
4. During this decade a persistent negative balance of trade was observed, except for the individual years 1974-75 and 1978-79 when a surplus was obtained. This trend was visible even during eighties, as indicated in Table 14.

TABLE 14
Imports and Exports from Sri Lanka to Pakistan ²³

	1985	1986	1987
Imports	922,632	1292,325	1373,705
Exports	748,976	954,432	930,465

In spite of deficit in balance of trade of overall value of the export rose.

Export expansion potential existed in Pakistan both in traditional non-traditional items.

5. Though Sri Lanka was on the verge of achieving self-sufficiency in rice and record rice harvest of 2.7 M. Tons was achieved in 1985, owing to widespread drought and to the disruption resulting from ethnic violence the government. was forced to import more. Same was the case with other items of imports. Sri Lanka imported rice worth the value of Rupees 197 million in 1984, and Rupees 923 million in 1985.

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The Role of Deobandi Ulama in Pakistan's Politics : 1947 -- 1956

SAYYID A. S. PIRZADA

After independence a number of leading *Deobandi Ulama* migrated to Pakistan and settled in various parts of the country. Among them was the President of the All-India Jamiat Ulama-i-Islam, Allama Shabbir Ahmed Uthmani (1885-1949) who was elected to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan (CAP) from Sylhet (now part of Bangladesh) constituency on the All-India Muslim League (AIML) ticket. The Jamiat was predominantly a political body of *Deobandi Ulama* which became the ideal of the Muslim masses alongwith AIML in the decisive phase of the Pakistan movement.¹ When Pakistan came into being, the former workers of the Jamiat Ulama-e-Hind, joined the re-organised Jamiat Ulama-i-Islam Pakistan (JUIP) which served as the only political platform of the *Deobandi Ulama* until October 1956 Multan convention, which gave birth to the Markazi Jamiat Ulama-i-Islam West Pakistan.

The JUIP's organizational network suffered as a result of partition, therefore, for quite sometime the party chief engaged himself in social reformation and educational activities. In September 1947, an organisation called Jamiat-ul-Mujahidin was founded in Karachi under the presidentship

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of Allama Shabbir Ahmed Uthmani. It was aimed at "eradicating various evils that have crept into the Muslim society, lifting Muslim youth from its present low moral state, fitting them with Islamic ideals and making them to act as true Muslims in all walks of life".² An Islamic Education Society was set up to impart religious and temporal education.³ For creating amity among the Muslim states and to bring them on one platform, another body named All Pakistan Arabic Society was founded. It aimed at making every Muslim conversant with Arabic language. Under its auspices free and regular classes in Arabic were started.⁴ Still another organisation was the Jamiat Akhuwat-i-Islamia Pakistan which worked under his presidentship, and had Maulvi Tamiz-ud-Din Khan, Speaker, CAP as its Vice-President.⁵ In December 1947, the JUIP Chief established party's central office at the residence of Maulana Ihtisham-ul-Haq Thanvi (1915-1980) at Karachi which provided a link between the party leaders and workers.⁶ Allama Uthmani and other JUIP *Ulama* supported the Muslim League government, whenever help was needed. Such an occasion arose when Sayyid Abul Ala Maududi (1903-1979), the *Amir* of the Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan gave a ruling that the war in the State of Jammu and Kashmir was not a *Jihad*. His argument was, that Pakistan and India had entered into agreements, and unless they were abrogated the war could not be termed a *Jihad*.⁷ Allama Uthmani did not subscribe to this opinion. He gave a *Fatwa* against this, which in August 1948, was endorsed by five leading *Ulama*.⁸ Some prominent *Ulama* of Muslim countries also endorsed his *Fatwa*.⁹ Allama Uthmani did not stop at just issuing a *Fatwa*; he entered into a lengthy correspondence with Maulana Maududi to bring him round to his viewpoint. In a letter to Maulana Maududi on July 7, 1948, he argued that since India had openly flouted the pledge by occupying Junagarh, Pakistan was not bound to abide by it. Islam, he wrote, taught the Muslims not to enter into any undertaking with the non-Muslims, and if at all such an action was taken it should be honoured sincerely, but in case the other party violated any agreement, the Muslims were at liberty to adopt any course of action.¹⁰

Maulana Maududi in his reply on July 13, wrote that the occupation of Junagarh and other violations by the Indian government had not moved the Pakistan government to abrogate the agreements, and despite all these developments diplomatic and trade relations had continued unhindered. Pakistan continued to import coal, sugar, cloth and other items from India.¹¹ Allama Uthmani, in his reply on August 8, argued that India had violated the spirit of agreement by waging war against Pakistan, and that Pakistan had admitted before the Kashmir Commission that its forces were participating in the war. This development did not bind Pakistan to abide by the accord.¹² He upheld that Pakistan's action in this case was in accordance with the *Shariat*.¹³ Maulana Maududi did not rebut the argument, and it seemed that he had accepted Allama's reasoning but he did not acknowledge it. In his subsequent letter dated September 16, his acceptance of the ideas of Allama Uthmani was visible.¹⁴

The primary objective of the JUIP was the establishment of Islamic order in Pakistan in the light of the Quran and *Sunnah*. This was laid down in the first conference in which the JUIP was founded. During the Pakistan movement the party chief, Allama Uthmani had impressed on the Muslim League leadership the need for establishing an Islamic state after independence. After the announcement of 3rd June Plan an Ain Saz Majlis-ul-Ulama Pakistan was set up in Lahore to frame a constitution for Pakistan in the light of Islamic teaching.¹⁵ Its leadership was offered to the Allama who accepted it and advised the organisers to include in it *Ulama* of every school of thought.¹⁶ However, very little is known about its activities.

After independence, Allama Uthmani and Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif (1923-1960) spearheaded a move to form a *Shariat* group within the Muslim League, as a step forward to make Pakistan an Islamic state.¹⁷ According to Maulana Ihtisham-ul-Haq Thanvi, Allama Uthmani was asked by Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan (1895-1951) to prepare outline of the Islamic constitution which he did in mid-1948.¹⁸ Allama Uthmani left no opportunity to remind the Muslim League hierarchy to honour their commitments with regard to the enforcement of Islamic system in Pakistan. In a speech

broadcast on the occasion of Independence Day, he observed that the only way to thank Almighty Allah was to order lives according to His dictates.¹⁹ In March 1948, when Quaid-i-Azam (1876-1948) visited East Pakistan, the JUIP Vice-President, Maulana Zafar Ahmed Uthmani (1893-1974) called on him at Dacca, and complained about the non fulfilment of the Muslim League pledge with regard to the introduction of Islamic constitution.²⁰ The Quaid promised to take up the issue of the Islamic constitution, after the government had tackled immediate problems.

Quaid-i-Azam died before the question of constitution making could make a major stride. Soon after his death the JUIP resumed pressure for making Pakistan an Islamic state. In May 1949, the party chief conducted a ten-day tour of East Pakistan. In his speeches he recalled Quaid's promise that the state would be based on Islamic principles. Referring to the Quaid's remarks that "Pakistan has come into being to stay on" he pointed out that this did not mean that it would stay on "even if its people would relinquish Islamic principles."²¹ He demanded a declaration from the ruling party as well as the members of the CAP that sovereignty belonged to Almighty Allah, and that the powers bestowed by Him on the state were a sacred trust which would be used according to His prescribed limitations.²² The Allama also asked for the setting up of a body comprising outstanding *Ulama* and scholars for framing the outline of Islamic constitution.

A two-day party conference was organised at Dacca at the end of his tour on February 9. In his presidential address, he recounted the services rendered by the East Pakistani Muslims in the Pakistan movement.²³ As for the opposition to the *Ulama*, *Mashaikh*, and the demand for Islamic constitution, he said that it was not un-expected. The *Ulama* had supported the Pakistan demand sincerely and purely on religious ground. He urged them to work in the same spirit for the case of Islam, and the Muslim world.²⁴ He regarded the attainment of a sovereign state as a step towards complete freedom and establishment of the Almighty's sovereignty over the entire universe.²⁵

The struggle by the JUIP leadership and others met with success in March 1949 when Liaquat Ali Khan introduced the Objectives Resolution in the CAP. Supporting the resolution Allama Uthmani observed that the concept of separation of religion and politics was alien to the teachings of Islam. The government must be run on Islamic principles, and it should be controlled by the people who had a firm faith in them. The rights of non-Muslims were to be protected, and they were to have government jobs but they could not be allowed to hold key positions. Islam provided an economic system which was different both from capitalism and communism, and he regarded it better than both these systems. He then emphasised the need of implementing the Islamic economic system.²⁶ The Muslim members, with the exception of Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din (1907-1962), supported the resolution. The Hindu members vehemently opposed it, mainly because it called for framing an Islamic constitution. The resolution was adopted on March 12. The same day the CAP set up a twenty-five member Basic Principles Committee; Allama Shabbir Ahmed Uthmani was one of the members.²⁷ The Basic Principles Committee (BPC) entrusted its work to three sub-committees (1) sub-committee on federation, provinces and the distribution of powers, (2) sub-committee on franchise, and (3) sub-committee on judiciary.

A Board of *Talimat-i-Islamia* was established to advise on Islamic aspect of the constitution. This was done in response to the JUIP President's demand. The Board was headed by Allama Sayyid Sulaiman Nadvi (1885-1953) who was to be invited from India, and its members were Allama Shabbir Ahmed Uthmani, Mufti Muhammad Shafi (d.1976), Professor Abdul Khaliq, Dr. Hameedullah, Maulana Jafar Hussain--a *Shia Muftahid*, and Maulana Zafar Ahmed Ansari who was its Secretary. The JUIP had a strong representation on the Board. Allama Nadvi, Allama Uthmani, Mufti Shafi and Maulana Zafar Ahmed Ansari were its top leaders. The Board started functioning without its Chairman who did not join it till after 1950.

The constitution-making did not proceed on Islamic lines. There was strong opposition in the sub-committees. The JUIP members of the Board felt agitated with this trend which was reflected in the speeches of Allama

Uthmani.²⁸ Meanwhile the Allama fell ill. His illness was a great setback for the aspirants of Islamic constitution. He had stopped attending the sessions of the CAP after December 1948. He wanted to resign from his seat in the Assembly but retained it to press the demand for Islamic constitution. The Allama died on December 13, 1949.²⁹ His death was a great loss to the JUIP and its struggle for Islamic constitution. The Report of the Board was presented after his death. It was classed as a confidential document and not made public.³⁰

It was not very difficult for the constitution-makers to ignore this document. The recommendations of the Board found no place in the Interim Report of the BPC which Liaquat Ali Khan presented to the CAP on September 7, 1950, although he claimed that it had been prepared after discussions with the Board and consideration of its Report.³¹ The Interim Report did not satisfy any political group. The JUIP leaders criticised it for its non-confirmity to the Objectives Resolution.³² The agitation against the Report led to its withdrawal and appointment of a Suggestions Sub-Committee headed by Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar (1899-1958) to scrutinise fresh proposals.³³

One point of criticism against the *Ulama* had been the lack of unanimity among them on the question of an Islamic State. The JUIP moved to bring about unity on this point. Maulana Ihtisham-ul-Haq Thanvi invited a convention of religious leaders of different schools of thought at Karachi. This convention was held on January 21, 1951 under the chairmanship of Allama Sayyid Sulaiman Nadvi, the newly elected JUIP President. The JUIP dominated the convention. It had nineteen out of a total of thirty-one members.³⁴ The remaining twelve delegates represented Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan, Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Pakistan, Jamiat Ahl-i-Hadith, Jamiat-i-Hizbullah, Anjuman Khuddam-ud-Din and Idara-i-Alia Tahuffuz-i-Haquq-i-Shia Pakistan.

This convention unanimously adopted twenty-two fundamental principles of Islamic state. It was laid down in these principles that ultimate sovereignty belonged to Allah. The law of the land was to be based on the

Quran and *Sunnah*. The state should be based on the principles and ideals of the Islamic way of life, and should uphold the right and suppress the wrong as postulated in the Quran.³⁵ The bonds of unity and brotherhood among all the Muslims of the world should be strengthened to preserve the unity of the Muslim community. The government was to be responsible to provide basic human necessities to all citizens. They were to be guaranteed rights conferred on them by law, and no one was to be deprived of these rights except under the law. The recognized Muslim schools of thought were to be governed by their respective codes of jurisprudence. The non-Muslim citizens were to enjoy complete religious and cultural freedom.³⁶ The head of the state must be a male Muslim with piety, ability and soundness of judgement, who would govern with the help of a *Shura*, and delegate powers to an individual or body. The body empowered to elect him could also, if necessary, remove him.³⁷ The judiciary was to be independent. Propagation of views against the basic principles of the Islamic state was to be prohibited, and finally no interpretation of the constitution which was in conflict with the provisions of the Quran and the *Sunnah* would be valid.³⁸ This was a unique occasion when *Ulama* of various schools of thought agreed on the basic structure of the Islamic state.

The twenty-two principles of Islamic state drawn up by this convention were despatched to the Suggestions Sub-Committee of the BPC for consideration. Before the BPC could finalise its report an issue of vital significance, the status of Ahmadis in Pakistan, engaged public attention. An anti-*Ahmadiyya* movement had been going on for quite sometime. In mid 1952 the JUIP joined the movement with full strength. This was not the first occasion that the *Ulama* associated with the JUIP felt concerned about the beliefs of the Ahmadis. In the 1920s its founder president, Allama Shabbir Ahmed Uthmani who was then a leading figure of the Jamiat Ulama-e-Hind, published a booklet *Al-Shehab*, on this issue. In this work he argued that the Ahmadis were apostates, and the punishment for apostacy in Islam was death.³⁹

The immediate cause, however, was a public address by Zafarullah Khan (1893-) a Qadiyani, and Pakistan's Foreign Minister, at Jehangir Park in Karachi on May 17-18, 1952. Zafarullah Khan spoke on Islam as a 'live religion', and referred to the promise of the appearance of persons who would be commissioned by God for *tajdid-i-din*, namely, for reforming or renovating the original religion with a view to preserve its purity and originality, and if mistakes, errors or innovations had crept into it, to remove them. Such renovator, he claimed, "had appeared in the person of Mirza Ghulam Ahmed." Concluding his speech, he said, "that *Ahmadiyyat* was a plant implanted by God Himself, that His plant had taken root to provide a guarantee for the preservation of Islam in fulfilment of the promise contained in the Quran, that if this plant was removed, Islam would no longer be a live religion but would be like a dried up tree having no demonstrable superiority over other religions." The speech caused great unrest in the country, especially amongst the *Ulama*.⁴⁰ The immediate reaction of the speech was an All Pakistan Muslim Parties Conference in the Theosophical Hall at Karachi. Maulana Ihtisham-ul-Haq Thanvi and other JUIP leaders participated in its deliberations. The conference formulated three demands :

1. Qadiyanis should be declared a non-Muslim minority ;
2. They should be removed from all key posts; and
3. Foreign Minister Zafarullah be removed from office.⁴¹

To achieve these objectives it was decided to hold an All Pakistan Muslim Parties Convention. An eleven-member Board with Maulana Ihtisham-ul-Haq Thanvi as its Convener was set up to make arrangements for holding the convention.⁴²

On July 13, the Board issued invitations to fourteen Muslim political parties.⁴³ A similar convention of all religious parties was held at Barkat Ali Muhammadon Hall in Lahore on July 13, 1952.⁴⁴ The invitations were issued by Maulana Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi (1896-1981) under the signatures of seven religious leaders. The convention took place despite promulgation of Section 144, banning holding of any meeting, and adopted three demands. It

nominated a twenty-member Council of Action headed by Maulana Abol Hasnat Sayyid Mohammad Ahmed Qadri of the Markazi Jamiat Ulama-i-Pakistan.⁴⁵ On August 13 and 16, a six-member deputation of All Religious Parties Convention called on Prime Minister Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din and presented him a memorandum, reiterating the three demands.⁴⁶ He expressed his inability to consider the demands, and told the deputation that the question of declaring Qadiyanis a non-Muslim minority could be decided only by the CAP. He further argued that Zafarullah Khan was appointed by the Quaid-i-Azam and, therefore, he would not remove him.⁴⁷

The All Pakistan Muslim Parties Convention could not take place at Karachi as announced earlier. The delay to hold it was causing a setback to their charter of demands. On December 23, 1952, Maulana Daud Ghaznavi addressed a letter to the Convener, Maulana Ihtisham-ul-Haq Thanvi, and impressed upon him the need of holding the convention as early as possible. He also offered financial assistance on behalf of the Punjab Majlis-i-Amal in case this was of any hinderance. Earlier on October 22, Mufti Mohammad Shafi had written him a letter on similar lines.⁴⁸ The invitations were finally issued on December 11, by Maulana Ihtisham-ul-Haq Thanvi, and the convention was scheduled from January 16, 1953.

The convention took place and decided to launch *Tahuffuz-e-Khatm-e-Nabuwwat Tehrik* (TKNT) for the acceptance of their three demands about Qadiyanis. As a result of the TKNT campaign, law and order situation worsened in Lahore leading to the imposition of Martial Law. The struggle of the TKNT, however, remained inconclusive. It was in 1974 that facing a similar but forceful demand, the Pakistan Peoples Party Government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1928-1979), through the Constitution (Second Amendment) Act rendered the Qadiyani and Lahori followers of Mirza Ghulam Ahmed of Qadiyan, outside the pale of Islam.⁴⁹

Simultaneous with its movement against the Qadiyanis, the JUIP was also pressing for an Islamic constitution. On November 14, 1952, the party arranged a *Nizam-i-Islam* Conference at Dacca which was presided over by Maulana Ihtisham-ul-Haq Thanvi. Some fifty thousand *Ulama* and *Mashaikh*

from various parts of the country attended the conference. It demanded that a constitution not based on Islamic principles would not be accepted, and the Muslims would resist imposition of such a constitution.⁵⁰ On November 19, a Ten-member JUIP delegation called on the Prime Minister.⁵¹ The proposed constitution was discussed in detail, and an assurance was given by the Prime Minister that it would be in accordance with the wishes and aspirations of the *Ulama*, and the people.⁵²

On December 22, Prime Minister Nazim-ud-Din presented the constitutional draft to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. Two weeks later, on January 11, 1953, the *Ulama* met at a convention to discuss its proposals. Out of thirty-three participants, twenty-one belonged to the JUIP.⁵³ Several amendments in the draft were demanded. These included prohibition of intoxicants, gambling and prostitution.⁵⁴ The state was required to secure basic necessities of life for all citizens, irrespective of caste or creed, and particularly for those incapable of earning their livelihood on account of un-employment, infirmity or sickness, or any other similar reason.⁵⁵ The economic policy of the state was to be based essentially on the Islamic principles of social justice,⁵⁶ and proper and effective arrangements were to be made for the promotion of Islamic learning and culture. A five-member *Ulama* board was to be set up to decide whether any law was in conformity with the Quran and the *Sunnah*, or not.⁵⁷ The *Ulama* recommended to add moral aspect of Islam to the rule governing disqualification for the members of the legislature, dismissal of government servants, as well as inclusion of names in the electoral rolls.⁵⁸ Independence of the judiciary was to be ensured. For appointments in the judiciary due weight was to be given to individual's piety, and his knowledge of Islamic law.⁵⁹ There was unanimity on reservation of seats for Qadiyanis on the basis of separate electorates.⁶⁰ For filling up the seat of Qadiyanis in Punjab, Qadiyanis of other areas in the country should also be entitled to vote.⁶¹ In the end government was exhorted to constitutionally regulate upholding of *al-manuf* and forbidding *al-munkar*.⁶² The recognized Muslim schools of thought were to enjoy complete religious freedom within the limits of law. They could impart religious instruction to

their followers, and propagate their views. In personal matters they were to be governed accordingly.⁶³ These proposals were mixed up with the Qadiyani issue.

These developments coincided with a split in the JUIP in March 1953, the East Pakistan branch under the leadership of Maulana Athar Ali dissociated from the Muslim League for its inability to give an Islamic constitution, and decided to participate in politics directly.⁶⁴ The decision was re-affirmed in September 1953, when the party council decided to contest the forthcoming elections, and setup a parliamentary board to be called the *Nizam-i-Islam*.⁶⁵ The *Nizam-i-Islam* entered into an alliance with the opposition parties to contest the provincial elections. The Nizam-i-Islam Party (NIP) coalesced with the Krishak Sramik Party, led by Fazl-ul-Haq (1873-1962), on the basis of a twenty-five-point programme. The Krishak Sramik Party had already formed a United Front with the Awami League, led by Suhrawardy (1893 - 1963) and Bhashani, and had drawn up the famous 21-point programme.⁶⁶ The Ganotantry Dal under the leadership of Haji Nuhammad Danish also joined in. Thus the United Front was alliance of these four parties.

The preamble of the 21-point programme reflected NIP influence. It laid down that "there will be no enactment in the House which is repugnant to the fundamental principles of the Holy Quran and the *Sunnah*, and provisions will be made for the citizens to live their lives on the basis of Islamic equality and brotherhood.⁶⁷ The NIP did not announce party objectives till August 1956. It stood for inculcating Islamic way of life, and raising the standard of living of the common man.⁶⁸ It was to use mosques in the villages as centres for the teaching of fundamental principles of Islam. The old institution of *Maktab* was to be encouraged to give the youth elementary education in general subjects and Islamic studies. The medium of instruction was to be the mother-tongue.⁶⁹ The party continued its support for separate electorates but declared its strong opposition to any theocratic form of government, since Islam did not advocate any priesthood.⁷⁰

The NIP did not feel comfortable about the United Front of disparate elements. It disputed the decision of the joint parliamentary board on ten seats, arguing that the candidates were communists, and nominated its own candidates on them.⁷¹ The Front was kept united to defeat the Muslim League which was its primary objective.⁷²

The JUIP and a faction of the East Pakistan branch, led by Maulana Zafar Ahmed Uthmani, disagreed with the decision of Maulana Athar Ali. They organised the All-Pakistan Jamiat Ulama-i-Islam Conference in Dacca on January 23, 1954 to clarify that the party in East Pakistan as a whole had not been converted into a political party. The conference adopted a resolution voicing support to the Muslim League in the elections.⁷³ Maulana Zafar Ahmed who presided over it, called for the expulsion of those party members who were supporting the United Front.⁷⁴ The NIP was successful on twenty seats,⁷⁵ and two of its representatives Ashraf-ud-Din Choudhry and Nasir-ur-Din Choudhry were later taken in the Front's ministry headed by A. K. Fazl-ul-Haq.⁷⁶ The period following the elections brought the internal conflict of the United Front to the fore, which first led to the dismissal of its ministry, and then to its dispersal. The NIP left the United Front in August 1956.⁷⁷

Meanwhile the work of constitution-making had continued and by September 1954, a constitutional draft had been adopted by the CAP. The JUIP was satisfied with the draft as most of its demands had been incorporated in it, therefore, it viewed with apprehension rumours that the Governor General might dissolve the CAP. Mufti Shafi called on the people to celebrate October 22 as the Islamic Constitution Day to demand its enforcement forthwith, and oppose moves for the dissolution of the Assembly.⁷⁸ Maulana Thanvi also criticised any move to dissolve the Assembly at such a crucial stage.⁷⁹ The JUIP and the Jamaat-i-Islami jointly observed the Islamic Constitution Day and called for enforcement of the constitution by December 25.⁸⁰ Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra had also expressed the hope to announce the new constitution on December 25,⁸¹ but hardly a month after the approval of the BPC Report, Governor General

Ghulam Muhammad (1895-1956) dissolved the CAP on October 24.⁸² A legal battle followed which finally resulted in the formation of a new CAP in May 1955.⁸³ The dissolution of the CAP when it was about to give an Islamic constitution to the country came as a rude shock to the people. The *Ulama* felt particularly agitated, and they regarded it as a sinister design of those who were opposed to the development of Pakistan as an Islamic polity. Their fears were further strengthened by the statements of the then Minister for Interior, Iskandar Mirza, who advocated strongly the separation of religion and politics.⁸⁴

The JUIP took an initiative to check this trend. On April 19, 1955 its President in collaboration with leaders of Markazi Jamiat Ulama-i-Pakistan, Jamaat-i-Islami and Markazi Jamiat Ahl-i-Hadith issued a statement in which the Muslims were warned against the designs of those opposed to an Islamic constitution.⁸⁵

When the second Constituent Assembly met to frame the constitution, the JUIP resumed its pressure. Maulana Zafar Ahmed Uthmani criticised substitution of separate by joint electorates which was being supported by the United Front.⁸⁶ He equated it to undermining the very existence of the country.⁸⁷ He also opposed renaming of East Pakistan as East Bengal, and exhorted the Prime Minister to reject these demands forthwith.⁸⁸ The JUIP demanded incorporation of those Islamic provisions in the constitution which had been finalised by the first CAP.⁸⁹

Independently as well as in conjunction with other religious and political parties the JUIP leaders mobilised public opinion for an Islamic constitution. The result was that the Constitution Bill presented by Prime Minister Choudhry Muhammad Ali (1905-1980) on January 9, 1956 contained almost all the provisions which were in the draft prepared by the first CAP. The constitution passed by the second CAP was finally introduced on March 23, 1956. Mufti Mahmood (1919-1980) and Maulana Ahmed Ali, the two elders of the Markazi Jamiat Ulama-i-Islam West Pakistan welcomed it as "a victory of the Muslim masses and *Ulama*."⁹⁰

CONCLUSION

The above analysis of the political activities of *Deobandi Ulama* sufficiently indicates their prominent role in national politics of the period under review. They not only, motivated the religious-minded people to organise movements in favour of an Islamic polity, but also led them to formulate a national outlook. The *Deobandi Ulama* successfully managed the framing of twenty-two principles of Islamic state to belie the assertion that the *Ulama* themselves were not united on the model of Islamic government. Their success was, however, confined to the drafting of twenty-two principles alone, and various schools of thought could not sink their differences on the basic constitutional problems relating to the interpretation of the Quran and *Sunnah*.

The basic problem that the *Ulama* faced was that western elite felt uncomfortable over the very idea of joining their ranks as they held in their eyes narrow religious outlook. Despite this handicap, the JUIP played a leading role in the agitation which culminated in the fall of Ayub Khan. In the subsequent period of New Pakistan' of Zulfikar Ali Bhotto, they strengthened their organisational hold to the extent that not only the JUIP stalwart Mufti Mahmood defeated the Pakistan Peoples Party Chairman, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in the 1970 polls from Dera Ismail Khan constituency, but also led the Pakistan National Alliance which totally crippled the Bhutto administration.

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4. *Dawn*, Karachi, October 15, 1947.

5. Sherkoti, op. cit., p. 263.

Allama Uthmani also took a leading part in organising a three day World Muslim Conference which was attended by Muslim representatives from all over the world. Addressing the Conference, he impressed upon the Muslims to revert to the fundamental teachings of Islam, and emphasised the need for unity among the Muslim countries, Ibid., pp. 266-276.

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Industrialisation and Urbanisation in Selected Districts of the Punjab, 1947--1985

FARHAT GULZAR

INTRODUCTION

Industrialisation and urbanisation has become increasingly significant in the most rapidly growing major industrial districts of the Punjab Province namely, Sheikhupura, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gujrat. It has so far attracted comparatively little attention from geographers in the region. The concern of this study is to consider ways in which the spatial configuration of industrialisation then translates out into basic urban dynamic. The post war growth of industries in many ways represents the most important single change in the industrial and urban geography of the area. This view is based on several considerations, chief of which is the remarkable rate and volume of growth, composition, fortunes and strategies of industrialisations since 1949 -- substantially reviewed here. It can be seen how such activity is influenced by factors at work within the districts and within the industries themselves, and is indicative of the ever changing relationship that exists between them. The forces underpinning the emergence of a spatial/sectoral division of labour and the imperatives driving industry from older urban

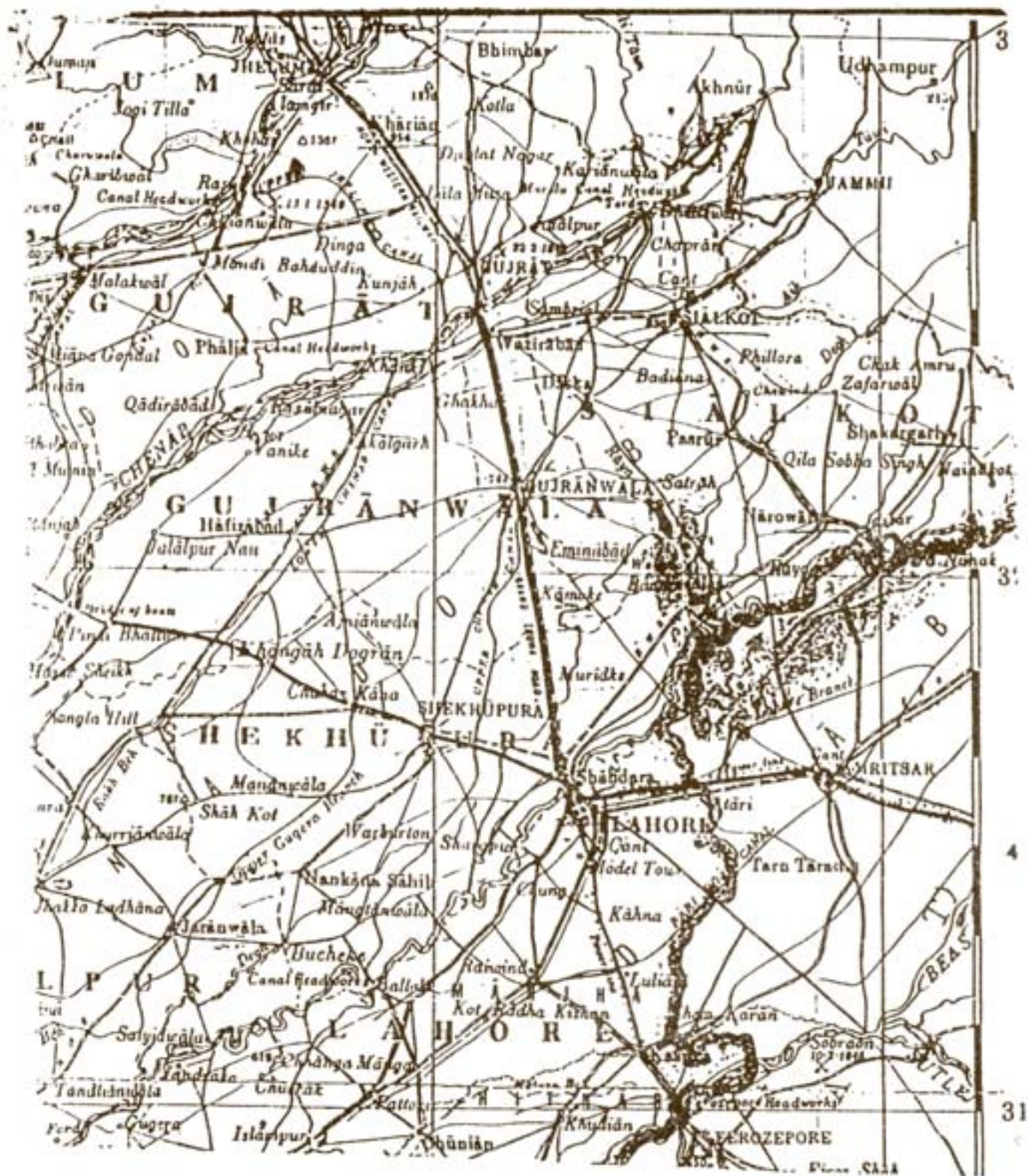


FIG. 1 SHEIKHPURA, GUJRANWALA, SIALKOT, AND GUJRAT DISTRICTS

SCALE 1:1,000,000

centers to smaller but expanding towns to maintain cost savings and stimulating the development of poles outside the city will also be taken account of. The research also examines the role of transportation, industrial sites, labour supplies, and labour competition as determinants of the spatial development of industrial units, and focuses on employment changes between 1949 -- 1985.

Beginning with the industrial development since 1949 and followed by a consideration of certain spatial variations with reference to empirical data from 1949 -- 1985, in this largely exploratory analysis, therefore an attempt to identify the four rapidly developing districts of production and work in urban society in the Punjab is taken into consideration.

Finally, although the geographical dimension to industrialisation is to be stressed here, it is important to emphasis that this is only one of the factors that influence the development of urbanisation and therefore, to locate the geographical analysis within a broader discussion of issues. Industrial growth in the districts is certainly the result of a number of changing forces over time. One of these is the improvement in the transport system combined with technological and production adjustments.

The current analysis takes into account all industrial units registered under the Factories Acts. The basic data was gathered for the four districts of the Punjab from the directory of *Industrial Establishments in the Punjab 1985*, published by the Directorate of Industries and Mineral Development Punjab. The directory provides information on Product Types, Year and Number of Industrial Establishments, Employment and Investment. Additional information was obtained from the official records of the Directorate of Industrial and Mineral Development Punjab.

In detailing the spatial and temporal basis of industrialisation and relating it to urbanisation in the districts of Sheikhpura, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gujrat, I concentrate on some of the local features to be important reasons under which industrialisation and urbanisation occurred. This rise is all the more remarkable given, on the one hand, the overwhelming

dominance of transitory migrant labour in the urban industrial economy at that time and, on the other hand, the steady increase in the level of state intervention in the field of industrialisation.

INDUSTRIAL GROWTH AND THE GOVERNMENT

At the time of Independence, these districts inherited only a small fraction of the large scale industries of the sparsely industrialised Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. In view of the scarce capital resource endowment and the growing problem of rehabilitation of the incoming refugees in these bordering districts, it was quite normal to encourage small scale industries immediately after independence [Pakistan, NPB, First Five-Year Plan, 1957].

A new phase of industrialisation in the Punjab began in the early 1950's with the implementation of various plans by the government to enhance development of the completely new industry set up. Availability of foreign aid and the relaxation of resource constraints during the First Five-Year Plan (1955-1960) led to the pursuit of growth maximisation strategy through a somewhat heavier reliance on the development of the small and large scale industrial sector with very few, if any, restrictions on the size or location of industrial establishments [Hamid 1983]. As a result of this growing emphasis, value-added by the large-scale industrial sector recorded growth. [Pakistan, Finance Division, 1983]. Impressive as the growth performance of the large-scale industrial sector was the policy makers were lured to greatly step up their efforts in strengthening the industrial policy during the Second (1960-65) and Third (1965-70) Plan periods and industrial output in the large-scale sector, registered increase for the decade ending 1960-70.

Industrialisation in these developing districts has tended to concentrate in the largest city of the district, with emphasis on the large-scale (capital intensive) and small-scale industries. Several reasons could be cited for industrialisation to assume this pattern. The emphasis on the establishment of large-scale industries is the natural outcome of the ready availability of technology from the industrialised countries of the world [Das, 1971]. Urban concentrations of industries were motivated by the superiority of social,

physical and institutional infrastructure which is essential for the movement of raw materials and finished industrial goods to and from distant places [Das, 1971]. There is no doubt that large cities of the districts were better equipped with well integrated systems of transport and communication, power and water supply, banking and other public amenities and finally, the large cities provide a variety of manpower skill, training facilities and ready concentrated market for the production and disposal of industrial products.

Although urban industrialisation has permitted the more rapid growth of incomes than would otherwise have been possible, much of it has been confined to the urban areas leading to the progressive magnification of income inequalities between city and rural areas with the passage of time. Backward and forward linkages are an important consideration in the literature on economic development. The growth of the districts depend on how the activities are related to the rest of the economy especially with agriculture and large-scale manufacturing sector. As the districts specialise in the production, supply and distribution of key agricultural inputs, the demand for such agricultural activities is likely to be very keen. Marketing and processing of agricultural commodities offer the most promising prospects. It seems clear that the technology used in agriculture is the determining factor in the linkages between agriculture and the industrial activities.

As the small firms depend on large industrial establishments for their purchase of intermediate inputs, backward production linkages exist. Likewise, the large firms indulge in the practice of sub-contracting with small firms for manufacture of various parts of their machines, important forward linkages are realised. It is however, worth remembering that the technology used in the large-scale manufacturing has a great bearing on the ultimate outcome. Since the large-scale manufacturing sector is capable of employing the most modern technology, its mass production is capable of endangering the future of rural non-farm activities. On the other hand, large-scale manufacturing sectors also employ rural workers and added directly to the growth of industrial activities.

While these districts continued to follow the growth maximisation strategy during the sixties, the granting of many concessions to the industrialists further accelerated the pace of industrialisation. One of the most significant developments which took place in the sixties, was the introduction of the Green Revolution technologies resulting in the transformation of agriculture from one of stagnating sectors of the fifties into a most dynamic sector of the sixties. Incomes in agriculture grew up at an accelerating pace throughout the sixties and demand for new services and new technologies went hand in hand with the growth of incomes in agriculture in all four districts. For example, the private tubewell development was associated with the rapid expansion of industrial units specialising in the manufacture of tubewell equipment, digging wells and bore-holes for installation of tubewells and tubewell repair services. Many inhabitants found it profitable to engage in the distribution of the rising key agricultural inputs like chemicals, fertilisers, insecticides and diesel oil. As a result of the growth of tubewell manufacturing industries and repair shop business, important linkages existed between tubewell industry and large-scale steel manufacturing industries because the former engaged in the purchase of many intermediate inputs from the latter. [Child and Kaneda, 1975]. In addition to the significant contributions of the Green Revolution Technology, three other major factors may be responsible for the reversal of the trend of activities between the decades of the fifties and the sixties on the one hand and the seventies on the other. These factors may be listed as follows :

First of all, the nationalisation of the large-scale industrial establishments in the seventies resulted in the break-up of many large industrial units, especially those related to the textile manufacturing, with smaller units having relatively more widespread locational distribution in Gujranwala where textile manufacturing is dispersed throughout the city.

Second, millions of workers emigrated to Middle-East for gainful employment and repatriated large sums of money to their families for investment and other purposes. Since a major proportion of the emigrants

came from Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gujrat districts, their families preferred to invest closer to home, therefore rapid expansion of all kinds of industrial activities grew up in these districts.

Third, the seventies has witnessed the revival of traditional carpet manufacturing industry. Thus revival was made possible by the inability of Iran and Afghanistan to supply traditional carpets to the international world market. As a result of this development, traditional carpets were bound to witness sharp increase in their prices and profitability. In order to take full advantage of the emerging situation, entrepreneurs were quick to step up the production of traditional carpets. Rapid growth in the number of carpet manufacturing centres in these districts took place and that of export proceeds from carpets and rugs.

There is no doubt that industrial establishments of all sizes are in need of government support and assistance in these districts, but the need is greater in the case of small industries especially where they are located in the lesser developed areas. It may be of interest that the agricultural based small-scale industries, are likely to be handicapped by the uniqueness and special nature of their problems in terms of access to raw materials, machinery, marketing and technological and managerial know-how [UNIDO, 1969]. The lack of infrastructure adds special dimension to these problems making the small-scale industrial sector highly vulnerable to unfair competition from the large-scale industrial sector.

In the early fifties, the promotion of large-scale industries was largely accomplished by moving the terms of trade in favour of the large-scale manufacturing sector at the cost of the sectors producing primary commodities or the traditional goods as was the case with the small scale industrial sector [Lewis and Hussain]. The industrial sector especially in the sixties was provided with an increasing number of incentives. The important ones included income tax rebate for a part of export earnings, investment tax credit, tax holdings, low interest rates on industrial credit, subsidy on industrial use of gas, electricity, diesel oil and industrial raw materials. In the wake of the 1969 industrial unrest, the 1970 civil strife and war and the

consequent withdrawal of foreign aid, Pakistan was confronted with one of the most severe resource constraints. As a result, a large majority of the concessions and subsidies resulting from commercial, fiscal and monetary policies except the low interest rates for industrial credits, input subsidies and investment tax credit were withdrawn beginning in the early seventies [Chaudry, 1981]. At the same time however, the government undertook to nationalise a major part of the large scale industrial sector, resorted to the massive devaluation of Pakistan rupee by as much as 231 per cent and followed the policy of import liberalisation [Hamid 1983]. In the more recent years beginning with the eighties, the country seemed to be returning to the policies of the late sixties especially with respect to its fiscal and monetary policies and denationalisation of key industries for boosting industrial output [Pakistan Economic Survey, 1983].

It has been pointed out that Pakistan's industrial policy throughout the post-independence period, except for a short period of the decade of the seventies, was heavily biased in favour of the large-scale manufacturing sector [Lewis, 1969 ; Naqvi, 1966]. The small-scale industrial sector until early seventies was largely ignored by the industrial policy of the government. As a consequence, the small-scale industrial sector relative to the large-scale was always placed at a disadvantage. It received no licences to import raw materials, nor did it enjoy any other concessions like the large-scale manufacturing sector. Moreover the bank credit has either been available to the sector, or if so it has been paying excessively high rates of interest [PIDE, 1980]. In a survey of 400 small-scale firms manufacturing agricultural implements and tubewell equipment, Child and Kaneda found no evidence that any of these industries were issued licences to import raw materials or machinery, forcing them to purchase needed inputs from the local market at a higher than market prices [Child and Kaneda, 1975]. Although many of these effects have been reiterated in the industrial policy of the eighties, the policy followed in the seventies treated the large and small-scale industrial sector, on a more or less equal footing. It has been indicated that while the institution of the policy of import liberalisation replacing the commercial

policy, withdrawal of fiscal concessions and implementation of devaluation were sufficiently guarded to remove ambiguity of a favoured treatment to the large-scale industrial sector, the nationalisation of many a large-scale industries opened up new vistas for investment in the small-scale industrial sector by the private investors.

However, it is true that the government quality control laws have tended to limit the pace of industrialisation by prohibiting the installation of small-scale industrial units for rice husking and cotton ginning [Chaudry, 1981]. Roads and rail access to all parts of the districts linking the urban and rural areas whilst the bypasses are gradually upgrading the internal roads facilitating the movement of raw materials and finished goods coupled with the availability of relatively cheap labour, accelerated the process of industrialisation in these districts. Better telephone and telex facilities providing managerial contacts with headquarters have created more favourable business environment. Regional development grants based on the number of jobs created and special taxation allowances have encouraged the industries to move to the Sheikhpura, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gujrat districts, whilst availability of land in the industrial estates have influenced the choice of sites within the districts.

INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE

The numerous types of industries in the four districts have been classified into the following sectors :

1. Textiles.
2. Agricultural Implements.
3. Food and Beverage.
4. Grain Milling.
5. Tannery and Leather.
6. Chemicals.

7. Machinery (Except Electrical).
8. Iron and Steel.
9. Metals.
10. Electrical Machinery.
11. Electrical Accessories and Equipment.
12. Sports Goods : Musical Instruments.
13. Rubber and Rubber Products.
14. Pottery and Ceramics.
15. Glass and Glass Products.
16. Paper, Packaging.
17. Cycle Parts, Tyres and Tubes.
18. Building Material.
19. Utensils.
20. Surgical Instruments.
21. Poultry and Livestock Feed.

There has been a very significant change in the overall pattern of industrial activity in the districts during the period 1949--1985 (Tables 1 A, B, C, D, 2 A, B, C, D, and 3 A, B, C, D). This change is most marked in the sixties and seventies when the government provided incentives to industrialists to maximize industrial growth. In view of this it is reasonable to expect that these districts attracted a large incremental industrial activity than they had in the base year. The rates of growth appear to these districts attracted a large incremental industrial activity than they had in the base year. The rates of growth appear to oscillate with the size of the district and the highest rates are associated with the largest city which is also the headquarter of the district. The distribution of industrial units in 1949 and 1985 in the Table - 1 reveals a clear pattern with distinction between the industrial units and employees in the four districts.

TABLE 1
Industry Units and Employees 1949 and 1985

District	Industry Units		Employees	
	1949	1985	1949	1985
Sheikhupura	0	395	0	28196
Gujranwala	48	1100	2748	18419
Sialkot	76	650	2245	11875
Gujrat	13	503	152	13940

During the thirty-eight year period (1949-1985), the number of registered industry units in the four districts has increased from 137 to 2648, and employment from 5145 to 72430 (Table 1). Among individual industries of significance with relatively fast growth has been registered by textile, rubber products, basic chemicals including fertilisers, glass and glass products, iron and steel, non-ferrous metals (aluminium), metal products, electrical machinery, manufacture of agricultural machinery, electricity, chemical products, dairy products, textiles, paper and paper products and printing and publishing, grain milling, leather tanneries and machinery.

As a result of varying growth rates among different industry groups, there has occurred significant structural changes in the manufacturing activities in the industrial sector of the districts.

Industrial units were fairly ubiquitous in the districts by 1970, but the full impact of employment potential was not realised until the 1980's. The general pattern of employment throughout the districts may be explained by a very basic set of factors :

(a) Labour competition.

(b) Access to the transport network.

TABLE 1 A
Sheikhpura District : Cumulative Units

Year	Text	Agri	Food	Grain	Tann	Chem	Mach	Iron	Mtal	Elhc	Elac	Spur	Rubb	Port	Glas	Pper	Cycl	Bail	Ulem	Surg	Post
1949	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1950	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1951	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1952	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1953	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1954	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1955	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1956	0	0	0	1	2	3	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1957	0	0	0	1	2	3	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1958	0	0	0	2	3	3	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1959	0	0	0	4	3	5	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	0	0	4	6	4	5	5	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	4	6	4	5	5	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1962	2	0	4	11	4	5	5	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1963	2	0	4	13	5	7	7	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1964	4	0	4	14	6	8	8	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1965	5	1	6	14	6	8	8	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1966	8	1	8	14	7	10	10	1	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1967	8	1	10	14	7	11	11	1	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1968	11	1	10	19	7	12	12	1	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1969	13	1	10	20	7	12	12	1	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1970	19	1	13	27	7	16	16	1	2	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1971	21	2	15	31	7	17	17	1	2	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1972	24	2	16	35	8	17	17	2	2	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1973	26	2	18	38	9	22	22	2	2	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1974	30	2	21	43	10	23	23	2	2	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1975	36	3	24	46	14	25	25	3	3	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1976	49	3	25	48	15	26	26	3	3	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1977	52	4	25	50	15	29	29	3	3	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1978	57	5	34	62	16	29	29	3	3	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1979	63	5	42	73	17	29	29	3	3	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1980	66	5	47	83	17	36	36	3	3	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1981	71	5	53	84	19	40	40	4	4	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1982	79	6	56	85	21	43	43	5	5	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1983	80	6	56	85	22	44	44	6	6	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1984	80	6	56	85	22	44	44	6	6	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1985	80	6	56	85	22	44	44	6	6	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

TABLE 1 B
Gujranwala District : Cumulative Units

Year	Text	Agri	Food	Grain	Tann	Chem	Mach	Iron	Mul	Elac	Elac	Spor	Rubb	Foot	Glas	Pper	Cycl	Built	Uten	Surg	Pool
1949	3	4	1	0	0	0	0	1	6	3	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	17	0	0
1950	3	8	2	1	0	0	7	1	8	5	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	4	22	0	0
1951	3	8	2	1	0	0	8	1	8	5	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	4	23	0	0
1952	10	8	3	1	0	0	8	1	10	5	3	0	0	0	0	1	1	4	29	0	0
1953	10	8	3	1	0	0	10	1	11	5	4	0	0	0	0	1	1	4	34	0	0
1954	11	8	3	1	0	2	14	3	12	8	5	0	0	0	0	1	2	5	40	0	0
1955	13	8	3	2	0	2	19	3	14	8	5	0	1	0	0	2	2	6	43	0	0
1956	13	8	4	2	0	2	20	5	15	8	7	0	1	0	0	2	2	6	43	0	0
1957	13	8	4	2	0	2	20	5	16	8	7	0	1	0	0	3	3	8	47	0	0
1958	13	8	4	2	0	2	20	5	17	9	7	0	1	0	0	3	3	10	50	0	0
1959	13	10	5	2	0	2	20	5	17	9	7	0	1	2	0	3	3	10	51	0	0
1960	16	10	8	2	0	3	23	6	19	12	8	0	1	2	1	3	3	13	56	0	0
1961	16	10	8	2	0	3	25	7	20	13	8	0	1	3	1	3	3	14	57	0	0
1962	22	10	9	2	0	3	30	8	21	13	8	0	1	4	1	3	3	15	59	0	0
1963	22	10	11	2	1	4	32	9	22	13	9	0	1	5	1	3	3	16	62	0	0
1964	24	10	12	6	2	4	34	10	24	13	9	0	1	6	1	3	3	19	64	0	0
1965	27	10	13	7	2	6	36	11	26	18	11	0	1	6	1	3	3	21	67	0	0
1966	35	11	13	9	2	11	36	11	27	18	11	0	1	7	1	3	3	21	70	0	0
1967	52	11	15	12	3	12	36	12	29	21	15	0	1	9	1	5	4	21	71	0	0
1968	65	11	16	17	7	17	36	13	34	25	15	0	3	13	4	9	4	21	72	0	0
1969	71	15	17	18	8	18	37	13	37	25	15	0	4	16	5	10	4	22	75	0	0
1970	90	17	18	25	10	27	42	14	47	26	18	0	4	21	6	12	4	25	79	0	0
1971	104	17	20	26	12	27	50	15	50	26	19	0	4	21	6	12	4	30	83	0	0
1972	134	20	21	31	12	28	55	17	53	30	21	0	4	24	6	12	4	31	85	0	0
1973	146	21	24	38	12	29	57	18	53	33	23	0	4	29	6	13	4	31	87	0	0
1974	175	24	26	50	13	29	61	18	55	36	23	0	4	32	7	14	4	32	92	0	0
1975	214	24	33	60	13	29	62	18	57	39	25	0	4	32	8	14	4	32	95	0	0
1976	264	26	33	74	13	31	64	19	58	44	26	0	4	36	9	15	4	32	96	0	0
1977	282	27	34	75	13	31	67	19	61	50	28	0	4	36	9	15	4	32	98	0	0
1978	304	27	34	83	13	32	69	19	63	53	29	0	4	37	9	15	4	36	101	0	0
1979	315	28	37	93	15	36	75	21	64	60	30	0	4	40	9	15	5	37	108	0	0
1980	326	29	37	94	15	38	79	22	68	65	33	0	4	40	10	15	6	38	118	0	0
1981	335	29	38	96	15	38	81	22	70	70	33	0	4	40	10	17	9	39	117	0	0
1982	339	33	38	97	16	40	86	22	73	75	35	0	4	40	10	17	10	39	118	0	0
1983	339	33	38	98	16	40	88	22	73	76	37	0	4	40	10	17	10	39	118	0	0
1984	339	33	38	98	16	40	88	22	73	76	37	0	4	40	10	17	10	39	118	0	0
1985	339	33	38	98	16	40	88	22	73	76	37	0	4	40	10	17	10	39	118	0	0

TABLE 1C
Sialkot : Cumulative Units

Year	Text	Agri	Food	Gran	Tans	Chem	Mach	Iron	Mtal	Elhec	Elac	Spor	Rubb	Port	Glas	Pper	Cycl	Buil	Utens	Surg	Poul
1949	0	4	1	0	0	2	5	1	1	10	0	30	0	0	0	11	3	1	3	4	0
1950	0	4	2	0	0	2	11	1	2	13	1	34	0	0	0	11	3	1	3	4	0
1951	0	4	2	0	0	2	12	1	2	13	1	35	0	0	0	11	3	1	3	4	0
1952	0	4	2	0	0	2	15	1	2	13	1	37	0	0	0	11	3	1	3	4	0
1953	0	4	3	0	0	2	17	1	2	14	1	38	0	0	0	11	3	1	3	4	0
1954	0	4	3	0	0	2	17	1	2	14	1	38	0	0	0	11	3	1	3	4	0
1955	1	4	3	0	0	2	17	1	2	14	1	38	0	0	0	11	3	1	3	4	0
1956	1	5	3	0	0	3	18	1	3	15	1	40	0	0	0	11	4	1	3	4	0
1957	1	5	3	0	0	3	18	1	3	15	1	40	0	0	0	11	4	1	3	4	0
1958	1	5	3	0	0	3	20	1	3	17	1	42	0	0	0	11	4	1	3	4	0
1959	2	5	3	0	0	3	22	1	4	18	2	43	0	0	0	11	4	1	3	4	0
1960	4	5	3	0	0	3	26	1	5	19	2	45	0	0	0	11	4	1	4	4	0
1961	4	5	3	0	0	3	27	1	5	21	2	47	0	0	0	15	4	1	5	4	0
1962	5	6	3	0	0	3	30	1	6	24	2	48	0	0	0	15	5	1	5	4	0
1963	5	8	3	0	0	3	34	1	6	25	2	48	0	0	0	15	5	1	5	5	0
1964	7	8	5	1	0	4	36	1	6	28	2	49	0	0	0	16	6	1	6	5	0
1965	8	8	6	1	0	5	45	1	7	30	2	52	0	0	0	16	6	1	6	5	0
1966	8	9	6	2	1	6	47	1	7	31	2	54	0	0	0	16	6	1	7	6	0
1967	9	11	6	4	1	7	48	2	8	32	2	54	0	0	0	16	7	2	8	6	0
1968	10	14	6	6	1	8	49	3	9	34	2	54	0	0	0	16	7	2	8	6	0
1969	12	15	7	10	1	9	55	4	9	37	2	57	0	0	0	16	7	2	9	6	0
1970	17	16	8	13	1	12	57	4	11	43	3	59	0	0	0	22	7	2	10	8	0
1971	19	16	8	13	1	12	60	4	11	45	3	60	0	0	0	22	7	2	10	8	0
1972	19	16	9	22	1	13	62	5	11	48	3	63	0	0	0	24	7	3	10	8	0
1973	21	17	9	26	3	14	63	6	11	53	3	65	0	0	0	24	7	4	11	8	0
1974	24	17	9	29	4	16	70	6	11	57	4	67	0	0	0	26	7	4	12	11	0
1975	26	18	11	54	4	16	71	6	13	64	4	69	0	0	0	32	7	5	13	14	0
1976	27	20	11	56	5	16	71	6	15	69	4	73	0	0	0	35	7	6	15	16	0
1977	27	20	12	56	5	16	71	6	16	74	4	73	0	0	0	39	7	6	16	16	0
1978	27	20	12	57	5	19	71	8	21	82	4	76	0	0	0	41	7	8	18	16	0
1979	29	21	15	63	5	21	73	9	30	90	4	84	0	0	0	42	7	9	20	19	0
1980	34	24	16	67	6	27	75	9	33	105	5	92	0	0	0	42	8	10	23	20	0
1981	36	24	19	68	6	27	76	9	38	111	5	100	0	0	0	42	10	10	26	23	0
1982	36	25	20	70	6	27	77	9	39	116	6	103	0	0	0	42	10	11	27	23	0
1983	36	25	20	70	6	27	78	9	39	116	6	103	0	0	0	42	10	11	27	24	0
1984	36	25	20	70	6	27	78	9	39	116	6	103	0	0	0	42	10	11	27	24	0
1985	36	25	20	70	6	27	78	9	40	116	6	103	0	0	0	42	10	11	27	24	0

TABLE 1 D
Gujrat : Cumulative Units

Year	Text	Agri	Food	Grain	Tann	Chem	Mach	Iron	Mtal	Elec	Spor	Rubb	Post	Glas	Pper	Cycl	Buil	Uten	Surg	Poul
1949	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	0
1950	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	6	0	0	1	0	1	0	7	0	0	0
1951	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	6	0	0	1	0	1	0	7	0	0	0
1952	0	1	2	0	0	2	1	0	0	6	0	0	1	0	1	0	7	0	0	0
1953	0	1	2	0	0	2	1	0	0	6	0	0	1	0	1	0	7	0	0	0
1954	0	1	2	0	1	3	1	0	0	7	0	0	2	0	1	0	7	0	0	0
1955	0	1	2	0	1	3	1	0	0	8	0	0	2	0	1	0	8	0	0	0
1956	0	1	2	0	1	3	1	0	0	8	0	0	2	0	1	0	8	0	0	0
1957	1	1	2	0	1	3	1	0	0	9	0	0	2	0	1	0	8	0	0	0
1958	1	1	3	0	1	4	1	0	0	9	0	0	3	0	1	0	8	0	0	0
1959	1	1	4	0	1	4	3	0	0	10	0	0	3	0	2	0	8	0	0	0
1960	1	2	4	0	1	4	4	0	0	12	0	0	3	0	2	0	8	1	0	0
1961	1	2	4	0	1	5	4	0	0	12	0	0	3	0	2	0	8	1	0	0
1962	1	2	5	0	1	5	4	0	0	12	0	0	3	0	3	0	8	1	0	0
1963	1	2	5	0	1	6	4	0	0	12	0	0	3	0	3	0	8	1	0	0
1964	2	2	5	0	3	8	6	1	0	14	0	0	4	0	3	1	9	1	0	0
1965	3	2	5	0	3	9	8	1	0	14	0	0	4	0	3	1	9	1	0	0
1966	3	3	6	0	3	9	8	2	0	18	0	0	4	0	3	1	9	1	0	0
1967	4	3	6	0	3	9	8	2	0	20	0	0	5	0	3	1	11	1	0	0
1968	4	3	8	2	3	11	8	3	0	23	0	0	5	0	3	1	11	1	0	0
1969	7	3	8	2	3	12	8	4	0	32	0	0	5	0	3	1	11	1	0	0
1970	9	4	13	2	3	12	12	4	0	40	1	0	5	0	4	2	12	1	0	0
1971	9	4	17	2	3	14	12	4	0	49	1	0	6	0	4	2	12	1	0	0
1972	9	4	19	3	3	14	13	5	0	64	1	0	6	0	4	2	14	1	0	0
1973	9	4	22	3	3	15	13	5	0	72	1	0	7	0	4	2	15	1	0	0
1974	11	4	23	3	3	16	13	5	0	85	1	0	7	0	4	2	16	1	0	0
1975	12	4	24	4	3	17	14	5	0	105	1	0	10	0	6	2	16	1	0	0
1976	15	6	25	4	3	18	14	5	0	149	1	0	13	0	6	2	16	1	0	0
1977	15	7	25	4	3	18	14	5	0	181	1	0	14	0	6	2	19	1	0	0
1978	15	7	26	5	4	20	15	5	0	208	1	0	21	0	6	2	19	1	0	0
1979	16	7	27	5	5	24	17	5	0	219	1	0	23	0	6	3	19	1	0	0
1980	17	10	29	5	6	25	18	6	0	236	1	0	31	0	6	3	22	1	0	0
1981	19	12	30	5	7	26	21	6	0	274	2	0	40	0	6	4	23	1	0	0
1982	21	12	31	6	7	30	22	6	0	284	2	0	45	0	7	4	23	1	0	0
1983	21	12	31	6	7	30	22	6	0	285	2	0	45	0	7	4	23	1	0	0
1984	21	12	31	6	7	30	22	6	0	286	2	0	45	0	7	4	23	1	0	0
1985	21	12	31	6	7	30	22	6	0	286	2	0	45	0	7	4	23	1	0	0

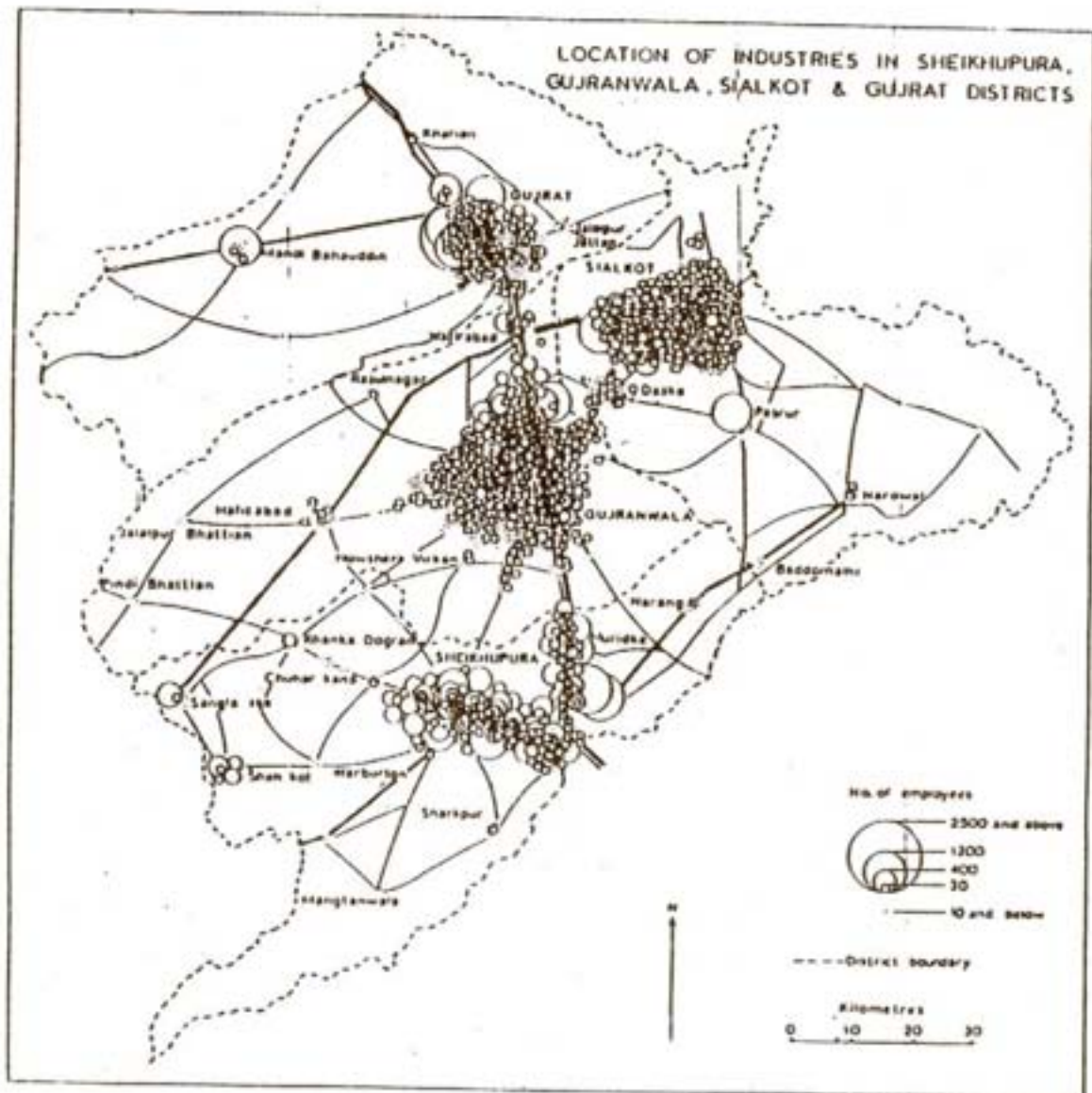


FIG. 2

(c) Community infrastructure, especially the development of industrial facilities that provide site preparation, utilities and internal roads. Obviously, employees of individual districts is a critical variable in determining the extent of the industrial base but accessibility also explains the variation in employment density across the districts. Both rail and highway networks are critical with respect to procurement and distribution of functions inherent in the industrial process. The numerous rail and highway linkages are well situated to provide access to many areas within the districts and to external markets and material sources. The largest industrial concentration is along the major highway, the Grand Trunk Road and the Pakistan Railways. Both running parallel to one another has become high concentration area for industry.

All districts experienced an increase in their employment (Table 2 A, B, C, D) and it seems to have been mostly contributed by the establishment of new industrial units and expansion of old ones. It is interesting to note that the small towns within the four districts have attracted a significant proportion of the new units, besides the large cities of Sheikhupura, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gujrat. These small towns are especially those that are nearer the four large industrial cities as seen in Fig. 2.

The highly uneven distribution of industrial activity among districts has roots in the historical evolution of industries in the past, particularly in the dominance of raw material based industries in the industrial structure and differences in the districts endowments. Today, however, the industrial sector is very well diversified and a large part of its industrial activity is not based on local raw material or demand as such. The footloose industries which do not have any particular locational advantage in terms of raw material availability in one district as compared to others are the ones which have increased in relative importance over the last two decades.

That the districts industrial structure today has a very high degree of locational variability is evident from the fact that of the twenty-one most important industries in the district Sheikhupura shows a complete absence of Sports Goods and Musical Instruments, Utensils and Surgical Instruments,

TABLE 2 A
Sheikhupura District : Cumulative Employees

Year	Text	Agri	Food	Grain	Tann	Chem	Mach	Iron	Mial	Elhc	Elac	Spor	Rubb	Port	Glas	Fypr	Cycl	Buil	Uten	Surg	Pool
1949	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1950	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1951	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1952	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1953	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1954	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1955	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1956	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1957	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1958	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1962	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1963	585	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1964	1112	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1965	1413	19	470	118	215	237	584	0	150	530	51	0	55	0	0	14	0	258	0	0	0
1966	2901	19	526	118	243	1682	584	46	150	530	618	0	55	0	0	14	0	258	0	0	0
1967	4247	19	1033	118	243	1907	584	46	150	530	623	0	55	0	0	14	0	258	0	0	0
1968	4572	19	1033	184	243	1957	639	46	150	530	623	0	55	0	0	14	0	258	0	0	0
1969	4617	19	1052	188	243	2128	639	46	150	530	705	0	55	0	0	14	0	258	0	0	0
1970	4645	33	1134	230	243	2128	639	46	150	530	705	0	55	0	0	14	0	258	0	0	0
1971	5222	33	1849	313	283	2567	639	46	150	530	705	0	55	0	0	14	0	258	0	0	0
1972	5248	33	1849	313	283	2567	639	46	150	530	705	0	55	0	0	14	0	258	0	0	0
1973	5317	33	1866	424	358	2707	639	127	277	530	971	0	55	0	20	84	0	265	0	0	0
1974	6530	45	1883	436	912	2719	639	127	277	530	1251	0	67	0	20	84	0	305	0	0	0
1975	8614	45	1887	446	922	2719	639	127	277	530	1276	0	67	0	20	84	0	327	0	0	0
1976	9145	62	1887	459	922	2857	639	127	277	530	1324	0	67	0	20	145	0	427	0	0	21
1977	10803	77	1966	535	1019	2857	639	127	277	530	1374	0	67	0	20	145	0	445	0	0	21
1978	11136	77	2009	632	1030	2930	639	127	277	530	1465	0	67	0	20	145	0	584	0	0	21
1979	12084	77	2294	775	1030	2930	639	127	277	530	1542	0	67	0	20	286	0	625	0	0	21
1980	12549	77	2422	779	1101	3035	639	127	277	530	1633	0	67	0	20	372	0	625	0	0	21
1981	13431	82	2465	786	1166	3055	842	267	277	530	1698	0	67	0	20	412	0	644	0	0	24
1982	13859	82	2465	786	1166	3078	967	267	277	530	1737	0	67	0	20	412	0	700	0	0	68
1983	13859	82	2465	786	1166	3078	967	267	277	530	1737	0	67	0	20	412	0	745	0	0	68
1984	13859	82	2465	786	1166	3078	967	267	277	530	1737	0	67	0	20	412	0	810	0	0	68
1985	13859	82	2465	786	1166	3078	967	267	277	530	1737	0	67	0	20	412	0	810	0	0	68

TABLE 2 B
Gujaratwala District : Cumulative Employees by date of Start

Year	Ten	Agri	Food	Gran	Tann	Chin	Mach	Iron	Mtal	Elctr	Elctr	Spor	Rubb	Post	Glas	Pper	Cycl	Bull	Uten	Surg	Poul
1949	43	97	820	0	0	0	180	18	72	1045	122	0	0	0	0	4	13	23	303	0	0
1950	129	119	823	6	0	0	234	18	112	1081	122	0	0	0	0	4	13	42	357	0	0
1951	129	119	823	6	0	0	264	18	112	1081	122	0	0	0	0	4	13	42	369	0	0
1952	156	119	830	6	0	0	264	18	129	1081	447	0	0	0	0	4	13	42	443	0	0
1953	156	119	830	6	0	0	311	18	139	1081	450	0	0	0	0	4	263	42	504	0	0
1954	164	119	830	6	0	0	38	385	35	146	460	0	0	0	0	4	263	48	665	0	0
1955	183	119	830	12	0	0	38	498	35	180	465	0	0	0	0	124	263	143	656	0	0
1956	183	119	836	12	0	0	38	498	35	192	465	0	0	0	0	124	263	143	656	0	0
1957	183	119	838	12	0	0	38	528	52	205	465	0	0	0	0	324	263	201	719	0	0
1958	183	119	838	12	0	0	38	528	52	211	533	0	0	0	0	324	263	305	747	0	0
1959	183	141	841	12	0	0	39	528	52	211	533	0	0	0	0	324	263	305	759	0	0
1960	212	141	852	12	0	0	41	613	76	225	1694	542	0	0	6	324	263	342	814	0	0
1961	212	141	852	12	0	0	41	644	82	241	1702	542	0	0	6	324	263	424	835	0	0
1962	267	141	860	12	0	0	41	609	93	251	1702	542	0	0	6	324	263	469	883	0	0
1963	267	141	871	12	13	13	50	609	93	263	1702	542	0	0	6	324	263	478	937	0	0
1964	289	141	875	46	22	22	50	720	104	285	1702	542	0	0	6	324	263	521	977	0	0
1965	347	141	1055	53	22	22	62	777	112	308	1873	571	0	0	6	324	263	546	1010	0	0
1966	482	151	1055	65	22	22	89	933	270	316	1873	571	0	0	6	324	263	546	1047	0	0
1967	671	151	1063	100	34	34	97	933	279	693	1913	592	0	0	6	339	297	546	1051	0	50
1968	780	151	1103	152	65	65	157	933	287	763	1965	592	0	0	27	365	297	546	1066	0	50
1969	915	170	1228	164	75	75	165	983	287	792	1965	592	0	0	35	373	297	565	1089	0	50
1970	1130	193	1246	231	93	93	254	1080	296	929	1973	643	0	0	35	272	383	568	1111	0	50
1971	1292	193	1262	244	108	108	254	1220	304	957	1973	665	0	0	35	272	383	568	1111	0	50
1972	1624	216	1272	305	108	108	257	1325	323	979	2018	675	0	0	35	302	383	568	1185	0	50
1973	1794	223	1409	366	108	108	265	1369	341	979	2099	785	0	0	35	372	393	568	1200	0	50
1974	2052	255	1423	479	116	116	265	1430	341	1002	2127	785	0	0	35	372	393	568	1227	0	50
1975	2367	255	1493	929	116	116	265	1480	341	1034	2181	822	0	0	35	372	393	568	1227	0	50
1976	2764	281	1493	961	116	116	288	1489	346	1047	2395	827	0	0	35	405	37	568	1227	0	50
1977	2933	294	1498	968	116	116	288	1531	346	1098	2492	842	0	0	35	405	37	568	1227	0	50
1978	3154	294	1498	1038	116	116	294	1544	346	1129	2529	863	0	0	35	418	397	568	1227	0	50
1979	3294	297	1532	1135	127	127	321	1567	330	1150	2588	877	0	0	35	418	397	568	1227	0	50
1980	3509	308	1532	1142	127	127	334	1592	368	1186	2634	954	0	0	35	418	397	568	1227	0	50
1981	3712	308	1632	1172	127	127	334	1598	368	1198	2674	954	0	0	35	434	331	568	1227	0	50
1982	3755	346	1632	1189	136	136	355	1628	368	1227	2731	965	0	0	35	434	331	568	1227	0	50
1983	3755	346	1632	1207	136	136	355	1640	368	1227	2739	984	0	0	35	434	331	568	1227	0	50
1984	3755	346	1632	1207	136	136	355	1640	368	1227	2739	984	0	0	35	434	331	568	1227	0	50
1985	3755	346	1632	1207	136	136	355	1640	368	1227	2739	984	0	0	35	434	331	568	1227	0	50

TABLE 2 C
Sialkot District : Cumulative Employees

Year	Tent	Agri	Food	Gran	Tann	Chem	Mach	Iron	Mtal	Elhc	Elac	Spor	Rubb	Post	Glas	Pper	Cycl	Bail	Uten	Surg	Pool
1949	0	70	4	0	0	32	37	6	8	1431	0	385	0	0	0	0	58	44	4	58	0
1950	0	70	11	0	0	32	72	6	14	1519	9	417	0	0	0	0	58	44	4	58	0
1951	0	70	11	0	0	32	80	6	14	1519	9	463	0	0	0	0	58	44	4	58	0
1952	0	70	11	0	0	32	107	6	14	1519	9	486	0	0	0	0	58	44	4	58	0
1953	0	70	25	0	0	32	130	6	14	1931	9	501	0	0	0	0	58	44	4	58	0
1954	0	70	25	0	0	32	130	6	14	1931	9	501	0	0	0	0	58	44	4	58	0
1955	5	70	25	0	0	47	135	6	14	1945	9	512	0	0	0	0	58	85	4	58	0
1956	5	77	25	0	0	47	135	6	20	1945	9	534	0	0	0	0	58	85	4	58	0
1957	5	77	25	0	0	47	186	6	20	2218	9	558	0	0	0	0	58	85	4	58	0
1958	5	77	25	0	0	47	198	6	20	2233	47	570	0	0	0	0	58	85	4	58	0
1959	14	77	25	0	0	47	198	6	39	2241	47	618	0	0	0	0	58	85	4	66	0
1960	23	77	25	0	0	47	227	6	53	2302	47	703	0	0	0	0	78	85	4	73	0
1961	23	77	25	0	0	47	233	6	53	2302	47	703	0	0	0	0	78	85	4	73	0
1962	23	85	25	0	0	47	253	6	61	2342	47	708	0	0	0	0	78	93	4	73	0
1963	23	103	25	0	0	47	260	6	61	2356	47	708	0	0	0	0	78	111	4	81	0
1964	47	103	37	22	0	99	301	6	61	2430	47	719	0	0	0	0	87	111	4	81	0
1965	51	103	187	22	0	105	377	6	68	2447	47	825	0	0	0	0	87	111	4	119	0
1966	51	115	187	30	18	112	395	6	68	2455	47	825	0	0	0	0	87	123	14	125	0
1967	63	127	187	44	18	117	402	10	74	2468	47	864	0	0	0	0	87	123	14	125	0
1968	69	142	187	58	18	128	403	34	94	2468	47	864	0	0	0	0	87	123	14	125	0
1969	94	147	197	96	18	168	441	40	94	2532	47	929	0	0	0	0	87	123	14	275	0
1970	129	154	221	117	18	188	556	40	110	2724	57	966	0	-0	0	0	115	123	14	282	0
1971	176	154	221	117	18	188	475	40	110	2771	57	1009	0	0	0	0	115	123	14	282	0
1972	176	154	229	176	18	191	492	100	110	2874	57	1039	0	0	0	0	125	123	35	290	0
1973	191	159	229	203	39	195	499	110	110	3057	57	1051	0	0	0	0	125	123	35	305	0
1974	214	159	229	224	48	232	558	110	110	3132	64	1074	0	0	0	0	135	123	44	319	0
1975	244	168	241	390	48	232	563	110	127	3248	64	1090	0	0	0	0	172	123	53	366	0
1976	252	190	241	402	260	332	563	110	151	3372	64	1228	0	0	0	0	189	123	53	376	0
1977	252	190	250	402	260	332	563	110	168	3432	64	1228	0	0	0	0	205	123	53	376	0
1978	266	195	278	444	260	267	563	123	212	3543	64	1342	0	0	0	0	216	123	65	436	0
1979	300	210	476	485	260	284	573	129	352	3632	64	1475	0	0	0	0	221	123	68	456	0
1980	332	210	1491	485	282	367	592	129	375	3807	77	1619	0	0	0	0	221	167	83	483	0
1981	332	234	1494	498	282	367	610	129	418	3973	83	1754	0	0	0	0	221	186	88	530	0
1982	332	234	1494	498	282	367	639	129	425	3973	83	1754	0	0	0	0	221	186	88	530	0
1983	332	234	1494	498	282	367	639	129	425	3973	83	1754	0	0	0	0	221	186	88	530	0
1984	332	234	1494	498	282	367	639	129	425	3973	83	1754	0	0	0	0	221	186	88	530	0
1985	332	234	1494	498	282	367	639	129	425	3973	83	1754	0	0	0	0	221	186	88	530	0

TABLE 2 D
Gujarat : Cumulative Employees

Year	Text	Agri	Food	Gran	Tann	Chem	Mach	Iron	Mtal	Elhec	Elac	Spor	Rubb	Port	Glas	Pper	Cycl	Buil	Uten	Surg	Poul
1949	0	0	0	0	0	10	7	0	0	70	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	53	0	0	0
1950	0	5	18	0	0	10	7	0	0	109	0	0	0	12	0	3	0	71	0	0	0
1951	0	5	23	0	0	10	7	0	0	109	0	0	0	12	0	3	0	71	0	0	0
1952	0	5	23	0	0	10	7	0	0	109	0	0	0	12	0	3	0	71	0	0	0
1953	0	5	23	0	0	10	7	0	0	109	0	0	0	12	0	3	0	71	0	0	0
1954	0	5	23	0	300	10	7	0	0	121	0	0	0	17	0	3	0	71	0	0	0
1955	0	5	23	0	300	20	7	0	0	151	0	0	0	17	0	3	0	75	0	0	0
1956	0	5	23	0	300	20	7	0	0	151	0	0	0	17	0	3	0	75	0	0	0
1957	10	5	23	0	300	20	7	0	0	163	0	0	0	17	0	3	0	75	0	0	0
1958	10	5	32	0	300	28	7	0	0	163	0	0	0	22	0	3	0	75	0	0	0
1959	10	5	38	0	300	28	42	0	0	175	0	0	0	22	0	7	0	75	0	0	0
1960	10	9	38	0	300	28	49	0	0	207	0	0	0	22	0	7	0	75	21	0	0
1961	10	9	38	0	300	53	49	0	0	207	0	0	0	22	0	7	0	75	21	0	0
1962	10	9	188	0	300	53	49	0	0	207	0	0	0	22	0	11	0	75	21	0	0
1963	10	9	188	0	300	57	49	0	0	207	0	0	0	22	0	11	0	87	21	0	0
1964	907	9	188	0	3500	91	60	7	0	225	0	0	0	36	0	11	2000	87	21	0	0
1965	921	9	188	0	3500	96	70	7	0	225	0	0	0	36	0	11	2000	87	21	0	0
1966	921	13	204	18	3500	96	70	13	0	260	0	0	0	36	0	11	2000	87	21	0	0
1967	926	13	204	18	3500	96	70	13	0	289	0	0	0	40	0	11	2000	116	21	0	0
1968	926	13	1389	33	3500	113	70	28	0	325	0	0	0	40	0	11	2000	116	21	0	0
1969	949	13	1389	33	3500	121	70	34	0	413	0	0	0	40	0	11	2000	116	21	0	0
1970	966	15	1542	33	3500	121	93	34	0	517	10	0	0	40	0	25	3200	121	21	0	0
1971	966	15	1561	33	3500	132	93	34	0	597	10	0	0	45	0	25	3200	153	21	0	0
1972	966	15	1572	46	3500	132	97	38	0	709	10	0	0	45	0	25	3200	157	21	0	0
1973	966	15	1588	46	3500	142	97	38	0	755	10	0	0	60	0	25	3200	165	21	0	0
1974	987	15	1592	46	3500	154	97	38	0	927	10	0	0	60	0	35	3200	165	21	0	0
1975	1003	15	1599	53	3500	166	102	38	0	1094	10	0	0	81	0	35	3200	165	21	0	0
1976	1026	23	1607	53	3500	178	102	38	0	1417	10	0	0	116	0	35	3200	185	21	0	0
1977	1026	26	1607	53	3500	178	102	38	0	1634	10	0	0	135	0	35	3200	185	21	0	0
1978	1026	26	1611	78	3516	192	107	38	0	1821	10	0	0	205	0	35	3200	185	21	0	0
1979	1038	26	1616	78	3522	232	123	38	0	1920	10	0	0	970	0	35	3200	211	21	0	0
1980	1044	39	1631	78	3532	237	129	83	0	2027	10	0	0	1038	0	35	3200	216	21	0	0
1981	1060	48	1636	78	3538	247	144	83	0	2261	16	0	0	1108	0	35	3219	216	21	0	0
1982	1076	48	1646	91	3538	278	148	83	0	2329	16	0	0	1191	0	41	3219	216	21	0	0
1983	1076	48	1637	91	3538	278	148	83	0	2337	16	0	0	1191	0	41	3219	216	21	0	0
1984	1076	48	1637	91	3538	278	148	83	0	2337	16	0	0	1191	0	41	3219	216	21	0	0
1985	1076	48	1687	91	3538	278	148	83	0	2337	16	0	0	1191	0	41	3219	216	21	0	0

Gujranwala--Sports Goods and Musical Instruments and Surgical Instruments, Sialkot--Rubber and Rubber Products, Pottery and Ceramics, Glass and Glass Products, Poultry and Livestock Feed and Gujrat--Metals, Sports Goods and Musical Instruments, Rubber and Rubber Products, Glass and Glass Products, Surgical Instruments and Poultry and Livestock Feed (Tables 1 A, B, C, D).

Industry Units, Employment and Investment

The industrial development of Sheikhpura district is recent and dates back to 1952. The district is the last of the four districts to develop industrially, starting with only one industry unit each in Tannery and Leather, Chemicals and Metals (Table 1 A). The district had a very slow increase in the industry units and the industry sectors. It was not until 1970 when the district had a sizable number of industry units. By 1985 Sheikhpura district had 395 industry units, the least of the four districts with the largest number of employees numbering 28196. (Table 1) supporting the fact that size of industry is comparatively larger than industry in the districts of Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gujrat.

Sheikhpura district had the largest number of 85 industry units in the Grain Milling sector in 1983 (Table 1 A) with Textiles standing second in importance with 80 units, followed by Food and Beverage 56 units, Chemicals 44 units, Electrical Accessories and Equipment 29 units, Building Material 23 units, Leather and Tannery 22 units, Paper-Packaging 12 units and all the other industry sectors with lesser number of industry units (Table 1 A).

Table 2 A shows that the largest number of employees are in the Textile industry numbering 13859, Chemicals 3078, Food and Beverage 2465, Electrical Accessories and Equipment 1737, Tannery and Leather 1166.

The highest investment is also in the Textile industry in 1983. The second highest in Chemicals and the third in the Glass and Glass Products, then Metals, Electrical Accessories and Equipment, and Food and Beverage.

The district shows absence of three industrial sectors ; Sports Goods ; Musical Instruments, Utensils and Surgical Instruments, etc. Most of the industry has been established recently in the district, particularly the Glass and Glass Products which was established in 1970, Pottery and Ceramics 1978 and Cycle Spare Parts and Tubes 1979.

Sheikhupura district with varied industry has industry units larger in size than Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gujrat districts (Fig. 2). The smallest sized industry units are the Grain Milling units that are scattered along the Lahore-Sheikhupura road. The districts proximity to Lahore and comparative advantage of tax rebate has encouraged substantial industrial growth of technical skills. As there is no industrial estate in the district most of the units have sprung up on Lahore-Sheikhupura and Lahore-Muridke roads.

Of the eighteen industry sectors that Gujranwala district now has only six had their start after independence. In 1949 Gujranwala had 17 industry units manufacturing utensils. (Table 1 B). This is the oldest industry of the district and even today it specialises in the manufacture of utensils and is a large exporter. But in 1971 the units in the textile industry increased to 104 placing the utensils industry in the second position as regards number of units. (Table 1 B). All industries show increase in units except the Tube Rubber and Rubber Products after 1969. The Cycle parts Tyres and Tubes industry remains constant in the number of units since its start in 1967. Today Gujranwala has the largest number of industrial units in Textiles numbering 339 ; Utensils 118 units, Grain Milling 98 units, Machinery (except Electrical) 88 units, Electrical Machinery 76 units, Metals 73 units, and 40 each in Chemicals, Pottery and Ceramics, Food and Beverage 38 units, Electrical Accessories and Equipment 37 units, etc. (Table 1 B). In 1949 the Electrical Machinery industry had the largest number of employees numbering 1045; 820 were employed by the Food and Beverage and 303 by the Utensils. There was an increase in the number of employees by all industries in 1982 and the largest numbers of employees were registered by the textile industry and remained the same till 1985. The Electrical Machinery had 2739 employees, Utensils 1653, Machinery (except Electrical) 1640, Food and Beverage 1632,

Metals 1227, Building Material 988, Electrical Accessories and Equipment, Grain Milling, Building Material, Electrical Machinery, Food and Beverage, Machinery except electrical, Metal, Utensils, etc.

Gujranwala shows complete absence of Sports Goods and Musical Instruments, Surgical Instruments, and Poultry and Livestock feed. Although the total number of industrial units is the largest of the other three districts (Table 1) but the size of the units is small. Gujranwala has dense concentration of small industries mostly along the Grand Trunk Road and the Railway Line and almost along all roads and streets in the city. The old industrial city with investment of lacs of rupees is also the most populated of all cities of the four districts.

Given the high labour input, the textile industries are more numerous in distribution. Thus Gujranwala has attracted a large number of small industries, which offer low wage rates for low level skills. The employment and location pattern of the district reflects the pattern shown in Fig. 2. Numerous industry units with less than 10 employees are scattered all over the city and radiating transport lines connecting it to ever widening markets. The large industries are located in the industrial estate to the north of Gujranwala city.

Sialkot district had a total number of 76 industry units in 1949, with the largest number in the Sport Goods ; Musical Instruments with 30 units and the second largest in Paper Packaging with 11 units (Table 1 C). Other industries at that time were Machinery (except Electrical) Agricultural Implements, Surgical Instruments, Cycle Parts, Tyres and Tubes, Utensils, Chemicals, Iron and Steel, Metals and Building Material. The industries increased steadily over the years, the major increase being in the conventional industries mentioned above. The industrial growth picked up momentum in 1969 and thereafter new industrial units were added at an increased rate and by 1985 the total number of industrial units in Sialkot district increased to 650. Number of units, employees and investment for the district is given in Tables 1 C, 2 C and 3 C in the various industrial sectors.

TABLE 3 B
Gujranwala District : Cumulative Investment (Lakh Rupees)

Year	Text	Agri	Food	Grain	Tann	Chem	Mach	Iron	Metal	Elctc	Elctc	Spor	Rubb	Portt	Glas	Pper	Cycl	Buil	Uren	Surg	Pool
1949	32	36	77	0	0	0	39	30	36	146	175	0	0	0	0	2	4	16	87	0	0
1950	102	32	82	8	0	0	44	30	47	157	175	0	0	0	0	2	4	27	103	0	0
1951	102	32	82	8	0	0	49	30	47	157	175	0	0	0	0	2	4	27	107	0	0
1952	115	32	90	8	0	0	49	30	54	157	225	0	0	0	0	2	4	27	127	0	0
1953	115	32	90	8	0	0	55	30	61	157	235	0	8	0	0	2	26	27	148	0	0
1954	121	32	90	8	0	0	54	30	61	175	285	0	8	0	0	2	26	26	176	0	0
1955	131	32	90	12	0	0	90	37	73	175	285	0	8	0	0	17	26	45	185	0	0
1956	131	32	100	12	0	0	90	37	73	175	338	0	8	0	0	17	26	45	185	0	0
1957	131	32	100	12	0	0	93	42	83	175	338	0	8	0	0	25	26	142	215	0	0
1958	131	32	100	12	0	0	93	42	85	215	338	0	8	0	0	25	26	142	220	0	0
1959	131	36	103	12	0	0	93	42	85	215	338	0	8	8	5	25	26	169	237	0	0
1960	151	36	112	12	0	0	101	44	92	294	342	0	8	12	5	25	26	172	242	0	0
1961	151	36	112	12	0	0	101	44	92	294	342	0	8	14	5	25	26	202	251	0	0
1962	169	36	118	12	0	0	108	46	107	299	342	0	8	29	5	25	26	202	251	0	0
1963	169	36	131	12	6	75	143	54	114	299	342	0	8	32	5	25	26	202	251	0	0
1964	179	36	136	55	10	75	159	56	116	299	342	0	8	32	5	25	26	202	251	0	0
1965	218	36	195	58	10	83	170	58	131	573	498	0	8	32	5	25	26	202	251	0	0
1966	318	38	195	67	10	98	186	91	134	573	498	0	8	33	5	25	26	202	251	0	0
1967	424	38	205	105	12	115	186	98	161	591	531	0	8	37	5	25	26	202	251	0	0
1968	471	38	305	165	25	174	186	101	188	613	531	0	21	46	16	60	40	308	295	0	0
1969	535	45	414	182	30	177	188	101	205	613	531	0	33	52	21	63	40	308	300	0	0
1970	597	48	443	218	39	301	241	104	253	619	684	0	33	62	23	68	40	324	306	0	0
1971	671	48	640	224	47	301	273	107	266	619	789	0	33	62	23	68	40	333	317	0	0
1972	808	55	471	297	47	304	332	112	286	673	794	0	33	67	23	68	40	396	330	0	0
1973	886	57	491	385	47	306	370	119	286	757	1113	0	33	79	23	68	40	399	337	0	0
1974	985	79	504	464	59	306	386	119	293	773	1113	0	33	86	25	84	40	399	344	0	0
1975	1096	79	575	659	59	306	386	119	293	773	1113	0	33	86	25	84	40	401	358	0	0
1976	1233	85	575	988	59	338	396	124	320	852	1263	0	33	86	25	84	40	401	371	0	0
1977	1318	107	579	995	59	338	408	124	320	852	1263	0	33	101	33	89	40	401	371	0	0
1978	1436	107	579	1089	59	340	418	124	378	928	1486	0	33	101	33	89	40	401	371	0	0
1979	1489	109	624	1160	67	349	434	135	383	954	1496	0	33	149	33	89	40	401	384	0	0
1980	1659	111	624	1164	67	381	446	139	408	970	1583	0	33	166	37	89	43	1071	422	0	0
1981	1796	111	799	1208	67	381	450	139	422	989	1583	0	33	166	37	89	45	1074	441	0	0
1982	1811	127	799	1228	71	415	472	139	476	1016	1596	0	33	166	37	96	51	1086	457	0	0
1983	1811	127	799	1241	71	415	499	139	476	1018	1642	0	33	166	37	96	54	1086	462	0	0
1984	1811	127	799	1241	71	415	499	139	476	1018	1642	0	33	166	37	96	54	1086	462	0	0
1985	1811	127	799	1241	71	415	499	139	476	1018	1642	0	33	166	37	96	54	1086	462	0	0

TABLE 3 C
Sialkot District : Cumulative Investment (Lakh Rupees)

Year	Text	Agri	Food	Grain	Tann	Chem	Mach	Iron	Mtal	Elct	Elct	Spur	Rubb	Port	Glas	Pper	Cycl	Buil	Uten	Serv	Pool
1949	0	19	13	0	0	20	16	3	2	112	0	252	0	0	0	47	62	0	40	93	0
1950	0	19	30	0	0	20	35	3	5	147	1	277	0	0	0	47	62	0	40	93	0
1951	0	19	30	0	0	20	46	3	5	147	1	281	0	0	0	47	62	0	40	93	0
1952	0	19	30	0	0	20	57	3	5	147	1	291	0	0	0	47	62	0	40	93	0
1953	0	19	91	0	0	20	63	3	5	287	1	351	0	0	0	47	62	0	40	93	0
1954	0	19	91	0	0	20	63	3	5	287	1	351	0	0	0	47	76	0	40	93	0
1955	3	19	91	0	0	54	66	3	5	297	1	357	0	0	0	47	76	0	40	93	0
1956	3	25	91	0	0	54	66	3	8	297	1	370	0	0	0	47	76	0	40	93	0
1957	3	25	91	0	0	54	82	3	8	314	1	385	0	0	0	47	76	0	40	93	0
1958	3	25	91	0	0	54	82	3	10	334	13	421	0	0	0	47	76	0	45	93	0
1959	6	25	91	0	0	54	93	3	13	420	13	431	0	0	0	64	83	0	53	93	0
1960	11	25	91	0	0	54	96	3	13	420	13	431	0	0	0	64	88	0	53	103	0
1961	11	25	91	0	0	54	106	3	14	435	13	435	0	0	0	64	95	0	61	103	0
1962	12	27	91	0	0	54	123	3	14	439	13	435	0	0	0	72	95	0	61	103	0
1963	12	37	91	0	0	54	127	3	14	465	13	441	0	0	0	72	95	0	61	103	0
1964	21	37	101	5	0	59	127	3	17	487	13	473	0	0	0	72	95	0	64	105	0
1965	25	37	101	5	0	63	137	3	17	487	13	473	0	0	0	72	95	0	64	105	0
1966	25	44	194	8	8	68	164	3	17	497	13	473	0	0	0	72	95	0	64	105	0
1967	37	51	194	33	8	91	167	13	21	497	13	473	0	0	0	72	95	0	64	105	0
1968	38	61	194	33	8	108	183	16	29	507	13	482	0	0	0	72	95	0	64	105	0
1969	63	64	198	53	8	136	186	16	33	507	13	482	0	0	0	72	95	0	64	105	0
1970	96	66	203	82	8	136	194	16	33	507	13	482	0	0	0	72	95	0	64	105	0
1971	107	66	203	82	8	141	200	20	35	530	13	503	0	0	0	72	95	0	64	105	0
1972	107	66	223	139	8	141	200	20	35	530	13	503	0	0	0	72	95	0	64	105	0
1973	117	70	223	161	19	145	206	23	33	574	17	521	0	0	0	72	95	0	64	105	0
1974	136	70	223	179	23	155	226	23	33	655	17	567	0	0	0	72	95	0	64	105	0
1975	150	72	230	326	23	155	230	23	40	806	20	612	0	0	0	115	97	0	103	267	0
1976	154	78	230	346	42	155	230	23	47	836	20	622	0	0	0	145	97	0	114	267	0
1977	154	78	235	346	42	155	230	23	49	1546	20	672	0	0	0	154	97	0	117	287	0
1978	154	78	235	350	42	177	230	35	64	1614	20	672	0	0	0	171	97	0	117	287	0
1979	165	79	268	380	42	199	234	43	97	1707	20	778	0	0	0	187	97	0	145	311	0
1980	186	91	368	405	57	236	236	43	103	1992	21	838	0	0	0	187	116	0	161	314	0
1981	203	91	394	409	57	236	260	43	115	1928	21	909	0	0	0	187	183	0	168	341	0
1982	203	100	394	420	57	236	263	43	117	2890	31	928	0	0	0	187	183	0	172	341	0
1983	203	100	394	420	57	236	272	43	117	2890	31	928	0	0	0	187	183	0	172	343	0
1984	203	100	394	420	57	236	272	43	117	2890	31	928	0	0	0	187	183	0	172	343	0
1985	203	100	394	420	57	236	272	43	120	2890	31	928	0	0	0	187	183	0	172	343	0

TABLE 3 D
Gujarat District : Cumulative Investment (Lakh Rupees)

Year	Text	Agri	Food	Gran	Tann	Chem	Mach	Iron	Mtal	Elc	Elac	Sp	Rubb	Port	Glas	Pper	Cycl	Buil	Uten	Surg	Post
1949	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	17	0	0	0	17	0	0	0	14	0	0	0
1950	0	1	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	27	0	0	0	17	0	0	0	20	0	0	0
1951	0	1	4	0	0	3	1	0	0	27	0	0	0	17	0	0	0	20	0	0	0
1952	0	1	6	0	0	3	1	0	0	27	0	0	0	17	0	0	0	20	0	0	0
1953	0	1	6	0	0	3	1	0	0	27	0	0	0	17	0	0	0	20	0	0	0
1954	0	1	6	0	0	3	1	0	0	31	0	0	0	23	0	0	0	20	0	0	0
1955	0	1	6	0	285	4	1	0	0	39	0	0	0	23	0	0	0	20	0	0	0
1956	0	1	6	0	285	4	1	0	0	39	0	0	0	23	0	0	0	20	0	0	0
1957	4	1	6	0	285	4	1	0	0	42	0	0	0	23	0	0	0	22	0	0	0
1958	4	1	9	0	285	5	1	0	0	45	0	0	0	24	0	0	0	22	0	0	0
1959	4	1	12	0	285	5	12	0	0	50	0	0	0	24	0	0	0	22	0	0	0
1960	4	3	12	0	285	5	16	0	0	50	0	0	0	24	0	0	0	22	0	0	0
1961	4	3	12	0	285	25	16	0	0	50	0	0	0	24	0	0	0	22	19	0	0
1962	4	3	137	0	285	25	16	0	0	50	0	0	0	24	0	0	0	22	19	0	0
1963	4	3	137	0	285	25	16	0	0	50	0	0	0	24	0	0	0	22	19	0	0
1964	427	3	137	0	329	49	22	12	0	62	0	0	0	34	0	0	35	27	19	0	0
1965	431	3	137	0	329	52	27	12	0	62	0	0	0	34	0	0	35	27	19	0	0
1966	431	5	150	0	329	52	27	15	0	72	0	0	0	34	0	0	35	27	19	0	0
1967	433	5	150	10	329	52	27	15	0	72	0	0	0	34	0	0	35	27	19	0	0
1968	433	5	723	25	329	56	27	19	0	84	0	0	0	38	0	0	35	33	19	0	0
1969	443	5	723	28	329	60	27	22	0	103	0	0	0	38	0	0	35	33	19	0	0
1970	446	7	856	28	329	60	41	22	0	125	2	0	0	38	0	0	35	33	19	0	0
1971	446	7	885	28	329	62	41	22	0	148	2	0	0	42	0	0	65	38	19	0	0
1972	446	7	885	40	329	62	43	26	0	179	2	0	0	42	0	0	65	40	19	0	0
1973	446	7	898	40	329	66	43	26	0	194	2	0	0	57	0	0	65	44	19	0	0
1974	452	7	902	40	329	70	43	26	0	217	2	0	0	57	0	0	65	44	19	0	0
1975	455	7	909	56	329	78	45	26	0	239	2	0	0	80	0	0	65	44	19	0	0
1976	465	10	917	56	329	85	45	26	0	342	2	0	0	100	0	0	65	49	19	0	0
1977	465	11	917	56	329	85	45	26	0	364	2	0	0	113	0	0	65	49	19	0	0
1978	465	11	919	73	334	89	48	26	0	451	2	0	0	157	0	0	66	49	19	0	0
1979	468	11	922	73	337	96	53	26	0	482	2	0	0	312	0	0	66	49	19	0	0
1980	472	14	933	73	425	99	55	61	0	511	2	0	0	376	0	0	66	68	19	0	0
1981	477	19	938	73	428	107	64	61	0	580	5	0	0	435	0	0	70	69	19	0	0
1982	481	19	968	93	428	116	66	61	0	599	5	0	0	487	0	0	70	69	19	0	0
1983	481	19	968	93	428	116	66	61	0	600	5	0	0	487	0	0	70	69	19	0	0
1984	481	19	968	93	428	116	66	61	0	601	5	0	0	487	0	0	70	69	19	0	0
1985	481	19	968	93	428	116	66	61	0	601	5	0	0	487	0	0	70	69	19	0	0

Sialkot is famous for its Sports Goods : Musical Instruments, but the industrial units though being numerous and scattered throughout the city are small. It is a large exporter of Sports Goods : Musical Instruments earning foreign exchange for the country.

In the year 1977 the number of units in the Electrical Machinery increased. The investment almost doubled than what it was in 1975 and the number of employees also increased making the industry the most important industry of the district. Besides other important industries are Machinery (except Electrical) Grain Milling, Paper, Packaging, Metals, Textile, Chemicals, Utensils, Agricultural Implements, Surgical Instruments, etc. (Tables 1 C, 2 C, 3 C).

Industrial units are scattered all over the city (Fig. 2), in *mohallas* and streets leading to congestion and unhygienic working conditions. Industrial units have been set up all along the major roads, especially Wazirabad Road, Khadim Ali Road and Daska Road. Small units are mostly located in *mohallas* and narrow streets whereas heavy and medium industrial units have been established along major roads and in the industrial estates. Keeping in view the pace of industrial development in the districts, Punjab Small Industries Corporation has set up two Industrial Estates in Sialkot and a third one in Daska.

At the time of Independence Gujrat only had 13 industrial units engaged in 5 industrial types (Table 1 D). Industrial growth was slow mostly taking place in the 70's and 80's. Industry with the largest number of industrial units is Electrical Machinery with 268 units in 1985. Second in importance is Pottery and Ceramics with 45 units, Food and Beverage 31 units and Chemicals 30 units, etc., (Table 1 D). There is an absence of Metals industry, Sports Goods : Musical Instruments, Glass and Glass Products, Surgical Instruments, Poultry Feed and Livestock.

The number of employees in the industries increased considerably in 1964 with the greatest increase in the Tannery and Leather industry when the number of workers reported were 3500 (Table 2 D) in only 3 industrial

units (Table 1 D) and the investment was also high in the same industry (Table 3 D) rising to 329 lac rupees. This was the largest industry as regards investment and employment. The next important increase was in the Cycle Parts, Tyres and Tubes industry that started in 1964 with 2000 workers in just one industry unit (Tables 2 D and 1 D). The industry coming up third in importance was the textile industry followed by Electrical Machinery, Food and Beverage, (Tables 2 D and 1 D). In the year 1970 all industries showed a marked increase in the number of units and workers as well as investment (Tables 1 D, 2 D, 3 D). The greatest investment in the district is in the Food and Beverage industry followed by Electrical Machinery industry (Table 3D). Pottery and Ceramics, Textiles, Tannery and Leather, Chemicals, Grain Milling, Cycle Parts, Tyres and Tubes, Building Material, Machinery except Electrical, (Table 3 D).

Gujrat infact has some of the largest sized industry units of the four districts in the industrial estate besides having small and medium sized industry scattered all over the city (Fig. 2). It is also clear from the figure that the industrial concentration is also not as large as that of the Sialkot and Gujranwala cities.

Capital Per Employee

Tables 4 A, B, C, D all show very low capital per employee in 1949 for the districts of Sialkot, Gujranwala, and Gujrat and a complete absence of industrialisation in Sheikhpura district where it actually started in 1952 in Tannery and Leather, Chemicals and Metals sector (Table 6 A). Of these the metal industry grew up showing the highest capital per employee of 11.2 besides the growth of a number of other small industries (Table 6 A). There had been low capital per employee increase in most of the industries and the metal industry which in 1969 had the highest capital per employee ceased to exist thereafter. There is an increase in the number of industries but the capital per employee is very low with the highest in 1981 of 3.4 in Chemicals, 2.6 in Textiles and 2.5 in Ceramics and Pottery. In 1982 all these three industries show decline and Glass and Glass Products, Paper and Packaging show increase with capital per employee of 6.3 and 2.5. But the capital per

employee of 26.8 in the Chemical industry in 1983 shows the highest figure for any industry so far in Sheikhpura or other districts supporting the fact that the industry is the largest than any other found in the four districts.

Gujranwala had only two industries in 1949 with very low capital per employee of 0.9 in Metals and 0.3 in Cycle Parts, Tyres and Tubes (Table 4 B). Number of industries increased in 1950 and thereafter but the capital per employee remained very low. In 1954 the Electrical Accessories and Equipment showed the highest capital per employee of 5.0 increasing to 7.5 in 1963 but declining in the latter years and increasing to 12.0 in 1976 and declining again in 1977 (Table 4 B). The decreasing capital per employee shows that the size of the industry is decreasing.

In 1949 Sialkot had Sports Goods : Musical Instruments and Cycle Parts, Tyres and Tubes industries. Types of industries increased in the latter years with the capital per employee remaining low (Table 4 C). With all other industries showing low capital per worker the Cycle Parts, Tyres and Tubes show rise to 3.5 in 1982.

Gujrat had only the Electrical machinery industry in 1949 (Table 4 D) with a low capital per worker. The highest capital per employee of 8.8 was attained by the Tannery and Leather industry in 1980 and 5.0 by the Food and Beverage industry in 1982. Other significant industries are Paper, Packaging, Pottery and Ceramics, Machinery (except Electrical) Chemicals, Grain Milling, Agricultural Implements and Textiles.

Average Size of the Units by Employees

The average size of industries seem to be declining in most except a few industries in the four districts (Tables 5 A , B, C, D). Those showing no decline by size of employees are Electrical Machinery, Glass and Glass Products, Paper, Packaging, Poultry and Livestock feed. The decline in average size is the result of the nationalisation of Industries in the 70's that led to resistance in further capital deepening and resynthesis of functions so that the industry invariably got small in scale. Assembly industries are an important example and even though certain Assembly industries such as the

TABLE 5 A
Sheikhpura : Average Size of Units by Employees

Year	Text	Agri	Food	Grain	Tann	Chem	Mach	Iron	Metal	Elctr	Elctr	Spor	Rubb	Post	Glas	Pper	Cycl	Buil	Utens	Surg	Fertil
1949	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1950	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1951	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1952	0	0	0	0	35	57	0	0	150	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1953	0	0	0	0	37	37	0	0	150	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1954	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	150	530	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1955	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	150	530	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1956	0	0	0	20	37	27	0	0	150	530	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1957	0	0	0	20	37	27	0	0	150	530	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1958	0	0	0	12	33	27	0	0	150	530	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1959	0	0	0	8	33	27	0	0	150	530	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	0	0	5	8	37	27	0	0	150	530	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	5	8	37	27	0	0	150	530	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1962	292	0	5	8	37	27	0	0	150	530	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1963	292	0	5	9	37	27	0	0	150	530	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1964	278	0	5	8	35	33	292	0	150	530	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1965	282	19	79	8	35	29	292	0	150	530	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	258	0	0	0
1966	362	19	65	8	34	168	292	46	150	530	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	258	0	0	0
1967	362	19	103	8	34	173	292	46	150	530	172	0	0	0	0	0	0	258	0	0	0
1968	386	19	103	9	34	163	213	46	150	530	103	0	0	0	0	0	0	258	0	0	0
1969	351	19	103	8	34	163	213	46	150	530	103	0	0	0	0	0	0	258	0	0	0
1970	243	19	80	8	34	133	213	46	138	530	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	258	0	0	0
1971	221	16	75	8	34	154	213	46	138	530	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	258	0	0	0
1972	217	16	102	8	34	133	213	63	138	530	97	0	0	0	0	0	0	132	0	0	0
1973	201	16	102	10	34	123	213	63	138	530	101	0	0	0	20	42	0	101	0	0	0
1974	177	16	88	9	35	116	213	63	138	530	89	0	0	0	20	42	0	81	0	0	0
1975	181	15	78	9	65	118	213	58	138	530	85	0	0	0	20	48	0	71	0	0	21
1976	175	15	75	9	61	105	213	58	138	530	77	0	0	0	20	48	0	63	0	0	21
1977	175	15	75	9	61	98	213	58	138	530	76	0	0	0	20	48	0	65	0	0	21
1978	189	15	57	8	63	98	213	58	138	530	75	0	0	0	20	48	0	48	0	0	21
1979	176	15	47	8	60	98	213	54	138	530	70	0	0	0	20	47	0	48	0	0	21
1980	183	15	48	9	60	81	213	54	138	530	65	0	0	0	160	53	14	48	0	0	12
1981	173	15	45	9	57	75	137	50	138	530	60	0	0	0	160	53	14	46	0	0	22
1982	170	13	44	9	55	71	105	44	138	530	59	0	0	0	160	53	14	38	0	0	22
1983	173	13	44	9	53	69	107	44	138	530	59	0	0	0	160	53	14	35	0	0	22
1984	173	13	44	9	53	69	107	44	138	530	59	0	0	0	160	53	14	35	0	0	22
1985	173	13	44	9	53	69	107	44	138	530	59	0	0	0	160	53	14	35	0	0	22

TABLE 5B
Gujranwala : Average Size of Units by Employees

Year	Text	Agri	Food	Gran	Tann	Chem	Mach	Iron	Mtal	Elcnc	Elac	Spor	Rubb	Post	Glas	Pper	Cycl	Buil	Uten	Surg	Foul
1949	14	24	820	0	0	0	31	18	12	348	61	0	0	0	0	4	13	7	17	0	0
1950	16	14	411	6	0	0	33	18	14	216	61	0	0	0	0	4	13	10	16	0	0
1951	16	14	411	6	0	0	33	18	14	216	61	0	0	0	0	4	13	10	16	0	0
1952	15	14	276	6	0	0	33	18	12	216	149	0	0	0	0	4	13	10	15	0	0
1953	15	14	276	6	0	0	31	18	12	216	112	0	9	0	0	4	131	10	14	0	0
1954	14	14	276	6	0	19	27	11	12	183	92	0	9	0	0	4	131	9	15	0	0
1955	14	14	276	6	0	19	26	11	12	183	92	0	9	0	0	62	131	23	15	0	0
1956	14	14	209	6	0	19	26	11	12	183	92	0	9	0	0	62	131	23	15	0	0
1957	14	14	209	6	0	19	26	10	12	183	76	0	9	0	0	108	131	25	15	0	0
1958	14	14	209	6	0	19	26	10	12	164	76	0	9	0	0	108	131	30	14	0	0
1959	14	14	168	6	0	19	26	10	12	164	76	0	9	26	0	108	131	30	14	0	0
1960	13	14	106	6	0	13	26	12	11	141	67	0	9	26	6	108	131	26	14	0	0
1961	13	14	106	6	0	13	25	11	12	130	67	0	9	44	6	108	131	30	15	0	0
1962	12	14	95	6	0	13	23	11	11	130	67	0	9	37	6	108	131	31	14	0	0
1963	12	14	79	6	13	12	23	11	11	130	62	0	9	34	6	108	131	29	15	0	0
1964	12	14	72	7	11	12	22	11	11	130	62	0	9	30	6	108	131	27	15	0	0
1965	12	14	81	7	11	10	22	11	11	104	51	0	9	30	6	108	131	26	15	0	0
1966	13	13	81	7	11	8	25	24	23	104	51	0	9	26	6	108	131	26	14	0	0
1967	12	13	70	8	11	8	25	23	23	91	39	0	9	21	6	67	74	26	14	0	0
1968	12	13	68	8	9	9	25	22	22	78	39	0	9	17	6	40	74	26	14	0	0
1969	12	11	72	9	9	9	26	22	21	78	39	0	8	15	7	37	74	25	14	0	0
1970	12	11	69	9	9	9	25	21	19	75	35	0	8	12	6	31	74	25	14	0	0
1971	12	11	63	9	9	9	24	20	19	75	35	0	8	12	6	31	74	25	14	0	0
1972	12	10	60	9	9	9	24	19	18	67	32	0	8	12	6	31	74	25	14	0	0
1973	12	10	58	10	9	9	24	18	18	63	34	0	8	12	6	29	74	24	13	0	0
1974	11	10	54	9	8	9	23	18	18	59	34	0	8	11	6	26	74	24	13	0	0
1975	11	10	45	13	8	9	23	18	18	55	32	0	8	11	6	28	74	24	13	0	0
1976	10	10	45	12	8	9	23	18	18	54	31	0	8	11	6	27	74	24	13	0	0
1977	10	10	44	12	8	9	22	18	18	49	30	0	8	11	6	27	74	24	13	0	0
1978	10	10	44	12	8	9	22	18	17	47	29	0	8	11	6	27	74	26	13	0	0
1979	10	10	41	12	8	8	20	17	17	43	29	0	8	11	6	27	60	26	13	0	0
1980	10	10	41	12	8	8	20	16	17	40	28	0	8	11	6	27	51	25	13	0	0
1981	11	10	42	12	8	8	19	16	17	38	28	0	8	11	6	25	36	25	13	0	0
1982	11	10	42	12	8	8	18	16	16	36	27	0	8	11	6	25	33	25	14	0	0
1983	11	10	42	12	8	8	18	16	16	36	26	0	8	11	6	25	33	25	14	0	0
1984	11	10	42	12	8	8	18	16	16	36	26	0	8	11	6	25	33	25	14	0	0
1985	11	10	42	12	8	8	18	16	16	36	26	0	8	11	6	25	33	25	14	0	0

TABLE 5 C
Sialkot : Average Size of Units by Employees

Year	Text	Agri	Food	Grain	Tann	Chem	Mach	Iron	Metal	Elc	Elc	Sp	Rubo	Foot	Glas	Pper	Cycl	Build	Utens	Surg	Pool
1949	0	17	4	0	0	16	7	6	8	148	0	12	0	0	0	5	14	4	19	14	0
1950	0	17	5	0	0	16	6	6	7	116	9	12	0	0	0	5	14	4	19	14	0
1951	0	17	5	0	0	16	6	6	7	116	9	13	0	0	0	5	14	4	19	14	0
1952	0	17	5	0	0	16	7	6	7	116	9	13	0	0	0	5	14	4	19	14	0
1953	0	17	8	0	0	16	7	6	7	137	9	13	0	0	0	5	14	4	19	14	0
1954	0	17	8	0	0	16	7	6	7	137	9	13	0	0	0	5	21	4	19	14	0
1955	5	17	8	0	0	15	7	6	7	129	9	13	0	0	0	5	21	4	19	14	0
1956	5	15	8	0	0	15	7	6	6	129	9	13	0	0	0	5	21	4	19	14	0
1957	5	15	8	0	0	15	9	6	6	130	9	13	0	0	0	5	21	4	19	14	0
1958	5	15	8	0	0	15	9	6	6	134	23	13	0	0	0	5	21	4	19	14	0
1959	7	15	8	0	0	15	9	6	9	117	23	13	0	0	0	5	21	4	16	14	0
1960	5	15	8	0	0	15	8	6	10	109	23	14	0	0	0	5	21	4	14	14	0
1961	5	15	8	0	0	15	8	6	10	109	23	14	0	0	0	5	18	4	14	14	0
1962	5	14	8	0	0	15	8	6	10	97	23	14	0	0	0	5	18	4	14	14	0
1963	5	12	8	0	0	15	8	6	10	94	23	14	0	0	0	5	18	4	13	13	0
1964	6	12	7	22	0	24	8	6	10	86	23	14	0	0	0	5	18	4	13	13	0
1965	6	12	31	22	0	21	8	6	9	81	23	15	0	0	0	5	18	4	17	13	0
1966	6	12	31	15	18	18	8	6	9	79	23	15	0	0	0	5	18	7	16	13	0
1967	7	11	31	11	18	16	8	5	9	77	23	16	0	0	0	5	17	7	16	13	0
1968	6	10	31	9	18	16	8	11	10	73	23	16	0	0	0	5	17	7	30	13	0
1969	7	9	28	9	18	18	8	10	10	68	23	16	0	0	0	5	17	7	28	13	0
1970	7	9	27	9	18	15	8	10	10	63	23	16	0	0	0	5	17	7	28	28	0
1971	9	9	27	9	18	15	7	10	10	61	19	16	0	0	0	5	17	8	28	28	0
1972	9	9	25	9	18	14	7	18	10	50	19	16	0	0	0	5	17	8	26	28	0
1973	9	9	25	7	12	13	7	18	10	57	19	16	0	0	0	5	17	8	25	30	0
1974	8	9	25	7	12	14	7	18	10	54	19	16	0	0	0	5	17	8	24	26	0
1975	9	9	21	7	12	14	7	18	9	50	16	15	0	0	0	5	17	8	26	26	0
1976	9	9	21	7	12	14	7	18	10	48	16	16	0	0	0	5	17	8	25	26	0
1977	9	9	20	7	12	14	7	18	10	46	16	16	0	0	0	5	17	8	25	26	0
1978	9	9	20	7	12	14	7	15	10	43	16	17	0	0	0	5	17	8	24	26	0
1979	9	9	18	7	12	13	7	14	11	40	16	17	0	0	0	5	17	7	22	26	0
1980	8	8	91	7	47	13	8	14	11	36	15	17	0	0	0	5	20	8	21	27	0
1981	9	8	78	7	47	13	8	14	11	35	16	17	0	0	0	5	18	8	20	26	0
1982	9	9	74	7	47	13	8	14	10	34	13	17	0	0	0	5	18	8	19	26	0
1983	9	9	74	7	47	13	8	14	10	34	13	17	0	0	0	5	18	8	19	26	0
1984	9	9	74	7	47	13	8	14	10	34	13	17	0	0	0	5	18	8	19	26	0
1985	9	9	74	7	47	13	8	14	10	34	13	17	0	0	0	5	18	8	19	26	0

TABLE 5 D
Gujarat : Average Size of Units by Employees

Year	Text	Agri	Food	Gran	Tann	Chem	Mach	Iron	Mtrai	Elinc	Elac	Spor	Rubb	Post	Glas	Pper	Cycl	Buil	Utren	Surg	Poul
1949	0	0	0	0	0	5	7	0	0	17	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	10	0	0	0
1950	0	5	0	0	0	5	7	0	0	18	0	0	0	12	0	3	0	10	0	0	0
1951	0	5	18	0	0	5	7	0	0	18	0	0	0	12	0	3	0	10	0	0	0
1952	0	5	11	0	0	5	7	0	0	18	0	0	0	12	0	3	0	10	0	0	0
1953	0	5	11	0	0	5	7	0	0	18	0	0	0	12	0	3	0	10	0	0	0
1954	0	5	11	0	300	5	7	0	0	17	0	0	0	12	0	3	0	10	0	0	0
1955	0	5	11	0	300	6	7	0	0	18	0	0	0	8	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
1956	0	5	11	0	300	6	7	0	0	18	0	0	0	8	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
1957	10	5	11	0	300	6	7	0	0	18	0	0	0	8	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
1958	10	5	10	0	300	6	7	0	0	18	0	0	0	8	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
1959	10	5	9	0	300	7	7	0	0	17	0	0	0	7	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
1960	10	4	9	0	300	7	14	0	0	17	0	0	0	7	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
1961	10	4	9	0	300	7	12	0	0	17	0	0	0	7	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
1962	10	4	37	0	300	10	12	0	0	17	0	0	0	7	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
1963	10	4	37	0	300	9	12	0	0	17	0	0	0	7	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
1964	453	4	37	0	1166	11	10	7	0	16	0	0	0	9	0	3	2000	0	0	0	0
1965	307	4	37	0	1166	10	8	7	0	16	0	0	0	9	0	3	2000	0	0	0	0
1966	307	4	34	0	1166	10	8	6	0	14	0	0	0	9	0	3	2000	10	0	0	0
1967	231	4	34	18	1166	10	8	6	0	14	0	0	0	8	0	3	2000	10	0	0	0
1968	231	4	173	16	1166	10	8	9	0	14	0	0	0	8	0	3	2000	10	0	0	0
1969	135	4	173	16	1166	10	8	8	0	12	0	0	0	8	0	3	2000	10	0	0	0
1970	107	3	118	16	1166	10	7	8	0	12	10	0	0	8	0	6	1600	10	0	0	0
1971	107	3	91	16	1166	9	7	8	0	11	10	0	0	7	0	6	1600	10	0	0	0
1972	107	3	82	15	1166	9	7	7	0	10	10	0	0	7	0	6	1600	10	0	0	0
1973	107	3	72	15	1166	9	7	7	0	10	10	0	0	8	0	6	1600	10	0	0	0
1974	89	3	69	15	1166	9	7	7	0	9	10	0	0	8	0	5	1600	10	0	0	0
1975	88	3	66	13	1166	9	7	7	0	9	10	0	0	8	0	5	1600	10	0	0	0
1976	68	3	64	13	1166	9	7	7	0	9	10	0	0	9	0	5	1600	10	0	0	0
1977	68	3	64	13	1166	9	7	7	0	8	10	0	0	9	0	5	1600	10	0	0	0
1978	68	3	61	15	879	9	7	7	0	8	10	0	0	42	0	5	1069	0	0	0	0
1979	64	3	59	15	704	9	7	7	0	8	10	0	0	33	0	5	1069	0	0	0	0
1980	61	3	56	15	588	9	7	13	0	8	10	0	0	27	0	5	804	0	0	0	0
1981	55	4	54	15	505	9	6	13	0	8	8	0	0	26	0	5	804	0	0	0	0
1982	51	4	53	15	505	9	6	13	0	8	8	0	0	26	0	5	804	0	0	0	0
1983	51	4	53	15	505	9	6	13	0	8	8	0	0	26	0	5	804	0	0	0	0
1984	51	4	53	15	505	9	6	13	0	8	8	0	0	26	0	5	804	0	0	0	0
1985	51	4	53	15	505	9	6	13	0	8	8	0	0	26	0	5	804	0	0	0	0

Electrical Machinery industry in Sheikhpura is very large and capital intensive, it is often tied in to surrounding constellations of relatively small labour intensive units and specialised subcontractors.

Industries with a vertical and horizontal disintegration of function like the Sports Goods in Sialkot, Electrical Machinery in Gujrat, Textile in Gujranwala have strong incentives to converge locationally towards their own center of gravity. The result of this is the appearance of intensive foci of industrial activity (Fig. 2). It also means that the institutional barriers to the growth of small firms have been created so that the units must remain small if they are to avoid paying higher wage rates.

As the growth of small firms is an objective of public policy it illustrates the importance of taking action to reduce the economic effects of imperfections in the labour markets faced by large firms and to increase the opportunities for expansion and growth that are available to small firms.

The strongest arguments for support for small firms are concerned not with efficiency over the short run but with equity, the dynamics of development and efficiency over the long run. Small forms require much less capital per unit of output than large firms and they use marginal labour more efficiently. They provide a path of upward mobility for both the owners and the employees of the firms. Support for small firms has resulted in an increase in employment and in increased incomes of the lower-income groups in all four district.

Small firms have also resulted in an increased rate of innovation of new products and production processes suited to the supply of capital, labour and material inputs. Loans provided by the banks to small scale industries has led the industry to decrease in size.

Industrial Units by Employee Size

In the districts of Sheikhpura, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gujrat, Gujranwala has the largest number of industrial units (Table 1) numbering 1100, Sialkot 650, Gujrat 503 and Sheikhpura 395. Gujranwala has 683

industries with 10 and less employees (Table 6 A) and only two with >600 employees. So the maximum number of industries are those employing less than 10 workers. Similarly Sialkot, Gujrat, Sheikhpura all have the largest number of industries with upto 10 employees (Table 6 A Fig. 2). But the industries with 31-60 employees are largest in number in the Sheikhpura district and those employing >600 are greatest in number in the Gujrat district. On the whole Gujrat has the most of the smallest sized industrial units. Industries in Sheikhpura are larger in size as compared to the other three districts (Table 6 A and Fig. 2).

Sheikhpura district with rich agricultural land has most industries carrying on Grain Milling (Table 6 B). The size of the industries is small having employees between 0-10. Another industry falling in the same employment size is the Food and Beverage with 39 industrial units. The Textile industry exists in all employment sizes and infact the largest number of industrial units employing >600 is the textile industry.

TABLE 6 A
Number of Industrial Units by Employee Size

	Sheikhpura	Gujranwal	Sialkot	Gujrat
0-10	145	683	406	386
11-30	124	344	189	103
31-60	49	36	38	2
61-100	22	16	7	1
101-150	10	11	4	3
151-300	21	6	3	1
301-450	8	2	1	0
451-600	10	0	0	0
> 600	6	2	2	7

Sialkot with 67 industrial units and employment between 0-10 in the Grain Milling industry is another agricultural area of the Punjab. Other industries with employment between 0-10 are Machinery (except Electrical) 66 units, Electrical Machinery 45 units, Sports Goods and Musical Instruments 42 units, Paper, Packaging 41 units, and Textile 30 units, (Table 6 B). So the largest number of industrial units in Sialkot are those that have an employment of 0-10. In other words the industry size is basically small and has only 2 industrial units with >600 employees. One of them is in Food and Beverage and the other in Electrical Machinery.

Gujrat has in the 0-10 employment size the greatest number of industrial units in Electrical Machinery numbering 233, Pottery and Ceramics 28, Food and Beverage 25. The largest number of industrial units are in the Electrical Machinery and all fall in the smallest employment size. Industry with >600 employees is Tannery and Leather having 2 industrial units, Cycle Parts, Tyres and Tubes 2 units, Pottery and Ceramics 1 unit, Food and Beverage 1 unit and Textile 1. Infact Gujrat has the largest number of industry with an employment >600 amongst all the four districts. It is characteristic of Gujrat that it either has very small or very large industrial units.

Gujranwala has the largest number of industrial units with employment of 0-10. Out of 683 units (Table 6 A) in this size, 242 alone are in the Textile industry (Table 6 B). It has 70 units in Grain Milling, 48 in Utensils, 42 in Machinery (except Electrical), 38 in Metals. Most of the industry in Gujranwala fall in the employment size 0-10 and 11-30, and has only two units with >600 employees; one is in Food and Beverage and the other in Electrical Machinery. On the whole Gujranwala has the largest number of industries of the four districts in the employment size of 0-10. The district's industrial employment is highly concentrated in only one or a few industries. The computed statistics for each of the districts from 1949 to 1985 are given in Tables 4 A, B, C, D and 6 A, B.

There is no reason to expect each of the districts to have units in all of the industries. Looking at the specialisation pattern of districts, with the help

of units employees and districts, industrial pattern is from that of the other as a whole. A comparison of statistics for 1949 and 1985 also suggests whether the districts industrial pattern has become more diversified or concentrated over the period. The reason, however, as to why a diversified structure of a district is considered encouraging lies in the fact that the industries have direct as well as indirect linkages with each other, and, therefore, existence of a large number of directly or indirectly interconnected industries is considered to provide a better potential for overall industrial growth of the district, than a narrow base consisting of one or a few industries. Statistically also it has been found that districts with a diversified industrial structure are also the ones which have the highest level of industrial activity. In fact, this relationship is found to hold consistently across the four districts and is evident from a highly significant specialisation and number of industrial employees in each district. Sheikhpura district specialises in Chemicals, Metals and Glass and Glass Products; Gujranwala in Textiles, Utensils, Electrical Accessories and Equipment; Sialkot in Electrical Machinery, Sports Goods, Musical Instruments and Surgical Instruments; Gujrat in Electrical Machinery, Pottery and Ceramics.

Thus vertical disintegration has brought into being large numbers of small specialised firms with limited capacities for growth. Increases in the extent of the market is associated not just with vertical disintegration but rising levels of horizontal disintegration too. That is both the variety and number of firms have (tended though not without exception) to increase. As a corollary, industrial complex have been engendered in the form of a sectorally stratified cluster of firms with many detailed and changing transactional relations among its different levels (Coase 1937; Holmes 1986; Richardson 1972) in all the four large industrial cities.

These transactional relations are frequently intricate and multifarious, ranging as they do from material input-output flows, through subcontracting partnerships, to detailed exchanges of information and face-to-face contacts. They also have onerous geographically dependent costs attached to them. The greater the magnitude of these costs per unit of transactional activity, the

greater is the likelihood that particular types of producers converge toward their own centre of gravity. This tendency is more pronounced where some particular kinds of transactions have characteristics that intensify their cost. The result is the appearance of intense foci of economic production in the industrial estates.

Industrial establishments that are small in scale, produce unstandardized outputs in small batches, and face unstable markets. Such establishments are also likely to be strongly marked by vertical and horizontal disintegration. The combined effect of these organizational and transactional relations has encouraged intense geographical as well as functional association among producers. In other words, under these sorts of conditions, producers (whether engaged in manufacturing or office and service activities) tend to locate near to one another so as to cut the costs of external transactional activity (Goddard 1973; Mock 1976). The heavy costs of much transactional activity enforces considerable agglomeration of producers (Fig. 2).

In these ways, intensely developed clusters of producers have developed on the landscape of the four districts and with the growth of markets the clusters themselves have grown in size and become increasingly internally differentiated (Fig. 2). Very often the pressures on particular types of industrial units to locate in close proximity to one another are so strong that they actually locate in very restricted part of the city, thus creating functionally specialised districts or colonies, e.g., Textile and Electronic industry of Gujranwala. Pottery and Machinery industry of Gujrat, Surgical and Sports industry of Sialkot and Chemical, Tannery and Glass industry of Sheikhupura. On such terrains as these, industrial invention and innovation find subsistence. Any one cluster or agglomeration of producers constitutes a rich stock of organizational complexities within which new specialised firms can find accommodating niches. Further, the experienced entrepreneurs and workers in the local area are optimally positioned to seize on any new business or technical opportunity when it becomes economically feasible. Hence, so long as technical and social conditions give rise to easily

appropriable opportunities at the margins of current practices, much new economic activity is likely to be created. This occurs by 'Spins off' in both vertical and horizontal directions. The textile industry of Gujranwala is an outstanding center of such industrial invention, innovation, and spin-off, just as the electronics industry of Gujrat has many of the same characteristics.

Organizational fragmentation and locational convergence of producers is observable today both in the long-established Metallurgical and Assembly industries of Gujrat and in the newer high technology industrial complexes of Sheikhupura, Gujranwala and Sialkot. Each of these patterns of industrial agglomeration is associated with characteristic urban forms. More specifically, disintegration and clustering are typical of such urban industries as Textiles, Electrical Machinery, Sports Goods : Musical Instruments (except Electrical). The degree of breakdown and interconnection within these sectors is often so great that they have formed specialised industrial quarters within the cities. It is found that the functional core of the urban industrial complex is constituted by a dominant central pole of activity with many transactional ramifications, such as the industry in Sheikhupura, in Gujranwala, in Sialkot and in Gujrat. It is, however, by no means always necessarily the case that urban growth will be positioned on such a dominant pole, and sometimes the urban process flourishes where only small-scale disintegrated industries occur. By the same token, it is indeed possible, already noted by Pred (1965) and Smolensky and Ratajczak (1965), for major urban centres to appear in areas that lack a significant natural resource base.

Any particular city may contain several different overlapping complexes (as for example), in the case of the Textile industries of Gujranwala all held together locationally by reason of the stock of urbanisation economic that they jointly call into being. In addition, complexes in one city are invariably connected to complexes in other cities, and so the whole urban system becomes locked together within a structure of long distance multiplier effects, input-output relations, and information flows [Hermansen 1972, Pred 1977].

As a result of these forces, nucleated complexes of industrial production are appearing at various locations on the landscape, and growing together for, e.g., Kalashahkaku, Muridke, Daska and Wazirabad. Nevertheless, these agglomerations of economic activity are not yet fully and finally urban, for to be so, they must be complemented by a working population together with all the emergent effects that are set in motion as that population sets about the task of occupying a residential space.

URBANISATION

Industrial complexes do not grow indefinitely, and units of industrial production do not always continue to locate within them. Some decentralisation of industry away from major foci of production has been observable. In recent decades, such decentralisation has become a flood tide in the Punjab with important consequences for the course of urban and regional development. In particular there has been much recent growth in the geographical spaces that separate big cities from one another.

In brief, the high land prices, high wages, high taxes and recalcitrant labour of many central complexes have driven establishments (both new and old) to peripheral areas. If the labour processes in these establishments have been deskilled, they are all the more likely to seek out cheap labour at scattered hinterland sites; or, indeed anywhere where historical and geographical circumstances have created reservoirs of underemployed people. These tendencies to decentralisation are further accentuated by the improvements in transport and communications technologies that have gone on steadily with the course of time.

Specialised units of production are emerging in the Sheikhpura district. Industrial units have located preferentially in close proximity to metropolitan business of Lahore. Here they perform in many ways like much urban manufacturing activity. They have a strong tendency to vertical disintegration (hence their strong association with broad constellations of business service functions), they are tightly interlinked within intricate transactional structures, and they cluster closely together within the geographical area of

the metropolis. Even within these business complexes, there is a tendency for sub-nuclei of specialised activities to form around locally intense transactional structures, as Gad (1979) and Goddard (1973) among others have demonstrated.

It is occasionally the case that new industrial complexes (and hence new patterns of urbanisation) are springing up at formerly undeveloped sites. This has been specially the case with the rise of the new high technology growth centres of Sheikhpura, Kalashahkaku, Muridke, Industrial estate north of Gujranwala and Sialkot. These new centres exert strong competitive pressures on the older industrial complexes in the centre of the cities.

The growth of dense complexes of economic activity on the landscape of the four districts has brought in its train the localized growth of large satellite populations. These populations supply the labour skills and human attributes necessary for the functional continuity of production. Agglomeration of jobs have resulted in parallel clusters of workers, and these labour reserves have attracted more jobs into central agglomeration of the four large industrial cities. In this manner, the cities have emerged and the urban processes and forms taken place.

By its very nature industrial cities represent a field of conflicting and centrifugal pressures. Nowhere are these effects more evident than in the urban arena. Thus each industrial city of the district is marked by a specific local history that is shot through with the peculiarities of place and locale; and each city is also invariably internally subdivided into communities and neighbourhoods [Fincher 1984; Harris 1984; Foster 1986].

One of the most important aspects of the growth of the industrial cities in the Sheikhpura, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gujrat districts over the last few years has been their reception of immigrants drawn in to their expanding employment base. The low-wage unskilled labour needs of the industrialising districts have continually been overcome in this way. Wherever historical and geographical circumstances might have created population migration, the resulting streams of migrants have time and again been eventually caught up

in the functional orbit of industrial urban centres. In this way, over the years, migrant populations have moved in, and continue to move in, to the manufacturing industries and industries of the growing centres in the districts. A scrutiny of recent data reveals that much of this latter movement has been directed to the high-technology centres of Sheikhupura, Kalashahkaku, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gujrat.

As these populations become embroiled in the daily activity patterns of the city, they form dense segregated neighbourhoods close to those foci of employment where unskilled low-wage jobs abound. Such foci have characteristically been located in old inner city areas, but now with the development of peripheral industrial complexes, they are also increasingly to be found in the sub-urban areas and in newer growth centres.

The great increase in the size of the cities of Sheikhupura, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gujrat is pre-eminently a contingent outcome of labour market needs and pressures. These involve the recreation over and over again of pools of cheap and malleable labour (including women and adolescents) suitable for employment in the disintegrated complexes of labour-intensive manufacturing and service industries that cluster within the cities.

The results of these various developments have been dramatic. On the one hand, older cities centres give evidence of a deepening social and labour market segmentation characterised by (1) increasing white-collar management and control functions and other office and service activities (2) the movement of immigrant labour into secondary labour market positions in both manufacturing and services and (3) the steady increase of skilled and unskilled jobs as industries increase. On the other hand, new growth cycles, complex formation and urbanisation are now starting to appear at certain highly selected locations within the industrial districts at the emergent high-technology industrial complexes of Sheikhupura, Kalashahkaku, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gujrat. So too are the many new growth centres such as Kalashahkaku, Muridke, Wazirabad, Daska, Pasrur, Hafizabad and Shah Kot. In all of these cases new rounds of local history (based on growth in the context of the capital labour relation) are beginning anew. It largely remains

to be seen what particular articulations of class, community and locale will eventually crystallise out in each case. But the locations and patterns of industries from Sheikhpura to Gujrat and Sialkot support the fact that it might soon become one big industrial area when the interstitial places between the industrial towns clinging to the Grand Trunk Road and the railway line is filled in.

CONCLUSION

Since the early 1960's significant gains have occurred in the districts, industrial units, employment and investment. An analysis of industrial patterns suggests that districts infrastructure, as measured by city size and availability of industrial sites and markets rather than labour supply alone, is important in accounting for development levels.

Access to highways is also a contributing factor. Along major roads and the Grand Trunk Road industrial units cling to transport arteries as to a life support system. The new and expanded towns are the planned industrial estates, away from the built up cities, have attracted a range of modern industry. Since they are selected partly with an eye to intra and inter-regional communications and access to markets and offer modern premises and the pick of mobile labour, these industrial estates with particularly large industries are impressive, with a bias towards growth sectors.

The emergence of agglomerated complexes of productive activity creates a dependant process of population growth and differentiation. The need for large quantities of labour within these complexes draws masses of people into their functional orbits. These individuals must be housed at locations that are accessible to place of work. Thus dense residential districts have sprung up in tiers around major employment nodes.

Other free standing towns have a wide variety of industrial experience and specialisation. Some are old established, others are modern, some are relatively diversified and others are industry towns. After the nationalisation of industries in the mid 1970's the size of the industry decreased considerably

and the inner cities now have more than their fair share of small units in Gujranwala and Sialkot with Gujranwala having the largest number of industrial units with upto 10 employees.

Contraction too has become important in all the districts. Nearness to market and the general market constraint appear to be the most important factors both in defining the overall pattern of industrial location and in bringing about very marked concentrations of industrial activity.

The modern sector of industries, such as chemicals and engineering has experienced relatively faster growth than traditional industries. Industrial structure of all the four districts is of specialised nature. Specialisation on the basis of clusters of inter-related industry exists in all districts.

Industrialisation as a generalised process of economic activity and social integration is the basis of modern urban development. The intricate pattern of the social division of labour, the transactional structure of production and the dynamics of local labour market formation create forces that underpins the spatial pattern of urban centres.

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Book Review

Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza, *Not the Whole Truth : East Pakistan Crisis*,
(March - December, 1971) - Role of the Foreign Press,
Centre for South Asian Studies, University of the Punjab, Lahore,
Pages 402/XIV.

The above mentioned book contains the occurrence of the most important period of the Pakistan history. The creation of Bangladesh or the East Pakistan crisis that culminated in the break up of the country in 1971 has been of special interest to the students of the Pakistan politics as well as to the observers of the regional/international affairs.

The investigations carried out by interested scholars to find the rationality that contributed to the East Pakistan crisis varies in number and content. The failure of the Pakistani leadership to come in grips with the problems of the constitutional making was one of the deficiency of the statecraft. Yet another catalyst has been the gross exploitation of the Pakistani society -- both East and West by the bureaucratic structures. The most important of all being the role of the then Chief Martial Law Administrator, General Yahya Khan. The political crisis in East Pakistan became too massive for a pygmy in intellect like Yahya Khan and his comrades. His utter failure to solve the political crisis, as well as his inadequacy to provide leadership to the military machine of Pakistan in distress, confronted the nation with the most humiliation experience. Yet another dimension to the jumble of the crisis of 1971 has been highlighted by Dr. Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza in his book, *Not the Whole Truth : East Pakistan Crisis*.

According to the author, the role of the foreign press especially that of the British had a vital role in the disinformation campaign. The writer builds his arguments around the tactics that was carried by the British press to demoralize the people of Pakistan. Another intention of the foreign journalists was to boost the moral of the Indian leadership and above all to address the world opinion in such a manner so that they loose sympathy for the cause of a united Pakistan. The civil war of 1971, admittedly was an unfortunate conflict but the misinformation campaign by the foreign press made it look even worse in the eyes of he world opinion. Dr Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza after a superb effort is able to present a theme which successfully demonstrates to the reader that the British press was miles away from the cherished principles of objectivity.

Dr. Mirza in his extensive introduction which is spread over 103 pages raises some vital propositions. The author informs his reader that the project was taken by him with the intention of exposing the Indian mentality towards Pakistan as well as to establish its links with the reports of the British correspondents especially those of the *Guardian and Times*. The author's analysis is thought provoking and educates the reader regarding the real intentions of the foreign press. Dr. Mirza goes deep in the intellect of these correspondents and tries to trace out the real intentions behind the despatches, editorials, etc. The details of the assessed materials is given in Part II (Articles ; Editorials ; Interviews, News Reports and Despatches) of the book.

In part one of the book (Introduction) the author also gives the text of the Six-Point Formula and the comments of the Pakistani press -- English as well as Urdu. This is done to acquaint the reader with the adequate background of the problem. Dr. Mirza points out that even before the creation of Bangladesh the government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi started to act in a manner as to give suggestions to the leaders of East Pakistan to separate from Pakistan. For example, as the author narrates, on March 21, 1971, the Indian Prime Minister moved a resolution in the Lok Sabha (Parliament) offering unanimous support to what was described as the

'freedom struggle.' As a part of a master plan, on March 30 of the same year, the State Assemblies of Bihar and Assam adopted resolutions "urging the Indian government to recognize the provincial government to the Republic of Bangladesh." Similar numerous actions were taken to suggest that India desired a creation of an independent state in Muslim Bengal.

The author writes that there existed a massive contradiction in the publications of the foreign press concerning the situation in East Pakistan. According to Dr. Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza, "the *Times*, the *Guardian* and the *Sunday Telegraph* took the lead in presenting most virulent anti-Pakistani propaganda through their news columns and also editorials. They frequently used the name of Bangladesh without any inverted commas as a matter of principle." These British newspapers were in fact guiding the guerrilla activity in East Pakistan -- suggesting the tactics and the other means to the dissidents to undermine the authority of the Central government. The author draws a series of contradictions in the news dispatches and the editorials of these newspapers.

The hard work and dedication of Dr. Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza is reflected in the manner in which he arranged the news reports, editorials, etc. However the book could have been improved if the author had added a concluding chapter to his fine scholarly work.

The mentioned book, *Not the Whole Truth : East Pakistan Crisis* is a useful contribution to the literature of Pakistani history especially at the critical juncture of the crisis, i.e., from March to December 1971.

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B. M. Bhatia, *Pakistan's Economics Development 1947-1990*, Vanguard Books (Pvt.), Lahore, 1990, Pages 324.

Mr. Bhatia, an Indian Economist, projects a gloomy future for Pakistan's economy in the above book. His conclusions can be presented under the following heads :

- (i) Political and social disintegration of Pakistan;
- (ii) Failure of its development strategy;
- (iii) Its sectorial distortions; and
- (iv) Threats to its economic viability.

Under social and political disintegration, he analyses two events : First, the disintegration of Pakistan in 1971. According to the author, the two-nation theory which had served as the basis for India's partition in 1947 proved its own negation with the liberation of Bangladesh. In his view, "the responsibility for the disintegration must be laid at Bhutto's door and his Peoples Party who because of their own power interests, prevented the operation of the democratic process."

The second potential disaster, according to the author, is rooted in Pakistan's deep involvement in Afghan affairs. In his view the massive infiltration of lethal arms into Pakistan together with billions worth of narcotics trade backed by powerful drug mafia pose a grave danger to the country. What price Pakistan will ultimately have to pay remains to be seen but the author is convinced of its far reaching implications in the future.

Under failure of Pakistan's development strategy, the author expresses the view that the logical course of development for Pakistan should have been the creation of a strong public sector consisting of basic and key

industries which could serve as the foundation stone for the industrial superstructure for the country. Instead, he says, Pakistan chose to develop consumer goods industries. It was only in Bhutto's time that the balance tilted in favour of basic and heavy industries like steel, cement, fertiliser and oil refining. According to the author, the economic policies pursued by the Pakistan Government to promote rapid industrialisation had the untoward effect of retarding the growth rate of the economy and reducing economic welfare. In his view, the alternative strategy of developing agriculture and small scale and rural industries as the first stage in development would have yielded better dividends. The author contends that Ayub Khan's strategy of development bred serious economic inequalities and led to economic inefficiency due to misallocation of resources. Bhutto's development strategy, on the other hand, he adds, landed the country in an unrelenting inflationary spiral and abject dependence on foreign loans. In recent years, the author says, the services sector has increased faster than the commodity-producing sectors. According to the author, such growth does not represent an increase in economic prosperity and welfare of the people.

Analysing Pakistan's sectoral performance, the author points out that the steep decline in the share of agriculture in the GDP from 53 per cent in 1949-50 to 26 per cent in 1985-86 reflects not economic progress but retrogression since it was not accompanied by a corresponding transfer of labour from agriculture to the other sectors. The author goes on to reject the views of the well-known American economists, Falcon and Gotsch, who claimed that the extraordinary rate of agricultural development achieved in Pakistan in the early sixties made it a model of success for the other developing countries to emulate. He regards their views to be totally mistaken and wholly unjustified in the case of East Pakistan. In West Pakistan too, he points out, agriculture grew increasingly capitalistic during the 1960s with the result that the benefits of the green revolution were all monopolised by the big landlords and medium farmers. In his view, the vast majority of agriculturists comprising small farmers and tenant cultivators had little share in the much publicised agricultural prosperity.

Talking about Pakistan's industrial sector, the author acknowledges that in the 37 years since 1950, Pakistan recorded an impressive industrial growth rate of 7.9 per cent per annum, but quickly adds that once we go 'behind the scene', the picture assumes an altogether different colour. According to the author, Pakistan's industries are highly inefficient, capital-intensive and foreign dependent. There is no worthwhile industrial base in the country; industrial products are not cost effective; industrial employment has been too small and the pattern of industrial development has made the country highly dependent on imported machinery and industrial raw materials.

The author then takes up the contrepiece of his research about Pakistan economy's structural weaknesses which pose threats to its viability. He builds up his thesis about the non-viability of Pakistan's economy on the basis of three structural imbalances :

- (i) The external imbalance.
- (ii) The fiscal imbalance; and
- (iii) The savings-investment imbalance.

Describing the gravity of the external imbalance, the author says that the debt servicing liability of Pakistan has grown to proportions where it poses a serious threat to the viability of the economy. He points out that Pakistan has become so dependent of foreign loans that it has no means to meet its annual debt servicing liability except through further borrowing.

Analysing Pakistan's fiscal imbalance, the author notes that Government expenditure has been allowed to grow quite out of proportion to the size of the purse. That has landed the country in a growing debt; burden, both domestic and foreign and has given rise to serious inflationary pressures via recourse to deficit financing. A vicious circle has been built up whereby growing fiscal imbalance necessitates further borrowing which in turn increases the size of the imbalance by pushing up expenditure on debt servicing.

Discussing the savings-investment imbalance the author remarks that in the fourth decade of its development effort, Pakistan's saving and investment rates remain what they usually are at the point where a developing country begins its growth process. In his view, the huge remittances from abroad mostly went into consumption and only a fraction could become available for capital formation. The huge external assistance, the author adds, failed to raise the domestic rate of saving about the miserably low level of 5 per cent of the GDP. The massive borrowing to cover the gap between domestic saving and investment, he holds, has surely got Pakistan into a debt trap. Unless domestic savings can be raised substantially, which he doubts, Pakistan cannot hope to get out of the trap and achieve self-reliance.

The author has tried to reinforce his thesis about the non-viability of Pakistan's economy with the help of some economic theories of the classical economists. According to him, the logical sequence of economic development in classical economic theory is first agriculture, second industry and third services. In his view, Pakistan has reversed that order by rapidly expanding its services sector which makes the growth it has achieved unsustainable in the long run. To give further credence to his conclusion the author postulate that after the loss of one half of the country, the non-viability of the economy has begun to manifest itself despite Bhutto's belief that East Pakistan had been a drag of West Pakistan's economy and that without it Pakistan would forge ahead with great vigour. The author concludes by saying that despite the outward appearance of robust health, the structure of the Pakistan economy has been rendered so fragile that it is not sustainable for much longer.

Mr. Bhatia has taken great pains to support his thesis about the future of Pakistan's economy quoting extensively from published documents. He lists 233 references including books, official documents and articles in the bibliography. The two economists most widely quoted are Dr. Akmal Hussain and Dr. Mahbubul Haq. Unfortunately, however, the author in his obsession to prove his thesis has committed two grave errors. First, he has quoted selectively, picking up pieces which suit his thesis and ignoring the ones which do not. For instance, he quotes some unknown and unnamed

author who regarded Ayub Khan's decade of development as a "decade of decadence, oppression and loot." He agrees whole-heartedly with the critics of Pakistan economy but disagrees vehemently with those who had something good to say about it. This biased approach has marred the objectivity of his analysis and has coloured his judgement. Secondly, Mr. Bhatia has not analysed the issue of Pakistan's economic future in an international perspective. It goes without saying that almost all developing economies are confronted with economic hurdles.

Only the degree of gravity varies from country to country. Pakistan too has its quota of economic challenges. For that matter India also faces serious economic problems. But it is one thing to say that a particular country faces tough economic challenges and quite another to pronounce that its economy is non-viable.

B. A. AZHAR
Indian Economist

Statements

SOUTH ASIAN REGIONAL COOPERATION

**STATEMENT BY H.E. MR. K.K. BHARGAVA
SAARC SECRETARY GENERAL AT THE INAUGURATION OF
SAARC MEETING OF NGOS ON DRUG ABUSE PREVENTION**

Kathmandu, May 21 - 23, 1990

Minister for Home Affairs and Communications, Honourable Mr. Yoga Prasad Upadhyaya,

Dr. Desh Raj Kunwar, Chairman, Nepal Association for Drug Abuse Prevention,

Your Excellencies, Heads of Missions of SAARC Countries, Distinguished Participants, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen!

1. I have great pleasure in welcoming all of you to the SAARC Secretariat on this occasion.

2. The problem of Drug Trafficking and Drug Abuse which had plagued our societies for many decades has assumed alarming proportions in the recent years. Today the largest concentrations of drug addicts in the world is in the Asian Continent with South Asia itself being home to approximately 8 million of them. It is increasingly manifesting itself in various forms of human aberration and pose a serious threat to our civilization.

3. Identification of the causes of drug addiction and related problem of drug trafficking are crucial to combating drug abuse. Some of the factors leading to drug addiction include curiosity, ignorance of the dangers of drug

addiction, its medical and social consequences, rapid change of social structures in developing countries including the break-down of the family unit, and migration of labour into urban areas which result in the loss of traditional and cultural values and support systems. The complexity and interreliant nature of other factors such as demand and supply and economic pressures therefore necessitate a multi-pronged strategy and multinational co-operation to effectively deal with problems of drug addiction and drug trafficking. No country or society can ensure effective eradication of this menace single-handedly unless there is a commensurate reciprocal action on the other end. We can take satisfaction in the fact that the SAARC region has been ahead of thinking in other regions in so far as regional cooperation for fighting drug trafficking and drug abuse is concerned. We had decided to include this field as one of the agreed areas of cooperation as far back as in 1985. It was only in 1987 that the World Conference held at Ministerial level laid stress on regional and international cooperation in this field.

4. In its first meeting itself, the Technical Committee on Prevention of Drug Trafficking and Drug Abuse and related matters decided on eliciting support and working for active involvement of NGOs in drug abuse prevention programmes. The present meeting is the third such meeting of NGOs and is a recognition of their total and unqualified commitment to do their bit for working towards elimination of this scourge. Through your help, it will be possible to work relentlessly so that the roots of the problem can be tackled. There is the need to develop the concept of family and community participations in order to tackle effectively the drugs and related problems.

5. SAARC Cooperation in combating drug trafficking and drug abuse is an ongoing process and has been so far a success story. In its meeting in April 1987, the Technical Committee prepared a comprehensive document which provides guidelines for cooperation covering all aspects of the issue, i.e., drug law enforcement, legal framework, treatment and rehabilitation of drug addicts, education for the prevention of drug abuse and involvement of Non-Governmental organizations. It is gratifying that this action plan is now being implemented by the member countries.

6. The Fourth SAARC Summit held in Islamabad in December 1988 gave further impetus to regional cooperation in this field by declaring 1989 as the SAARC Year for Combating Drug Trafficking and Drug Abuse. The year witnessed an effective campaign launched in each member country through print and electronic media and distribution of educational material in urban and rural areas to educate people about the adverse affects of drug abuse. Workshops and Seminars were also held in member countries with a view to sensitize people to the hazards of drug abuse and drug trafficking. On December 8, 1989 messages were issued by the Heads of State or Government through electronic and print media against drug abuse which has imparted a strong political impetus to ongoing regional co-operation in the framework of SAARC for eliminating the scourge of drug abuse. An important activity in this sector related to the meeting of Legal Experts on a Regional Convention on Drug Control which was held at Colombo in February this year. A draft regional convention on drug control is now ready and is awaiting approval by the competent SAARC authorities. Earlier SAARC meeting of Legal Experts for Comparative Study of Existing Laws in the Region was held in New Delhi in December 1989. In view of the fact that legal provision varied from country-to-country both in terms of offenses and penalties prescribed, the legal experts agreed that an attempt should be made to introduce uniformity in legislation with regard to drug and substances to be controlled, the illegal activities which should be established as offenses and the quantum of punishment to be prescribed for them.

7. For above mentioned official efforts that have been made so far in the framework of SAARC to manifest themselves in the form of substantial benefits to the people of South Asia, Non-Governmental Organizations have to assume their full responsibility and play an increasing role in the important field of drug abuse prevention. NGOs are in a better position to work with the community at large because they are a tangible expression of the will of the public opinion. In this context the theme of family/community participation in drug abuse prevention selected for this meeting is of crucial importance and highly topical.

8. The NGOs can cooperate closely for creating greater awareness of the hazards of drug abuse, for facilitating exchange and sharing of information and expertise, and for working out of a set of comprehensive parameters on the basis of which member States can carry out epidemiological studies. At Islamabad Summit, there was an agreement to launch a concerted campaign suited to the situation in their respective countries. This meeting may wish to profit by a fruitful exchange the experiences of different SAARC member States in regard to the present campaigns in their respective countries.

9. A SAARC activity in which NGOs participate has the twin advantages of officials from SAARC counties being able to draw upon the knowledge and experience of the NGOS and, in turn, the NGOs getting an opportunity for fully informing themselves of the SAARC perspective and on-going cooperation activities at official level. It is perhaps in recognition of this fact that the Standing Committee of Foreign Secretaries in its meeting held in Islamabad in November 1989 directed the Technical Committees to include at least one activity in the Calendar of Activities which will involve participation of NGOs as well as professional bodies in the private sector. The Technical Committee on Prevention of Drug Trafficking and Drug Abuse is at present engaged in the preparation of a Directory of NGOs in the field of reduction of demand for drugs. I am sure such a directory will facilitate interaction between NGOs and also ensure greater coordination between Governmental agencies and NGOs in the SAARC region. The SAARC leaders recognized that the Non-Governmental Organizations have an important role to play in promoting SAARC spirit and giving impetus to regional programmes and projects. In the above context, it is a matter of great satisfaction to the SAARC Secretariat that the representatives of Non-Governmental Organizations from all the SAARC countries are participating in the meeting which His Majesty's Government of Nepal has so graciously and generously hosted.

10. I trust that the deliberations of this meeting, under the distinguished Chairmanship of Dr. Desh Raj Kunwar, will contribute to the

formulation of strategies at regional level for dealing with the drug abuse prevention problem in an effective fashion. As perhaps, the participants are aware of the fifth meeting of the Technical Committee on Prevention of Drug Trafficking and Drug Abuse is expected to be held in Karachi from 12th to 14th June. I am sure that the report of this meeting will constitute an important input for the deliberations of that meeting.

LIST OF SAARC ACTIVITIES HELD IN 1990

January

Training-Cum-Workshop on Monsoon Forecasting 8-19 January 1990, Delhi, India.

Meeting of Legal Experts to Finalize Text of Regional Convention on Drug Abuse Control. 29 January 1 February 1990, Colombo, Sri Lanka.

February

Training Course on Postal Management and International Postal Services (8 weeks) 4 February 31 March 1990, Pakistan.

Conference on Education and Women involved in Educational Areas 6-8 February 1990, Maldives.

Third Meeting of the SAARC Documentation Expert Committee, 6-7 February 1990, Kathmandu, Nepal.

Workshop on the Development of Agricultural Produce Markets, 12-16 February 1990, New Delhi, India.

SAARC 2000 : A Basic Needs Perspective 13-15 February 1990, Kathmandu, Nepal.

Workshop on use of Locally Available Material in the Development of Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Systems, 25 February 3 March 1990, Ahmedabad, India.

Other Activities (SAARC Radio Quiz) 26-27 February 1990, Pakistan.

Workshop on use of Neem for Agricultural Development 26-28 February 1990, Pakistan.

March

Meeting of SAARC Travel Voucher System and Settlement of Accounts, 15-16 March 1990, Bombay, India.

Workshop on Inland Water Transport 19-23 March 1990, Cochin, India.

- Fifth SAARC Meeting of Planners, 19-21 March 1990, Colombo, Sri Lanka.
Expert Group Meeting on Universal Primary Education, 27-29 March 1990, Kathmandu, Nepal.
Mobile Photographic Exhibition of Monuments and Natural Heritage, 27-29 March 1990, Thimphu, Bhutan.
Other Activity (Letter Writing Competition), 31 March 1990, Sri Lanka.

April

- Workshop on Ayurvedic and Homeopathic System of Medicine for the Treatment of Drug Addicts, 9-11 April 1990, New Delhi, India.

May

- Workshop on Bee Keeping, 2-8 May 1990, Pakistan.
Fourth Meeting of Governing Board of SAARC Agricultural Information Centre (SAIC), 14-15 May 1990, Dhaka, Bangladesh.
Meeting of NGOs on Drug Abuse Prevention, 21-23 May 1990, Kathmandu, Nepal.
Workshop on Improvement of Rural Services, 24-26 May 1990, Thimphu, Bhutan.

June

- Ninth Meeting of the SAARC Technical Committee on Postal Services, 4-6 June 1990, Male', Maldives.
Expert Group Meeting on Literacy, Post Literacy and Continuing Education. 16-19 June 1990, New Delhi, India.
Second Ministerial Meeting on Women in Development, 12-14 June 1990, Islamabad, Pakistan.
Sixth SAVE Committee Meeting, 19-21 June 1990, Male', Maldives.

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Chronology of Important Events

SOUTH ASIAN REGION

January to June 1990

BANGLADESH

- January 3* Pakistan's Chief of the Air Staff, Air Marshal Hakimullah, arrived in Dhaka on a six - day goodwill visit to Bangladesh.
- March 1* Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Sahabzada Yaqub Khan, left for Bangladesh and Bhutan to discuss the scheduling of the 5th SAARC summit and progress on SAARC matters with leaders of two countries.
- 6 During the talks, while taking the review of their bilateral relations, the Foreign Ministers of both countries -- Pakistan and Bangladesh -- also discussed the regional situation with special focus on the stalled SAARC summit and Kashmir.
- 26 Pakistan and Bangladesh signed an agreement in Islamabad to supply the latter with cement, clinker and grinding plant.
- 30 About 100 Fishermen died in a Boat Capsize.
- April 19* At least 21 people were killed and 1,000 injured as a tropical storm battered northern and eastern Bangladesh.
- 20 2,50,000 acres of Government lands were distributed among landless in Bangladesh.

The above Chronology has been prepared by Mr. Ahmad Ejaz, Research Assistant, Pakistan Study Centre, University of the Punjab, Lahore.

- April 22* 76 persons were killed by Tornado.
- May 3* 6 Ministers were dismissed in Bangladesh on charges of corruption.
- 11* Talks between Bangladesh and India failed over the question of repatriation of refugees.
- 25* 1,000 Bangladeshis stranded in water due to dam collapse in western Bangladesh.
- June 14* More than 50 people were injured on as police broke up in Dhaka, a demonstration against new taxes in the proposed national budget.
- 28* President Hussain Muhammad Ershad left for Beijing on a five-day visit to China.

BIHUTAN

- January 31* King Jigme Wangchuck arrived New Delhi on a five-day visit to India.

INDIA

- January 3* A representative of Indian Government declared that India would not agree to plebiscite in Held Kashmir.
- 7* A special envoy of Prime Minister of Pakistan Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto reached New Delhi for talks on bilateral relations.
- 10* Indian Prime Minister received a goodwill message from Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto for betterment of relations.
- 11* In Jullundhur (East Punjab) four policemen including the Commandant of 75 Battalian, Punjab and Armed Police were killed and 12 unjured in a bomb blast.
- 11* According to an Indian High Commission press release, "the Indian and Pakistan governments informed each other that the formalities for the exchange of instruments of ratification, had been completed by their respective authorities, in regard to the Indo-Pakistan agreement of 31 December 1988, on the prohibition of attack on each other's nuclear installations. The exchange of instruments is expected to take place at a mutually convenient date as early as feasible."
- 16* Governments of Indian states of Karnataka and Haryana resigned.
- 17* The Governors of 14 states of India tendered their resignations.
- 18* The seventh India-Pakistan telecommunication talks held in Karachi, for expanding coordination in technical and financial matters concluded.

- January 22* Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Sahabzada Yaqub Khan held talks with Indian Foreign Minister I. K. Gujral. The occupied Kashmir's situation also came under discussion.
- 27 Hundreds of workers of Bharatiya Janata Party stormed the Pakistan Embassy in New Delhi, protesting against Pakistan's alleged support to Muslim militants in India.
- 28 The Government of Pakistan and India decided to keep the lines of communication open, despite the eventful developments in the Kashmir valley, so as to prevent confrontation between the two countries.
- 30 In a special broadcast over radio and television, Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan strongly refuted the India accusations of Pakistan's involvement in the current Kashmir valley situation.
- February 5* One person was shot dead and 13 wounded when Indian Border Security Forces opened fire on some Pakistani nationals who were demonstrating near the control line, on the Sialkot-Jammu border.
- 14 A domestic Indian Airlines Air-Bus 320 crashed while landing at Bangalore Airport in southern India. 91 passengers were killed.
- 16 Indian Foreign Minister Inder Kumar Gujral arrived Dhaka on a three-day goodwill visit.
- March 4* Vishvanath Partap Singh resigned as Chief of Janata Dal.
- 9 India began contacts with Kashmiri freedom fighters.
- 14 India rejected Pakistan's offer of talks over Kashmir question.
- 16 Indian Deputy Prime Minister Devi Lal resigned.
- 18 Indian Deputy Prime Minister Devi Lal withdrew his resignation.
- 19 The central budget for the financial year 1990 was presented to Lok Sabha by the Finance Minister Madhu Dandavat.
- 24 Withdrawal of Indian forces from Sri Lanka was completed.
- 27 Eleven people were killed in violence in the Indian state of Punjab.
- 27 It was reported that India released 95 Pakistani fishermen and 15 fishing vessels.
- 27 A bill was introduced in Indian Rajya Sabha to extend President's rule in East Punjab.
- April 1* 640 people were killed in violence in Indian state of Punjab.

- April 3* Sikh extremists threw a bomb on the procession of Ram Nomi in city of Betala which resulted in death of 41 persons.
- 7 About 53 persons were killed in Hindu-Muslim clashes in India since it began.
- 20 Anti-Muslim riots in Kanpur resulted in the death of 19 Muslims.
- 24 India rejected the U.S. Congressman Stephen Solarz's proposals for a summit over Kashmir question.
- 29 India built indigenous missile boat.
- May 1* India rejected Pakistan's proposal for neutral body probe into charges of intervention in Kashmir.
- 5 Jullundhur (East Punjab) T.V. Station was hit by rockets.
- 8 More Indian troops were requisitioned for held Kashmir.
- 10 Southern India was hit by cyclone over 1 million people were affected.
- 13 Surjeet Singh Barnala, President Akali Dal resigned.
- 19 India-USSR economic protocol was signed.
- 22 Om Prakash Chauthala resigned as the Janata Dal Chief Minister of Haryana.
- 30 Indian Minister for Kashmir Affairs was dismissed.
- June 1* India pulled back some armoured units from Pakistan border.
- 1 Governor of Punjab resigned.
- 8 General strike was called on 6th Anniversary of Indian attack on Golden Temple, Amritsar.
- 9 India rejected Pakistan's proposal for holding of Foreign Ministers' talks.
- 12 India tested anti-tank missile, 'Naag'.
- 28 Sikh separatist-related violence in East Punjab resulted in death of 12 persons.
- 29 General V. N. Sharma, the Chief of Staff of the Indian Army retired.

MALDIVES

- January 12* The Indian External Affairs Minister I. K. Gujral arrived in Male' for the first meeting of the Indo-Maldivian Joint Commission.

NEPAL

- January 24* Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Sahabzada Yaqub Khan, arrived in Kathmandu for a three-day visit which he said, would focus on progress made since the last meeting of Council of Ministers of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).
- February 13* Police arrested two senior leaders, Sahana Pradhan and Bishow Behadur, of Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD), a coalition of the banned Nepali Congress Party (NCP) and seven communist factions.
- 18* MRD launched a peaceful pro-democracy campaign.
- 19* A general strike was called.
- March 2* By the second time, a general strike was called.
- 29* Some 200 persons were arrested in the course of student demonstrations.
- April 2* About 50,000 people demonstrated their support to the movement for democracy in Kathmandu.
- 6* Prime Minister of Nepal Man Singh Shrestha was dismissed. Lokendra Bahadur Chand was appointed as new Prime Minister.
- 7* Indefinite curfew was imposed in Kathmandu in result of pro-democracy demonstrations in city.
- 8* King lifted the ban on political parties and MRD responded by calling off its campaign.
- 16* King announced that he accepted the Prime Minister's resignation and dissolved the Rasthriya Panchayat.
- 19* Coalition Government sworn in Nepal under Nepali Congress Acting President, Krishna Prasad Bhattarai as Prime Minister.
- May 11* The King announced unilaterally the formation of a seven-member committee, headed by Supreme Court Justice, to draft a new constitution.
- June 9* Nepal's trade ties with India were restored after a 14-month blockade.

SRI LANKA

- January 7* Sri Lanka reached an accord with India on cease-fire and withdrawal of India's peace-keeping forces by March 31.
- 11 No-Confidence motion tabled against Government of Rana Singhe Premadasa.
- 13 No-Confidence motion against Premadasa Government failed.
- 27 In a surprise move the IPKF withdrew from Jaffana town on January 27.
- February 7* A Sri Lankan helicopter gunship killed many of 135 Tamils caught fleeing to southern India by sea.
- 8 The Sri Lankan Foreign Secretary, Bernard Tilakratne, arrived New Delhi for Crucial Discussions on reconciling each other's draft over the proposed Indo-Lankan friendship treaty.
- March 19* Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Sahabzada Yaqub Khan arrived in Colombo to discuss the venue for this year's annual heads of State Summit for the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).
- 20 Sri Lanka closed Israeli interests office in Colombo.
- 28 Prime Minister of Sri Lanka Mr. D. B. Wijetung resigned. Cabinet was dissolved.
- 30 26-member Sri Lankan new cabinet sworn in.
- April 19* Some emergency laws were repealed in Sri Lanka.
- 21 Tamil Tigers abducted 26 Indians in Jaffana.
- June 1* President Premadasa held talks with LTTE leaders in Colombo.
- 12 Sri Lankan Government rebels agreed on cease-fire.
- 22 Sri Lankan Tamil Separatist Guerillas hacked to death 62 Muslim villagers.

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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.

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