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RAFIQ AHMAD

Editor

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New World Order and Pakistan

Mrs. FARHAT IMRANA ASLAM

With the dismantling of German prowess and the Japanese military powers, the world was left with no option but to depend upon the conceptual arrangement of super powers. This concept was born in the aftermath of the World War-II. The Americans, who were unwilling to become a party to the arrangement in the post-World War-I era and decided not to affiliate themselves with the League of Nations, were outspoken in favour of joining the United Nations. Because of this approach, the Americans re-drafted the Monroe doctrine in the light of the new political situation and set up a Council of Foreign Relations :

Over fifty years ago, in the wake of the First World War, a group of wealthy and influential Americans decided to form an organization. The Council of Foreign Relations, as it was subsequently named, was designed to equip the United States of America for an imperial role on the world scene. Great Britain had dominated world politics during the nineteenth century, not only through its colonial empire, but also through an even wider informal sphere of influence. In a similar fashion, so felt these American leaders, would the United States play a dominant role in the years following the war . . .

There was general agreement among the Council members that the United States had to have a large, even dominant global role. As early as 1898, Gay had written : "When I think of the British Empire as our inheritance, I think simply of the natural right of succession. That ultimate succession is inevitable." He did add that "there is no hurry about it." But, within a few years, it was clear that the time had come for greater involvement of the United States in the world. The sentiment of those in the Council is well summed up in the words of President Theodore Roosevelt, which Archibald Cary Coolidge used as "the moral for Americans" to conclude his 1908 book. The United States as a World Power, and which Shepardson repeated in 1942: "We have no choice; we people of the United States, as to whether or not we shall play a great part in the world. That has been determined for us by fate, by the march of events. We have to play that part. All that we can decide is whether we shall play it well or ill."¹

In this fresh drive, the American ideal was to contain the Communist Russia, with which they had working and official relations during the World War-II, and with its collaboration were able to defeat the enemies of the free world :

During the war years, the Council and the government planners gave little attention to the Soviet Union in their plans for a new world order. What attention they did pay was of a negative kind, focusing especially on how to keep the Soviets from controlling Eastern and Central Europe.²

Americans came up with the realization as well that they must focus their new thinking which had to treat Russia, an erstwhile ally, as a new enemy. Because of this, they thought that the smaller nations should not be allowed to be subjugated by its threats and physical use of power :

The popularization of the theoretical basis for a tough United States policy toward the Soviet Union can also be traced to the CFR.

Council member George F. Kennan, who developed the famous 'containment' doctrine, addressed the Council on the topic in January 1947 and published his celebrated article, *The Sources of Soviet Conduct*, in *Foreign Affairs* (July 1947). At the time, Kennan was the head of the Department of States Policy Planning Committee. The American government had recently adopted the containment doctrine, which held that the Soviets would try to pursue unlimited expansion, but that they could be stopped with a firm and vigilant American policy.³

The Soviet Russia presented a new threat to the Americans and their allies. In order to meet this new challenge, the Americans were to firm up a new policy which meant that the Soviet Russia was to be treated as enemy in place of Germany. This line of thinking led to the new policy in the field of economic development :

Containment involved American aid for the economic reconstruction of Europe along lines favourable to America's largest corporation. This quickly became one of the most important focuses of the Council's study program between 1945 and 1951. One group's work had a direct impact on American foreign policy. In 1946-47, lawyer Charles M. Spofford headed a group, with banker David Rockefeller as secretary, on Reconstruction in Western Europe; in 1947-48, that body was retitled, the Marshall Plan. The Council's annual report for 1948 explained that even before secretary of state George C. Marshall had made his aid to Europe proposal in June 1947; the Spofford group had 'uncovered' the necessity for aid to Europe and "helped explain the needs for the Marshall Plan and indicated some of the problems it would present for American policy. Moreover, a number of members of the 1947-48 group, through their connections with . . . governmental bodies were in constant touch with the course of events." In 1948, a new group was organized led by General Dwight D. Eisenhower, on Aid to Europe, which continued its discussions through 1951, and resulted in a book by Howard Ellis. It

was in reference to this study group that another member commented to journalist Joseph Kraft; "Whatever General Eisenhower knows about economics, he learned at the study group meetings."⁴

This policy of containment continued to be the cardinal principle with the Americans for a considerable period. The chief architect of this policy was George F. Kennan, their Ambassador in Russia. He had contributed extensively on the subject. His policy was subsequently picked up by Henry Kissinger, the luminary who is still casting giant shadow over the foreign policy of America :

Clarification of the objectives of American policy gave rise to ideas for specific methods of solving the concrete problems of American and world capitalism. Ideas for international economic institutions -- the international Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) -- were worked out first.⁵

The doctrine advanced by the Americans was in the name of their President, Truman, and was designed to provide a protective pad to the smaller nations against the aggressive design of the Russians. They thought that this doctrine held out assurances to the smaller nations to feel secure and be able to withstand Russia's aggressive designs. The Truman doctrine declared that not only the smaller nations would be allowed to stay on their own and strike an independent image, but, at the same time, in case of any purported or real aggression, they should have assurance that the American help would be forthcoming.

The success of the policy of the Truman doctrine could be envisioned from the fact that the smaller countries stood independent and continued to enjoy freedom. But the Russians continued to display a monolithic role in the world they controlled. The entire Eastern European countries were under their thumb impressions and these states continued to accept the imprints of the Russian domination over their fate, political as well as economic. The

Warsaw Pact of 1955, a counterblast to the NATO of 1949, was able to provide a counterforce to the American thinking. As a matter of fact, the Americans and the Russians began to be reckoned as two super powers which ruled the world. Only a segment of independence, and many people call it only a mere myth, which indicated that some of the countries of Asia and Africa were free from the predominance and surveillance of both the Russians as well as Americans.

The policy pursued since the end of the World War-II, required a re-appraisal. The Council of Foreign Affairs, as a pioneer body in the American thinking, came out with a new effort aimed at exploring a new policy which could be the new line of thinking in America :

A March 1975 Council memorandum visualizes three stages in the life of the 1980's Project. First, looking at the totality of the global system, it will outline "the characteristics of a desirable international environment." The idea is to ask "where would we like to be a decade from now?" Secondly, the constraints preventing the achievement of these desired conditions will be analyzed. The relationship between a desirable and a feasible global order will be dealt with in this stage. Thirdly, strategies will be developed and implemented to achieve Council goals. This final stage will involve achieving consensus about the new world order on a global scale. A Council memorandum stated that the 1980's Project must "come to grips with strategies for modifying the behaviour of all the relevant actors in the international community -- individuals, governments, agencies within governments, elite groups, industrial firms, interest groups, mass societies, and other groups and organizations at the subnational and transnational levels.⁶

Before this century rolled by, the people of the world were stunned to know the realities of Russia. With Gorbachev at the helms of affairs, the Russians made clean breast of their true position. Russia's feebleness was totally exposed with far-reaching consequences. First, the Germany was allowed to be re-united. East and West Germany got together and the

situation, as it stood in the last century, was once again revived. Eastern European countries overthrew the overlordship of the Russians and they started exhibiting freedom. One after the other, they showed their eyebrows to the Russians and proclaimed their true freedom, paving the way to the withdrawal of the Russian forces from all these Eastern European countries. The Warsaw Pact stands disbanded. Only the fate of NATO remains to be decided.

The economic life of the Russian people, as reported through the statements of the top Russian leaders, seems to be ghastly. Now, it appears that it was this state of affairs which compelled the Russian withdrawal not only from the Eastern European countries but also from Afghanistan and from other states.

The Russians have lost their image and they are no longer considered a power that could throw a gauntlet to the Americans, at least for the time being. With the dawning of this new reality, the world has come to know that the super powers phraseology has become meaningless. Ultimately, there is only one guarantor of power left in the world and that is America. This is the reason why the Americans were able to break the back of Iraq as there was no one to come to the rescue of that small power.

Americans are like Prometheus unbound. They are the one who, in fact, in this new reality, presented the idea that the world must be shaped according to their thinking. They have given a new philosophy, a new doctrine, a new ideology, on the basis of which they would like to see the world being chartered. This godlike thinking is now pervading American's mind. This is a challenge to all the nations, big and small.

New spots, which represented the centres of industrial power, were identified. The Americans were unwilling to go alone. It was a policy which they discarded earlier in the post-World War-II era. Keeping in view the new realities, the Trilateral Commission of the Council of Foreign Relations was assigned this task which made realistic proposals :

A basic purpose of the work of the Trilateral Commission is thus also revealed - it is not only a policy planning body, but also an operating organization to bring about the practical policy unification of the Trilateral World. In a 1973 memorandum Brzezinski states that the underlying purpose of the commission and its policy program is to "cultivate among concerned Americans, Japanese, and Europeans the habit of working together on a trilateral basis in the formulation of joint policies on matters of common concern, to promote a shared understanding of the central issues involved in their relations among themselves and in their relations with other countries, to arrive at agreed and workable trilateral policies designed not only to enhance closer trilateral cooperation but also to progress towards a more just global community, and to inform the publics and governments concerned about pertinent conclusions and recommendations." The overall goal of the commission is thus to minimize the friction and competition with the Trilateral World, unifying it as much as possible.⁷

The Scholars have gone into the problem of the new American role in the context of other leading power centres. The United States, it is believed, could, in collaboration with others, make a start which might lead to a success as stated by Camp :

Central to Camps' book is a vision of a world political economy where power to manage or 'steer' the global order is shared by the United States, Western Europe, and Japan. In her conclusion, called 'Collective Management', Camps argues that the international system requires leadership, steering, planning a "capacity for anticipating problems, sounding early warning, seeing interconnections between issue-areas, deciding which of a half-dozen possible agencies should act, pushing for needed new codes and other institutional reforms -- in short, seeing to it that the system works." Camp argues that no nation today can play the determining role that the United States has played in the past and that therefore

collective management on the part of the advanced industrial capitalist powers is required. The "United States, Western Europe, and Japan will in effect share leadership." These three regions, the 'Trilateral World', make the core of the highly industrialized, rich capitalist nations.⁸

The economic field is the one which must be given top priority for making the new policy to triumph and make it an attractive proposal :

Camps outlines two different ways or providing the necessary international management of the world economy. Both are based on the assumption that the objective is a global system. The first she obviously considers the ideal one, with the second a more realistic fall – back position. The favoured conceptions assume that the "rules, goals, and procedures that the advanced countries adopt to govern economic relationships with one another should be the norms of the global system. In other words, the arrangements among the advanced countries would be the central core of the wider system; other countries would be expected in time to join the central core." The advanced countries are defined as the Trilateral World plus a few other industrialized capitalist nations. The Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and Third World countries would, in this perspective, eventually integrate with the Trilateral World to make up one world economy. Such a world order would be designed by and for the Trilateral World, although Camps adds that "the needs of other groups would not be ignored." The obvious drawback to this pattern would be Third World resentment of "arrangements so plainly dominated by the advanced countries."⁹

The Americans' thoughts were maturing in the direction which marked out a new role for their country. The world they wanted to build should conform to their thinking. This approach led this Council of Foreign Relations, most influential body, to chart a fresh system for the Americans to march ahead confidently to achieve their desired objectives :

In terms of future policies, it is clear that Council theorists intend to maintain economic and, insofar as possible political control over as much of the world as possible. Apparent 'concessions', such as adopting a 'spheres of restraint' policy in areas like Southeast Asia, where American imperial control is waning, or economic measures, such as agreeing to already inevitable raw materials price rises, are both more to maintain the old system of Western power than to create a new system based on justice. Assuming that consensus on Council goals can be developed within the Trilateral World, the real question then becomes : Can the Council's plans for a new world order be successfully reconciled with the Third World's real needs and conception of a just world order?¹⁰

The Council wanted to go ahead in a manner that intended to avoid an approach which could be termed as extremism. For this purpose, even the Russians were not to be discarded by the philosophy they professed. In fact, an all-pervasive and comprehensive plan was worked out :

This study has revealed the roots of United States imperialism in the economic, political, and strategic needs of the dominant sector of the American ruling class, led by the Council of Foreign Relations. Their will to power, a drive for world hegemony, has made the United States the largest imperial power in human history, deploying forces on every continent and controlling the economics and politics of much of the world. The basic reason for these policies has been, as we have shown in our case studies, the need of American capitalism for a world order, open and receptive to its expansion. In contrast to the die-hard ultraright perspective of *laissezfaire* and nationalistic competition, there is a measure of realism on the part of the Council in accepting irreversible changes, rejecting the extreme anti-communist 'roll-back' position, and showing a willingness for *detente*.¹¹

The new thinkings as reflected in such basic studies are of vital significance as these constitute new influences which guided and chartered

feature among the on-going activities of the SAARC Technical Committee on Postal Services since 1983. This competition is organized by member States of SAARC on an alphabetical order every year. The competition for 1990 was organized by Sri Lanka. The Prize Winning Letter, which follows, was written by Delupa N. Hirimuthugoda, Galle, Sri Lanka :

"In 1840, England issued a stamp for the first time in the world and consequently the postage which was paid by the addressee had to be paid by the sender there onwards. The issue of this stamp was a sequel to an agitation made by a British Member of Parliament named 'Robert Wallace.' The stamp carried the portrait of Queen Victoria. The value of this stamp printed in black colour was one penny. The person responsible for the issue of this stamp was a teacher known as 'Roland Hill' who simultaneously took action to invent a stamper for cancelling the stamp. This stamp was used for the first time on 6th May 1840. Great Britain which has earned the honour of introducing the postal service for the first time in the world and for the issue of the first stamp still remains as the only country in the world which does not print its name on stamps.

In our country, the first postage stamp was issued on 1st April 1857. Its value was 6 pennies. The Postcard system had been introduced to our country for the first time on 22nd August 1872. Consequent to the introduction of the first world postcard on 7th October, 1869.

You could now see that the postal service which first came into being in the year 1550 A.D. without the use of a stamp has today developed to such a degree which enables a person to send large size parcels to another person within a matter of days. The cost involved too is negligible. The postal service is therefore, perfect in every respect.

The postal service also provides us with a reliable means of remitting money from person to person through the money order system.

One day I perfected a puzzle which appeared in the paper and returned it to the paper. I won this puzzle and I was rewarded a cash prize of Rs. 200/-.

primary campaign, for example, Carter argued that balance-of-power-politics must give way to 'world-order' politics.¹²

The purpose of the in-depth study of the Council of Foreign Relations is to ascertain the real American thinking which influenced powerfully the major decisions of the American governments. The trends over the years in American foreign policy indicate the decisive impact of the Council's ideas and ideals. What the state of the world affairs should be, was set forth vividly in this most significant study :

The Council's War and Peace Studies Project established the frame work for a stable capitalist world under United States leadership following World War-II. This framework lasted almost a quarter of a century, although the world's self-appointed policeman was unable to enforce complete stability on a troubled world. By the 1970, the postwar system was obviously inadequate, and the opinion leaders of the United States ruling class are, with the 1980's Project and the Trilateral Commission, planning a new global structure, engineering a new consensus which might ensure another quarter century of relative stability, enhancing cooperation among the advanced capitalist powers, and attempting to hold off revolutionary change for yet another generation.¹³

George Bush, when he was contesting for the American presidency, gave his view of what the chief executive of America should be for the Americans and for the rest of the world. The concept of leadership of a free and democratic society is to take into account all points of view before taking final decisions. This is essential for the world to understand the American standpoint as this serves the guidelines to comprehending the American attitude and policies. George Bush's reign would be remembered for this new philosophy of New World Order, and, therefore, it is all the more important to have a close view of his perceptions :

Question : Speaking of leadership, even if you don't want to detail any programs, what do you think will be the issue of the 1988 presidential campaign?

George Bush : There is plenty of time left for campaign speeches, but if you want a short answer, it's leadership itself, how the various candidates perceive it.

My own perception comes from experience building a business, my work in government running various offices -- seeing how both the private and public sectors operate. I've learned that leadership isn't just making decisions and giving orders. It's hearing all points of view before making the decision. That's the way leadership works in a free society, by keeping open doors and open minds. For that matter, it's important everywhere in American life -- tolerance for the other person's point of view -- understanding that as Americans the values we share are more important than any differences we have.¹⁴

The Americans are working to use the United Nations for achieving their objectives of the New World Order. But the rare opportunity which America had in carrying out its policy of removing the Iraqi possession of Kuwait might not be repeated. This fear has led the Americans to strengthen UNO to play a more vigorous role in future crisis situation :

The new world order envisioned by Presidents Bush and Gorbachev would be founded on the rule of law and on the principle of collective security. That principle necessarily entails the possibility of military enforcement measures by the United Nations. Twice in its history, the Security Council has authorized such action. The first instance was in the Korean War in 1950; the second was in the Persian Gulf in 1990. More occasions are likely to follow . . .

The manner in which the Gulf military action was executed by the United States and its coalition partners will likely limit the

willingness of Council members to follow a similar procedure in the future -- a procedure that leaves council members little control over the course of military operations and over the conclusion of hostilities. Neither the United States nor any other country will be ready to act under all circumstances to preserve or restore peace. Nor will other states always be ready to endorse unilateral actions. Some states may not wish to contribute to an operation, and the council may not always wish to depend disproportionately on a particular states's contribution.

Some U.N. capacity to carry out these functions on a permanent basis will therefore be desirable. For this reason, as well as others, previously mentioned, the Security Council should be able to mobilize a force to serve under U.N. command for enforcement purposes. That capacity may be virtually indispensable in an emergent world order. The chance to achieve it should not be missed.¹⁵

The German thinking on the world strategy of the Western states and that of America coincided with what was the general consensus in the American approach on world order. However, the naked difference is also obvious :

Whether we are considering the Middle East, Latin America (particularly Central America), or the Far East, certain basic observations apply, though in varying degrees of priority and importance :

First, it is impossible for a European country alone, or even for Western Europe as a whole, to imagine a European Grand Strategy that offers any prospect of success in these regions.

Secondly, it is obvious that a purely national American strategy, and its implementation by the United States alone, can have only limited success.

Third, success depends in most cases on the prudent use of our economic potential.

Fourth, we can by military means prevent dangers from developing into wars or even into defeat, but we cannot by military means defuse the underlying, dangerous economic situations, which we have to try to understand.

Fifth, the West needs greater understanding of the history and culture, as well as the economic situations and social aspirations, of the nations in other parts of the world. This applies to Israel but also to the Muslim fundamentalism of the Shi'ites and Sunnis in the Middle East. It applies to the religious, economic, and social background of the Spanish-and-Portuguese-speaking Latin Americans. It applies to the Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans and their particular historic heritage.

My message is : Do not let us lapse into the same mistake the Europeans made in the nineteenth century and almost upto the middle of the twentieth century, namely, to look at the world from a purely Eurocentric viewpoint. This means now : Do not let us look at the world from a purely American viewpoint, with North America as the centre of the world.¹⁶

In Korea and in the Persian Gulf, the Americans were able to muster public opinion in support of action taken under the United Nations umbrella. The major fact which made the American invasion of Iraq a success is that there was no super power with a capability to stand with Iraq against the Americans and other European countries. In case, in the days to come, the world opinion is not reckoned with and the Americans endeavour to impose their will on a nation or nations, under the UN umbrella, the situation might not be as helpful as was in the Gulf War. Could there be a development that the Americans have to work under the command of some other country, than their own, under the UN and with an interest which would be more universal than predominantly American? This is where the Americans might not come

forth with the same zeal as they did in Iraq and the world may see the true nature of the new world order. The world indeed has learnt a lesson that new world order is actually the pan-Americanism and it is a replica of the twentieth-century imperialism of pax-Britannica. The argument has been advanced in favour of freedom and democracy as the basis of the new world order :

The Americans view of their own political life and that of the world is freedom and democracy. This is what Bush has to say at a time when he was canvassing for his presidency. There was a time when the West was worried about the influence of Soviet Russia in the Third World, and the West was all the time caught up with an idea of how to counteract and contain the Russians in the Third World. They were pushed in sponsoring alliances with the Third World countries, and in creating a climate for not allowing to come into existence anti-Western relations. "The Soviet enclave of Ethiopia, South Yemen, Afghanistan, and even Vietnam and Cuba are dubious assets. The expansion of Soviet sphere of influence to these areas is not necessarily fatal or serious as long as a global system remains essentially open and not ride against West."

What is required is a world free from coercion. Cooperation should be the keynote of the future world order.¹⁷

Edward A. Kolodziej and Roger E. Kanet conclude their study which states that the West is not prone to impose its will over the entire world. "It tolerates adversity. It can well survive without having to impose a universal system on the globe, may be ruled out in any event by the resistance of its own population to assume the costs and risks of so ambitious and inevitable self-devoting an objective."¹⁸

Soviet Union's influence in the Eastern Europe has been a subject of extensive debate. The fall of Russia has made the task of West so easy that the West is free to establish its influence in Eastern Europe and could seek its friendship and cooperation without any let or hindrance. The defence

network of Russia has been totally smashed down. The fear of the West of Russian hold in Eastern Europe has been well set out by Christopher D. Jones. He placed the Warsaw Treaty Organization as the basic structure which provided capability for military in Eastern Europe.¹⁹

The West was frightened, all the time, of Russian power that many of its scholars were engaged on studies which searched out ways and means of protecting the Western interest in Europe as well as outside Europe through a system of alliances.

Robert Gilpin, in his thought-provoking book : *War and Change in World Politics* says : "The first potentially destabilising factor is the danger that one of the pair, like 'Sparta' prior to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, will fail to play its balancing role."²⁰

The development in Russia proved that the country is no longer in a position to play a balancing role. The scholars have had no clue of such a fall of Russia from the status of Superpower. Studies would now be conducted which would focus on the impact of latest developments in Russia on the world.

At one time, there was a fear that good Sino-Soviet relations might prove a bullwork against the American ambitions of world domination. *The Globe*, in its July 1991 issue, says :

The restoration of the Moscow-Beijing ties appears to be an attempt to prevent Washington's dominance. It has taken fright at the extent of US global dominance in the wake of Gulf War, and is nostalgic for the leverage it enjoyed when there was a "strategic triangle between Washington, Moscow and Beijing."²¹

There are people who think in terms of creating a world government. Charles P. Kindleberger argues that "world government is not, and in no case, would have to be limited to a few functions. But the thing to build world federalism, to use Cooper's (1974) phrase has surely arrived."²²

There is a tremendous hostility against the Western civilization and Western way of life in the world. This has been well set out by Sir Robert Thompson, in his book: *Revolutionary War in World Strategy, 1945-1969*.²³ The argument is that the Americans should adopt a policy of ruling the world alone. The world should be ruled collectively.

In the world, many unexpected developments take place. Certain enviable themes get their sway and ultimately become a real history. As in the twentieth century, the freedom of the colonies from imperialism being a natural trend was supposed to succeed as it was written in the heaven ; it also became true that the small countries failed to maintain their economic independence, and were gradually driven to the role which is subordinate and dictated to by the capitalist world including the erstwhile imperialism.

In this perspective, Pakistani people in general and the foreign office have to work out a policy for safeguarding the interest of Pakistan. While maintaining the independence of the country, the Pakistani policy-makers have also to view the new course of activity in the light of the existing realities. India is a staunch enemy with which Pakistan had always bad relations. Muslim world, despite the nostalgia, has not come out to their support in the two major wars of 1965 and 1971 against India, as envisioned. Only a small help could be expected from Turkey and Iran. The Chinese have not as yet been ruined ideologically or economically by the West, as has happened with Russia. This is another area to which Pakistan should look to ; but China is technically less developed and only to a limited extent. Pakistan could rely on the technical aid from China. The non-aligned states are only an idea and nothing beyond. They could, at the most, pass resolutions and express concern over problem with which Pakistan might be grappled with.

The question which stares in the eyes of the Pakistanis, general public and the professionals, is that in these tense conditions what should be their options :

Pakistan views itself as a small power with limited resources that are rapidly devoured by its own security needs. Its major security

concern is India but recently an Afghanistan crisis coupled with closer Indo-Soviet links, has adversely complicated its security environment. To improve its security environment, Pakistan has once again been compelled to renew its ties with the Americans, albeit cautiously and reluctantly. Pakistan realises the futility of entanglement in the superpowers power game and has opted to stay as far away as possible from it. It has joined the Non-Aligned Movement and has strengthened its ties with the Islamic world. But its security perceptions are largely the product of the existing geopolitical environment. Neither the participation in the Non-Aligned Movement nor the close ties with the Islamic world have so far really helped to resolve its security predicament. Thus, one witnesses a situation in which Pakistan is left with so option but to seek favours with those who severely disappointed it in the past. However, the renewed linkage is based on a realistic appraisal of each others' interests rather than on the misperceptions and inflated hopes that often accompanied alliance partnerships in the Cold War era.²⁴

To begin with, a realistic approach is essential in which emotionalism should have to be eschewed. Pakistanis have to be terse and work out a fresh approach towards formulation of a new policy. At the very outset, one major advice which could come to the Pakistani decision-makers is that they should keep their close relations with the Americans. The best policy would be to continue advancing of Pakistani interest. It is essential that we should be more careful at this moment. There is no other camp to which Pakistan may throw its lot with. Americans should be made to feel that strong Pakistan is in their interest. If, in the past, the Americans had tried to solicit Pakistan to sit on their side, Pakistan should endeavour not to allow the Americans to side with its foes who are up against its very survival :

1. In this direction, there are three lines to be followed. The correct policy should be to impress upon the Americans the significance of the historical link that Pakistan had with America. In addition, Pakistan

should emphasise the continuing interests built over years as mutually beneficial to both Pakistanis as well as the Americans. Areas of cooperation where the two countries could collaborate with each other should be spotlighted. Pakistan has competed on merit before in the American markets for excellence of its goods. It could continue this in days to come. In order to build a sanguine hope for future, ceaseless efforts should be made to explore new avenues for further cementing ties between the people of the two states.

2. There is a tiny hope that Pakistan might get some financial benefit from some Muslim countries. This thinking has been strengthened after Pakistan's strong support for Saudi Arabia and other countries during Iraq-Kuwait War, despite strong opposition of a segment of populace at home. A visible form of financial outlay has not been made available to the Government of Pakistan as was expected from the Arab world. This go-well policy has disillusioned many Pakistanis. Goodwill, whatever its form and where it has been created in the Arab world, should be put to service to bring the Arab investment in Pakistan. That is essential if financial survival of Pakistan has to be made a reality. The IMF and the World Bank, with a new strategy, has placed more emphasis on Europe and Russia and which has reduced the size of financial outlay for the Asian and African countries, Pakistan is left with no option but to rely on the Arabs. Pakistan has to give this assurance to the Arab world that their money is safe. This assurance could be of substance when Pakistan presents a picture of strong and a stable state.
3. The scientific discoveries are no longer a static feature. Constant review of the technically-advanced countries is such that progress is continuously made in different scientific and technical areas. Pakistan has shown its ability in different fields being able to stand on its feet. The thrust of the Pakistani scientists should be that they should do their maximum to achieve a position in the world. It is easy said than done. But the nation's will should stand behind the scientists, who are the real pride of Pakistan.

4. The budgetary allocations should be provided for the grand errand -- the defence production. In order to build confidence of the people, publicity is also vital. However, the real strength of a nation does not lie in the publicity alone. The essential need is that the nation should be in a position of real strength for which it must be ready to make all kinds of sacrifices. They should place their confidence in the defence and all other logistics.
5. The dispute over Kashmir could be referred back to the conceptual declaration of 26th July 1947 by the last Viceroy of India, Lord Mountbatten. He advised that the rulers and the Princes of the states should decided the fate of their states keeping in view the wishes of their people. In Kashmir, the ruler was a Non-Muslim, belonging to Dogra dynasty while the majority of the population of the state professed Islam. On the 26 of October, when the state was compelled to offer accession to India, the letter which was attached to this accession stated clearly that the decision of final accession would be taken by the people of the state. India took this case to the United Nations and made a commitment that the accession of the state will be finalized through plebiscite. The United Nations, in his two resolutions of August 1948, and January 1949, clearly stated that there would be a plebiscite by which the decisions of the people would be finalized for accession, either to India or Pakistan. Despite all the efforts so far, this will of the people has remained un-expressed as India created hurdles one after the other, to thwart the plebiscite in Kashmir for accession. As long as this issue remians un-resolved, the relations between India and Pakistan could hardly be expected to reach a level of understanding whereby the two countries could live as peaceful and friendly neighbours.
6. The tensions between India and Pakistan were not confined to hostilities. War occurred in 1965 and 1971. The war clouds are never allowed to disappear from the horizons of Indo-Pakistan relations. Any policy that the Americans would like to formulate in the new world order, is to take this reality into account. Pakistan, therefore, has to

march ahead in days to come in such a way that its national interests are safeguarded and the threats of Indian invasion are averted.

7. Saner elements in India, too, desire friendship with Pakistan. This opportunity should be availed :

Amongst India's immediate neighbours, Pakistan has so far projected an altogether different type of relationship. For historical reasons, to be traced to its very origins, Pakistan has over the years developed the stance of an adversary, on top of that has come Pakistan's membership of the military alliance blocs and now the strategic consensus set up by the USA. With four wars in three decades, Indo-Pak acrimony has so far posed the biggest challenge to the country's security and has greatly conditioned its foreign policy. The future of the Indo-Pak relationship is largely bound up with Pakistan's military links with super power politics. At the same time, any long-term policy towards Pakistan cannot be formulated without taking into account the urge for friendship that can be unmistakably discerned between the people of the two neighbouring countries. The response and reactions of the Indian Muslims is a factor that should not be ignored in structuring a durable peace with Pakistan. By itself, Pakistan is not a major security threat to India. However, Pakistan has links that could constitute a serious danger. Nevertheless, it is of the utmost importance, as with other neighbours, that every effort should be made to maintain peaceful and, if possible, friendly relations with Pakistan, both on an immediate and long-term basis.²⁵

8. The Americans are now having a free hand as there is no check on their supremacy in the world after Russia's fall from a super power position. They are now sorting out un-resolved issues and problems of the world. It is likely, and they may also desire, to re-construct this part of the world in their own image. In this strive, they might also like to see that the Kashmir problem is resolved. In fact, the new American interest in this regard should be considered as a welcome development by Pakistan. However, Pakistan should make all-out efforts to convince the

Americans that the democratic will of the people of Kashmir should prevail. The Americans' belief in liberty and democracy is not mere hollow slogan but reality of their political life. Pakistan should, therefore, work on a policy that the new desire of the Americans to have a new world order should ensure a free choice for the people of Kashmir to decide their fate by joining either India or Pakistan.

9. As far as the world order is concerned, it should be such that we should work for peace, resolve our problems with neighbouring countries in the light of generally-accepted international principles, and strengthen the world order as long as it strives from maintaining peace and prosperity in the world while keeping intact the sovereign status of the countries :

In search of friends and allies, Pakistan should build a cooperation, economic and military, cultural and other ideological outlook in a way that could provide certain bases of assured and real security.²⁶

10. Lessons from the past history are such that any effort on the part of the Americans to impose their will over the world will forge a unity among the people of the world and the idea of the new order might well be abortive. The originality of the idea is not that much in question. In fact, the people fear that the Americans might attempt to destroy their freedom, like the Western nations in the last century. The fall of Moscow from super-power position should not encourage the Americans to impose their will on the world. The Americans should therefore follow a policy so that at a subsequent stage they may not be remembered of their arrogance only. They should not also leave their past-trusted friends in a lurch. Pakistan, on all counts, has position and capacity to play a vital role as a standard-bearer of Islamic unity. This is the iron logic.

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An Assessment of Changes in the Employment Situation of Pakistani Women in the Informal Sector

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Recent years have seen lot of conceptual and empirical debate about the informal sector and its role in solving the unemployment problem of the Third World Countries. Most of the research views this sector in a positive manner and indicates it as a policy instrument for employment promotion, elevation of poverty and income inequalities for the developing countries.

In Pakistan, little research has been carried out, in the past, on the informal sector.¹ Recently, the informal sector has become the focus of attention for improving the employment situation of men and women in Pakistan. This focus on the sector is clearly reflected by the number of studies officially sponsored on this topic in the last few years and the Seminars/Workshops held on the subject. The National Manpower Commission Report, for recommending the measures on employment generation during the Seventh Five-Year Plan, has strongly supported the extension of Informal Sector of employment for future absorption of labour.

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Institute of Business Administration, Karachi, organized a seminar in March, 1990 on the Informal Sector in Pakistan, then the Ministry of Women Development organized a National Seminar on the female in the Informal Sector in April 1990 and the Quaid-i-Azam University Workshop on the subject in September 1990.

Almost every study undertaken on the subject of Informal Sector has indicated that large proportions of women labour force is/will be absorbed in this sector. However, for Pakistan the size of this sector for women labour force in Urban or Rural areas is still ambiguous. The size of this sector for female labour force is undetermined due mainly to the unresolved issues regarding conceptual and empirical definition of this sector. This paper attempts to define the Informal Sector of employment for female and to look at the changes which have occurred in it by areas overtime.

Significance of Informal Sector

The discussions of issues relating to female informal sector of employment to-date lack depth and incisiveness mainly due to incompletely defined impressions and hypotheses about this sector. This lack of precision precludes the careful articulation of problems and policies for this sector. The importance of employment strategy and policy formulation for this sector as one of planning objectives is evident from the projected growth of labour force and employment opportunities which predicts a rapidly widening divergence between the number of people wanting jobs and the number of jobs available. Two implications can be drawn each of which is sufficient to place a high priority on employment generation in the informal sector. The first is that women who are either unemployed or under-employed and usually are at the bottom level of income distribution; can only be absorbed in the informal sector in the short or medium planning horizon. Secondly, saturation of agriculture for absorbing greater number of additional female workers, necessitates the expansion of informal sector employment opportunities for women with low levels of education and training. Additionally, social scientists have postulated positive correlation between unemployment and socio-political unrest thereby adding a political dimension

to concern about the subject. With justification derived from economic welfare, humanitarian and political considerations, it becomes imperative for our economy to generate as much employment as possible in this sector for females, within the constraints of other national goals (such as GNP growth, monetary stability, provision of basic needs, etc.).

Given the present growth rates of population, labour force, and the absorption capacity of formal sector and the process of urbanization, the expansion in informal sector employment has significant potential. The popular and professional literature abounds with references to alleged failure of the process of economic development in providing sufficient number of new employment opportunities to absorb the rapidly growing labour force. It has been asserted that low level of education and training combined with expansion in physical infra-structural facilities in the rural areas and the process of urbanization has led to a mushroom growth of informal sector of employment, making it worthy of special attention by social scientists.²

Definition of the Informal Sector

Generally the term informal is used rather ambiguously, it can refer to those working in unregistered, unorganized, small scale and often family operated enterprises with low levels of earning.³ The sector can also be described in terms of a number of characteristics; ease of entry; reliance on indigenous resources; family ownership of enterprise; small scale of operation; labour-intensive and adapted technology; unregulated and competitive markets. Moreover, this sector occasionally has the added feature of having little access to government facilities/concessions (e.g., import licences, equipment subsidies, availability of credit at low interest rates).

Expansion in the informal sector in rural areas occurred when off-farm earning opportunities became available with the mechanization of agriculture, increased provision of physical infra-structure (roads, electricity, water, gas, etc.) and social infra-structure (schools, health units and social welfare centres). The servicing of agricultural machinery, transportation

expansion, teaching aids, health assistance, are examples of the emerging informal sector employment avenues in the rural areas. The expansion of this sector in urban areas becomes evident when the workers who have migrated to the cities while queuing up for formal sector jobs are forced to accept less productive/low income jobs in the informal sector. The workers in urban informal sector could be one who after waiting for a formal job, become content to be misfits in whatever job come along their way. The urban informal sector also include migrants who swell the rank of pavement occupants and seek jobs as domestic servants, or general helpers around the shops. The main reason leading to this expansion in the informal sector is the fact that due to poverty people at low levels of income cannot afford to be unemployed and hence accept whichever job becomes available. This also partially explains the low levels of unemployment reported for our country.

The Interrelationship of Formal and Informal Sector

The relationship between the formal and informal sector of employment shows elements of both competition and complementarity. When the formal sector expands in the production of goods and services traditionally furnished by the very small enterprises constituting the informal sector, or when the informal sector extends itself to formal sector activities, the competitive aspect is uppermost. On the other hand, complementarity is evident when the informal sector introduces itself by making provisions where formal sector is not forthcoming, for instance, pavement food stalls where cheap canteens and restaurants are not available; rickshaw, private buses and joint facilities are not available; bicycle, motor car and machinery repair in localities where no formal sector enterprises would try to operate; micro-retail purchases and personal and business services not otherwise supplied.

Direct linkages between the formal and the informal sector are also significant. Though bulk of the informal sector enterprises often produce goods and services for consumption directly by house-holds, yet some also produce for formal sector enterprises. In some cases the informal sector producers market goods through formal sector enterprises owing to the lack of direct access to the market or for other reasons. Besides such forward

linkages, the informal sector is also linked to the formal sector in other ways. For example, it is not uncommon to find workers who moved from the formal into the informal sector to establish their own enterprises once having learnt certain skills and/or accumulated savings through wage incomes. Thus flow of skills and technology from the formal to the informal occurs. Likewise in some cases the reverse flow also exists. Moreover, certain linkages are due to the provision of inputs by one for the other.

The backward and forward linkages between the formal and informal sector highlights :

- (a) The element of complementarity facilitating the public in getting their required goods/services.
- (b) The elements of competition promoting greater efficiency and productivity and it also provides a safeguard against undue exploitation of the consumers.

Identification of the Informal Sector

Identification of the informal sector of employment is not easy as the loose definition of this sector presents conceptual problems and the information is not available in the desired format. The available information usually relate to the traditionally followed pattern of employees and unemployed or the distribution of labour force by industry/occupational grouping. To initiate an enquiry into the informal sector of employment for females it is essential to start with a study of changes in the various dimensions relating to distribution by occupations, industry divisions and employment status categories. In this paper, effort has been made to present an indepth insight into the informal sector of employment based on existing information which would provide the proper perspective and a base of reference for detailed study of the sector in future through new surveys in rural and urban areas.

In order to identify the female informal sector of employment in urban and rural areas, the most important aspect to be investigated would be the employment status categories. These include employers, government

employees, non-government employees, self-employeds and unpaid family helpers. The comparable information on employment status categories has been taken from the 1981 Census and Labour Force Survey 1987-88. Informal sector has been taken to include the self-employeds and unpaid family helpers, while the formal sectors include employers and employees. It may be noted that the occupational groups of professional/technical and administrative/managerial workers who are in the employment status categories of self-employed and unpaid family helpers (UPFH) have been included in the formal sector for obvious reasons. However, the UPFH of Professional/Technical, Administrative/Executives and Clerical groups are included in the informal sector. The justification for their inclusion can be found in the structural imbalance of female labour force in the market, i.e., where the labour market work is not related to the training of workers.⁴

Area-wise Trends in the Informal Sector

In order to trace out the changes in the female informal sector of employment overtime, information from the census and labour force survey (LFS) was examined in detail. Information on various dimensions relating to distribution of work force by occupations/industry divisions is very useful and has been analysed in the next section.

Female activity rates have been around 10 per cent and the women work force accounted for nearly 11 per cent in 1987-88 of the total civilian labour force in Pakistan, which is far less than developed countries (where it is around 45 to 50 per cent) and even less than most of the South Asian Countries (for India this ratio was above 20 per cent during 1985). For Pakistan the female labour market activity has been traditionally low mainly due to lack of education/training, religious and social customs and lack of opportunities. Informal sector has provided enhanced opportunities for females in the urban and rural areas of the country.

Following Table presents the percentage distribution of female labour force in the informal sector of employment by Rural and Urban areas according to employment status categories.

TABLE 1
Trends in the Female Informal Sector of Employment
by Area 1981 and 1987-88

(Percentages)

Categories	Total	1981 Rural	Urban	Total	1987-88 Rural	Urban
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Formal Sector	(40.73)	(25.27)	(74.58)	(15.89)	(9.04)	(56.87)
Employer	0.98	1.45	0.93	0.20	0.22	0.09
Employees	37.63	22.04	70.78	14.92	8.37	54.11
Self-Employed (Professional/ Executives/Clerical)	2.12	1.78	2.87	0.77	0.45	2.67
Informal Sector	(59.25)	(75.16)	(25.46)	(84.11)	(90.96)	(43.14)
Self-Employed (Agri./ Sales/Prod./Service and Others)	31.36	36.95	19.51	20.90	20.44	23.69
Unpaid Family Helper	27.89	38.21	5.95	63.21	70.52	19.45

Source : Annexure-A and Labour Force Survey 1987-88.

The above table clearly indicates that the formal sector employment for females has decreased both for rural and urban areas with corresponding increases in informal sector employment during 1987-88 compared to 1981. The informal sector female employment increased from 59.3 per cent in 1981 to 84.1 per cent in 1987-88. This increase was most pronounced in urban areas as it went up from 25.5 per cent to 43.1 per cent and in rural areas it increased from 75.2 per cent to 92 per cent. During the corresponding period, the formal sector employment decreased from 25.3 per cent to 9 per cent and from 74.6 per cent to 56.9 per cent in rural and urban areas respectively. Evidently the opportunities for women expanded both in the rural and urban areas at a faster rate in the informal sector compared to formal sector.

The most important point to note from the above data relates to the size of the informal sector. The size of informal sector was nearly one and a half times that of the formal sector in 1981, which increased to more than five

times that of formal sector during 1987-88. It is clear that the size of the female informal sector expanded by leaps and bounds during the period under consideration specifically in urban area. This signify the emphasis required on informal employments for the females particularly in urban setting.

Employment Situation in the Informal Sector by Area and Occupations

The distribution of female labour force by sector, occupation and changes in each overtime exhibits impacts from various dimensions. Most important dimension relates to improvement/deterioration in the employment situation for women. Table 2 shows the percentage distribution of rural and urban female labour force by occupations during 1981 and 1987-88.

Looking at the informal sector it is clear that there is enormous increases in the employment of females in agriculture and related occupations with a corresponding decrease in others. For informal sector alongwith increased absorption of females in agriculture, there is evidence of increased female employment in service and production/transport and related activities in urban areas.⁵ The elimination of the category unclassified occupations overtime indicates improved numeration methods alongwith improvement in employment situation. Moreover, the occupational distribution of both sectors shows movement of female towards agriculture in rural areas which can be taken as a deterioration in their employment situation. However, if the increased employment of females is due to the out-migration of male workers towards urban areas, then their employment situation would indicate an improvement. The reason being that now the employment in agriculture and related occupations would be of those females who were previously either unemployed or under-employed. In other words it would exhibit enhanced employment opportunities of females. For urban area informal female workers, the increased job opportunities in Production/Transport and service occupations can be taken as an improvement in their employment situation. Most noticable feature of the distribution by occupational groups in rural/urban areas is the expansion in the informal sector employees specially the service and production/transport

TABLE 2
Percentage Distribution of Rural and Urban Female Labour Force by Occupations
1981 and 1987-88

Occupational Groups.	TOTAL						RURAL						URBAN					
	Formal Sector		Informal Sector		Total		Formal Sector		Informal Sector		Total		Formal Sector		Informal Sector		Total	
	1981	1987-88	1981	1987-88	1981	1987-88	1981	1987-88	1981	1987-88	1981	1987-88	1981	1987-88	1981	1987-88	1981	1987-88
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Professional, Technical and related workers.	38.86	37.08	1.27	0.12	38.86	37.08	29.86	20.08	0.15	0.04	29.86	20.08	45.20	53.40	0.95	0.86	45.20	53.40
Administrative/Managerial Workers.	1.72	1.32	0.09	-	1.72	1.32	1.39	-	0.03	-	1.39	-	1.95	2.55	0.16	-	1.95	2.55
Clerical and related Workers.	6.45	5.90	0.15	-	6.45	5.90	4.30	1.66	0.02	-	4.30	1.66	7.94	9.95	0.13	-	7.94	9.95
Sales Workers.	1.40	0.94	7.04	2.25	1.40	0.94	0.77	1.11	4.18	1.35	1.40	0.94	1.84	0.81	24.80	13.47	1.84	0.81
Service Workers.	15.38	17.31	3.63	1.24	15.38	17.31	9.33	12.10	2.89	0.59	9.33	12.10	19.64	22.40	8.27	9.43	19.64	22.40
Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Forestry, Fisheries, and Hunting Workers.	5.15	23.02	60.98	81.55	5.15	23.02	11.11	45.84	69.05	86.97	5.15	23.02	0.94	5.24	10.25	12.98	0.94	5.24
Production, Transport and related workers.	26.85	14.24	25.37	14.87	26.85	14.24	41.15	19.53	20.92	11.04	26.85	14.24	16.77	9.35	53.26	63.21	16.77	9.35
Un-classified.	4.12	-	1.66	-	4.12	-	2.09	-	1.34	-	4.12	-	5.56	-	2.07	0.07	5.56	-

Source : Annexe-A and IFS 1987-88.

workers in urban areas. As urban informal sector has grown faster than the rural informal sector, efforts need to be focussed on cashing in the opportunities which exist for women in the urban setting. In this context, it may be noticed that the proportional share of informal employment in service sector increased from 8.3 per cent in 1981 to 9.4 per cent in 1987-88 and for production/transport and related workers this ratio increased from 52.3 per cent to 63.2 per cent in urban areas.

Female Child Labour

Another important angle for consideration of employment situation is the incidence of female child labour in both rural and urban areas. All female children in labour force should of course be included in the informal sector of employment. Child labour can be defined as the girls between the age of 10 to 14 years who are in the labour force.⁶ In order to arrive at some estimates of female child labour only the data relating to employed females aged 10 to 14 years has been examined and is presented in Table 3.

TABLE 3
Female Children as Proportion of Total Child Labour :
1981 and 1987-88

Areas	(Percentage)	
	1981	1987-88
All	6.9	15.2
Rural	6.9	16.4
Urban	6.4	8.9

The above Table clearly shows that female child labour as percentage of total child labour has increased from 6.9 per cent in 1981 to 15.2 per cent in 1987-88. This increase is particularly significant for rural areas, where this proportion has gone up by nearly three times during the period under consideration. The data on child labour is clearly indicative of deterioration

in the employment situation of female children between the ages of 10 to 14 years.

While analysing the female employment in the formal and informal sectors of employment, the data for their male counterparts was also examined and Annexures B to E present the comparative Tables. The overall conclusions of expansion in the informal employment is confirmed. The occupational distribution shows reduction in agriculture and related sector alongwith enormous expansion in the sales and production/transport and related occupations. In contrast to female child labour, the situation of male working children shows improvement as their proportional employment compared to girls declined during the period under consideration.

Recommendations for the Informal Sector

The major policy implication of the analysis is that although effort is required to enhance formal sector employment opportunities for women, yet in the short run the quickest way for generating employment for women both in rural and urban areas would be through fast growth of informal sector. Examination of this sector data clearly shows the inadequacy of the reported information regarding details which can be helpful for suggesting specific recommendations for this sector. However, in view of the findings presented in the previous sections, following recommendations are proposed for improvement of the employment situation for the women in the informal sector :

1. Recommendations for Research and Development

- (a) It is recommended that the Federal Bureau of Statistics should report detailed information on the employment status for women, (e.g., the break-up of occupations by education levels and hours worked per week by occupations). The Labour Force Surveys undertaken by various organizations (specifically by the Manpower Directorates) may include the informal women labour force aspects in their questionnaires and subsequently in their published reports.

- (b) Research Studies may be sponsored in all aspects of this sector. In addition, offering of research stipends to female students of recognised universities may be considered for preparing the Master/M. Phil. level thesis on the subject.
- (c) It has been emphasised at various forums that for skill development in the informal sector, education and training is the ultimate solution. In this respect, it is specifically recommended that short period training programme for self-employed women (on aspects of finance and marketing) may be sponsored. Moreover, dissemination of information relating to available opportunities for women in this sector may be provided through media by projecting successful women of this sector. Training courses for small female entrepreneurs may be arranged on divisional/district level in order to infuse confidence in women. Additionally, it is recommended that the training programmes may include a component for monitoring and evaluation to introduce required modifications at appropriate time/level in the programme for helping trained women's absorption in the market.

2. Recommendations for Female Child Labour

- (a) Although, ideally the abolition of child labour should be strongly recommended, yet realising the fact that child labour will continue due to low levels of school enrolments and poverty, it is proposed that emphasis may be placed on eliminating/reducing the exploitation of working girls. The level of exploitation of young working girls by their parents, employers and society need to be studied before specific recommendations can be proposed. Suitable studies for the purpose may be sponsored. Additionally, to make the young girls aware of their rights, women awareness programmes through the media may be initiated/extended.
- (b) In order to ensure that working girls are not being under-paid or treated badly, counselling activities for them may be offered at the

appropriate centres, for women (for example, legal aid centres, or female employment exchanges).

- (c) Existing legislation relating to child labour, their hours of work and their working conditions may be examined and appropriate changes in them to help the young girls who are working may be proposed.
- (d) Government should also press for proper implementation of compulsory education regulation for girls and suggest possible punishment in cases of non-compliance.

3. Recommendations for Informal Sector Occupations

In order to make specific recommendations for informal sector occupations for women, the occupational grouping indicated in censuses and labour force survey has been examined. On the basis of given characteristics of this sector and its trends given in previous sections, it is evident that more and more women are going into service sector and production, transport and related activities, where chances of their exploitation in form of lower wages, lengthy working hours and inadequate facilities at work premises are greater. Based on the given occupational grouping for women in the informal sector, following recommendations are proposed :

- (a) For the identified informal occupations (after further deliberations) prevailing realistic minimum wages by activities offered in the market may be listed by area and this information disseminated to ensure that women are not being underpaid or exploited.
- (b) Programmes should be initiated (may be with the help of Women Bank) for provision of soft loan for women who want to start business ventures. In this regard the conditions of co-lateral may be studied and changed appropriately as large number of women in the informal sector would be unable to offer any thing as colateral.

- (c) Increased openings for workers like sales-women, cooks, waitresses, etc., in the formal organization may be ensured by inducting them as apprentices and by ensuring relaxation of entrance qualification. In this respect, government may fix an appropriate percentage share for female trainees in Hotels/ Restaurants, Factories, and Workshops alongwith proposing appropriate relaxation in entrance qualifications.
- (d) Employers may be offered incentives for female employment by offering partial government contribution for provision of facilities (like toilets, women common room, etc.) at the premises.
- (e) Image of the informal women workers may be improved through improving their working condition and projecting their contribution through mass media.
- (f) For women, whose participation in the labour market is constrained due to family responsibilities, part-time jobs or piecemeal work is the answer. As in our socio-economic set up men usually cannot afford to be part-time workers, increased opportunities for this kind of work would help the women who want to enter the informal sector. It is recommended that employers should be encouraged (through tax rebates) to utilize part-time workers alongwith the flexibility of allowing piecemeal work to be completed at home.

Distribution of Employed Female Work Force by Employment Status/Category during 1981

Occupational Groups	TOTAL			EMPLOYERS			EMPLOYEES			SELF-EMPLOYED			UNPAID PARTLY HELPER		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
Total	772.4	525.3	247.1	7.6	5.4	2.3	290.7	115.8	174.9	258.7	203.4	554.8	215.4	200.4	14.7
Professional/Technical	128.3	44.2	83.9	0.5	0.2	0.3	108.8	31.6	77.2	15.0	7.2	5.8	5.8	5.2	0.6
Administrative/Managerial	5.9	2.09	3.8	0.9	0.6	0.3	3.1	0.41	2.7	1.4	0.8	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.1
Clerical and Related	21.1	6.3	14.8	0.01	0.06	0.04	18.3	4.3	13.9	2.0	1.3	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.08
Sales Workers	36.6	17.5	19.1	0.9	0.3	0.6	3.5	0.7	2.8	26.8	13.9	12.9	5.4	2.6	2.7
Service Workers	65.0	23.6	41.5	0.2	0.08	0.1	48.2	12.1	36.1	12.4	8.6	3.8	4.2	2.6	1.4
*Agriculture and Related	295.4	287.2	8.1	2.9	2.7	0.2	13.3	11.8	1.5	114.9	110.7	4.2	164.2	161.9	2.25
Production/Transport	200.7	136.4	64.9	2.1	1.5	0.6	82.4	52.2	30.5	85.0	58.7	26.3	31.1	25.9	7.2
Un-classified	19.4	7.9	11.5	0.07	0.03	0.04	12.9	2.7	10.2	3.1	2.1	1.0	4.5	5.2	0.3

* Animal Husbandry, Forestry, Fisheries and Hunting workers.

Source : Population Census 1981.

Distribution of Employed Male Work Force by Employment Status/Category During 1981

Occupational Groups	TOTAL			EMPLOYERS			EMPLOYEES			SELF-EMPLOYED			UNPAID PARTLY HELPER		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
Total	21152.26	15671.3	5480.9	428.5	270.3	158.2	5681.0	2859.3	2821.2	11965.2	9719.4	2245.8	3077.9	2821.9	256.0
Professional/Technical	11255.7	10841.1	414.7	219.6	195.4	24.2	847.9	774.6	73.3	7684.5	7420.6	263.9	2503.7	2450.5	53.2
Administrative/Managerial	85.3	69.4	15.9	1.1	0.69	0.41	67.3	55.9	11.4	14.7	11.3	3.4	2.2	1.5	0.7
Clerical and Related	1889.6	876.2	1013.4	46.5	13.69	32.81	1061.0	413.7	647.3	660.0	367.4	292.6	122.1	81.4	40.7
Sales Workers	128.9	62.3	66.6	0.43	0.16	0.27	116.6	56.3	60.3	10.4	5.2	5.2	1.5	0.6	0.9
Service Workers	900.8	540.7	360.1	13.6	7.65	5.95	461.3	276.1	185.2	392.2	231.2	161.0	33.7	25.8	7.9
*Agriculture and Related	2017.0	788.8	1228.2	91.7	28.58	63.12	309.8	94.7	215.1	1446.3	594.7	851.6	169.2	70.8	98.4
Production/Transport	3830.5	1860.2	1970.3	42.5	16.33	26.17	2293.8	943.5	1350.3	1318.9	770.8	548.1	175.3	129.6	45.7
Un-classified	1044.4	632.7	411.7	13.00	7.74	5.26	523.0	245.1	277.9	438.2	318.2	820.0	70.2	61.7	8.5

*Animal Husbandry, Forestry, Fisheries and Hunting workers.

Source : Population Census 1981.

ANNEXURE-C

Trends in the Female Informal Sector of Employment
(for Males) by Area 1981 and 1987-88

(Percentages)

Categories	1981			1987-88		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Formal Sector	(68.48)	(69.74)	(64.58)	(28.18)	(19.87)	(51.15)
Employer	2.02	1.72	2.89	1.82	1.51	2.66
Employees	26.86	18.25	51.47	25.50	17.76	46.89
Self Employed						
(Professional/ Executives)	39.52	49.77	10.22	0.86	0.60	1.60
Informal Sector	(31.6)	(30.26)	(35.42)	(71.82)	(80.13)	(48.84)
Self-Employed						
(Occupational Group)	17.05	12.25	30.75	47.05	50.37	37.86
1. Professional.						
2. Administrative.						
3. Clerical, etc.						
Unpaid Family Helper	14.55	18.01 ¹	4.67	24.77	29.76	10.98

Source : Annexure-A and Labour Force Survey 1987-88.

ANNEXURE - D

Percentage Distribution of Rural and Urban Male Labour Force by Occupations
1981 and 1987-88

(Percentage)

Occupational Groups.	TOTAL				RURAL				URBAN			
	Formal Sector		Informal Sector		Formal Sector		Informal Sector		Formal Sector		Informal Sector	
	1981	1987-88	1981	1987-88	1981	1987-88	1981	1987-88	1981	1987-88	1981	1987-88
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Professional, Technical and related workers.	60.49	11.58	37.46	0.11	76.77	11.31	51.68	0.05	10.21	11.89	2.74	0.59
Administrative/Managerial workers.	0.57	2.51	0.03	0.06	0.62	0.83	0.03	0.01	0.43	4.35	0.04	0.26
Clerical and related workers.	12.20	13.93	1.83	0.04	7.27	10.43	1.72	0.03	27.48	17.68	2.10	0.10
Sales workers.	0.81	5.50	0.19	14.90	0.52	3.20	0.12	7.89	1.71	8.05	0.31	43.36
Service workers.	3.28	8.66	6.37	2.59	2.60	8.12	5.42	1.86	5.40	9.26	8.70	5.57
Agriculture, Animal Husbandary, Forestry, Fisheries, and Hunting workers.	2.77	18.76	24.17	60.07	1.13	32.62	14.03	72.82	7.86	3.74	48.92	8.27
Production, Transport and related workers.	16.15	38.72	22.36	22.18	8.78	33.22	18.99	17.30	38.61	44.64	30.58	41.97
Un-classified.	3.70	0.30	7.60	0.03	2.36	0.28	8.01	0.01	8.07	0.02	6.62	0.06

Source : Annexure-A and IFS 1987-88.

ANNEXURE - E

**Female Children as Proportion of Total Child Labour
1981 and 1987-88**

Areas	1981	1987-88
All	93.1	84.8
Rural	93.1	83.6
Urban	93.6	91.1

Source: 1981 Census and LFS 1987 - 88.

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1. The earliest attempts include studies by Guisinger and Irfan, Khan, Kazi and Raza and Cohen and Havinga.
2. ILO World Employment Programme 1972.
3. It may be noted that some surveys report high earning levels for this sector. The issue of earnings can be clarified if incomes are examined along with productivity. Productivity in the informal activities in most cases is high, while due to wide spread exploitation of these workers, incomes can be low. Moreover these workers are combining informal work with other activities, therefore, even with higher per hour earnings their total income can be low.
4. The example of structural imbalance of the female workers can be found where educated/trained ladies are not following their professions but are engaged in helping the family run businesses. For cross-checking the professional/trained and administrative/ managerial workers were excluded from the informal sector for both periods and comparison was undertaken but there was no significant difference in the conclusions drawn.
5. The increased employment in urban informal sector in service and Production/Transport and related occupations has manifested itself in the increased number of female cooks, waitresses, maids, cleaners, hair dressers, beauticians, food and tobacco processors, dress-makers, machinists, jewelery workers, potters, paper workers, printers, construction workers, etc.
6. This definition is in accordance with the currently prevailing labour laws in Pakistan. Internationally the age limit for entrance into the Labour Force is 15 years.

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The Unity and Partition

A. F. M. MOHSIN

Pakistan owes its existence not so much to anything as to the fear of Muslims of undivided India that their separate culture and the way of life would be submerged in India where the Hindu majority could exercise the power which the weight of its number gave it. It was this fear that made the League set its face against participating in a programme of future government in India, unless the principle of partition was unequivocally accepted.¹

The Congress attitude to partition, however, was that of complete hostility. On April 5, 1946, Mr. Nehru declared : "Congress is not going to agree to the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan under any circumstances whatsoever; even if the British Government agrees to it. Nothing on earth, not even U.N.O. is going to bring about the Pakistan which Jinnah wants." Yet, on August 14, 1947, i.e., about sixteen months later, Lord Mountbatten welcomed the new State of Pakistan as constitutional head of a 'friendly' neighbour (India).²

The achievement of Pakistan is thus a 'miracle' in the contemporary history of the world. It is a landmark in the history of struggle for independence of the Muslims of undivided India. It is a living monument of their unparalleled unity which brought them within a short period of seven years what was thought to be an utopian ideal.³

The Cabinet Mission

On February 19, 1946, the British Government decided to send out to India a special Mission of Cabinet Ministers to seek an agreement with the leaders of public opinion on the principles and procedure relating to the constitutional set-up in India. The Mission was to help the Viceroy to give effect to his programme of establishing first a constitution making body, and secondly an interim Executive Council supported by the major Indian political parties. Although there were points of view on Indian politics, yet, they were overshadowed by the single great issue between the Congress's insistence on the unity of India and the League's demand for partition. Congress was insisting on the Mission to take immediate steps to implement its declared programme of calling, an Interim Government and a Constituent Assembly into being. The League on the other hand, was apprehending that without prior recognition of Pakistan, "the Hindu majority, into whose hands control of the machinery of Government and Constitution-making would fall, would use their power to block partition."⁴ Congress urged the British to fix a time limit to 'Quit India'. The League raised the slogan of 'Divide and Quit'. Thus the whole constitutional problem developed round the issue of unity or partition of the sub-continent.⁵

Simla Conference

The Mission, after finishing their preliminary task of interviews with public men and women, representatives of minorities and special interests, princes and their ministers, left New Delhi for a short holiday in Kashmir; after expressing the hope that in their absence the two major parties --- the Congress and the League, would come together to reach a settlement by themselves. Finding that their hope had not been realised, the Mission on their return from Kashmir, entered upon an intensive negotiations with the Congress and the League and invited them to send negotiators to meet the Viceroy at Simla to discuss the possibility of a settlement. The negotiations were on the following basis :

"A Union Government will be dealing with the following subjects :
Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communication. There will be two

groups of provinces, the one of the predominantly Hindu provinces, and the other of the predominantly Muslim provinces dealing with all other subjects which the provinces in the respective groups desire to be dealt with in common. The provincial government will deal with all other subjects and will have all the residuary sovereign powers."⁶

"The Union would consist of a Government and a Legislature, each containing an equal number of representative of the Hindu majority provinces and Muslim majority provinces together with representative of the States. It would deal not only with Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications, but also with Fundamental rights and was to have the power to obtain the finance required for all these subjects. All the remaining powers would vest in the provinces, but an intermediate tier might be formed by joining themselves into groups which might set up their own Executive and Legislatures. It would be for the groups to decide which of the provincial subjects they would take in common. The Union and Group constitutions would provide that any province might by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution at the end of ten years."⁷

The Mission, being unable to close the gap between the points of view of the Congress and the Muslim League, brought the Conference to a close on May 12 and in a statement on May 16 explained that in the absence of agreement between the parties they felt it their duty to put forward what they considered the best arrangement possible to ensure a speedy setting-up of the new constitution. In their recommendations they sketched the basic form of the constitution, again on the three tier model and stressed the importance of the immediate establishment of an Interim Government having the support of the major political parties. But by this time complete deadlock has been reached.

In accordance with the Statement of May 16, the Mission on June 16 proposed to invite fourteen persons to serve as members of the Interim

Government. The negotiations for the Interim Government, however, failed and the Viceroy set up a temporary Care-taker Government of officials to function "until such time as his negotiations with the political leaders could bear fruit." The Mission left India on June 29.⁸

The Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly

By the end of July, the election for the seats in the Constituent Assembly, had almost been completed, and the two major parties surpassed their triumphs at the earlier elections. The Congress had already on June 25 decided for the moment to go to the Constituent Assembly. The Muslim League, however, in its Council meeting on July 27 passed resolution unanimously withdrawing its earlier acceptance of the Statement of May 16. While Muslims were determined to shed the last drop of their blood to achieve Pakistan, the Congress planned to dominate the Constituent Assembly by its 'brute majority'. Ultimately, the League declared that time had come for the Muslim nation to resort to 'Direct Action' to achieve Pakistan.⁹

On August 24, the composition of the new Interim Government was settled between Lord Wavell and Pundit Nehru. Lord Wavell, while putting the Congress in saddle on September 2, 1946, announced that it was still open to the Muslim League to response its nominee(s) for places in the Government of fourteen of which six would be nominees of Congress and three representatives of the minorities.

The League, while not approving the terms on which the Viceroy prepared to reshape the Government, decided to accept his offer and put forward five names and the reconstitution of the new Government was announced on October 15. But as far back as September 19 while the League was still in the wilderness, it was decided to postpone the opening of the Constituent Assembly until December 9 with a view to securing the League's participation.¹⁰

London Conference

On November 27, representatives of the Congress, the Muslim League and the Sikhs at the ratio of 2 : 2 : 1 were invited to accompany Lord Wavell

who was invited by the British Government to come to London for consultation on the Indian political situation and to reach an understanding on the basis of which the Constituent Assembly could proceed with the co-operation of all parties. On December 6 the British Government issued a statement which made clear that no settlement had been reached.

The limited postponement of the Constituent Assembly failed to achieve its objective of securing League's participation and when it duly opened on December 9, it was boycotted by the Muslim League.¹¹

The Turning Point

On February 20 the British Government issued a statement announcing "their definite intention to take the necessary steps to effect the transfer of power into responsible Indians hands by a date not later than June 1948." It was also announced that during the following months Lord Wavell would be succeeded as Viceroy by Lord Mountbatten.

When Lord Mountbatten arrived in India on March 22, 1947, he found a country drifting into chaos for want of political settlement. In the Interim Government the two blocks were pursuing mutually antagonistic policies. So complete were the deadlock and distrust between the parties that belief in the possibility of an agreed settlement was non-existent.¹²

Soon after his arrival in the sub-continent, Lord Mountbatten began an intensive series of talks with Indian leaders. The Congress, however, was gradually reconciling itself to the principle of partition; and the cloud on the political horizon of India was slowly disappearing. From June 2, events began to move rapidly and take a definite shape. The leaders were again invited by the Viceroy who made final appeal for acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's Plan. But his appeal met with no response; and it only remained for him to try the new Plan which was published next day as the Statement of June 3. The Plan was mainly concerned with the machinery for discovering whether the inhabitants of the provinces claimed for Pakistan wished the constitution to be framed in a new Pakistan Consenbly or in the existing Assembly. In other words whether they wished to join Pakistan or not. The leaders'

favourable attitude towards the new Plan which they broadcast on the evening of June 3 was received by the people in calmness and had healthy effect. The main grounds for hope were that at long last agreement seemed to have been reached and that independence was to come even sooner than had been expected. In London as well as in New Delhi, the authorities were working very hard and by the end of June, the procedure for deciding on the Unity or Partition of Bengal and the Punjab had been worked out; and in each case the people gave their verdict in favour of Partition.¹³

The increasing tempo which marked the June 3rd Plan, was further accelerated by the introduction of the Indian Independence Bill in the House of Commons on July 4, 1947. The Bill was to provide for the setting up on August 15 of the two Independent Dominions of India and Pakistan and for the transfer to their Governments of all the powers hitherto exercised in British India by the Parliament and Government of the United Kingdom. On July 18, only fourteen days after its introduction in the House of Commons, the Bill received the Royal Assent.¹⁴

Thus Partition of the Indian sub-continent became an accomplished fact and Pakistan today enters its 43rd Years of independence existence in the comity of nations.

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Formation of Punjabi Suba in India -- An Analytical Study of Hindu-Sikh Politics, 1964-66

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"No account of modern Indian policy is possible without continuing reference to Nehru, for it was he who moulded India's political policy in terms of the comity of nations."¹ This is how Kuldip Nayar has tried to describe Nehru, without recounting the issues which the latter left unsolved and which are still a sore thorn in Indian bodypolitics. One of these tricky and tortuous problems is that of the Punjab.

The Sikh issue had always been an obsession with Nehru. He shunned even the very idea of talking about it, not to say of trying to solve it. In this regard, he always adopted an ostrich-like attitude, closing his eyes in the face of political realities. In fact, he had a romantic view of life, remaining aloof from the hard facts facing India. This side of his character has rightly been described by the Quaid-e-Azam M.A. Jinnah in the following words : "A Peter Pan, a literary figure who should have been an English Professor, not a politician; an arrogant Brahmin who covers his Hindu chicanery under a veneer of western education."²

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But the strong propaganda machine at the disposal of his community had extolled Nehru to such an extent that he became synonymous with India and Hinduism. Though he had begun his political apprenticeship under the guidance of Gandhi, Nehru soon overshadowed all the stalwarts in Congress. For the Hindu masses, particularly those in northern India, he had already become the re-incarnation of a charming and benevolent god; his photographs adored every Hindu house-hold. When he assumed the responsibility of running the affairs of an independent country, he had already become the very essence of what is celestial as well as material, progressive and sophisticated. No leader in Hindu India at that time was considered as his equal. Naturally, during his own life time, Hindu leaders and masses were haunted with a big question mark; "After Nehru . . . What?"³ Hence, when with his death a long and eventful chapter in the history of Modern Bharat came to a close, the general masses as well as Congress leaders were unable to get a matching substitute of towering personality.

A man with such a background and mental calibre always proves to be too ambitious. And Nehru's ambition knew no bounds. The emergence of Pakistan was a sort of personal blow to him, as it deprived him of the leadership of the huge sub-continent. He tried to compensate it in another way by trying to become the leader of the whole Asia. And this ambition was fanned by the USSR and western powers for their own global interests. During the last days of his life, Nehru increasingly involved himself in extra-national problems in the vain hope of coming at par with Asian giants like Mau-Tse-Tung, Ho-Chi-Minh, Ahmad Soekarno. Though he succeeded to a large extent, thanks to the vigorous propaganda campaign, vast resources of a country like Bharat and the global strategy of the big powers, his grip on the national affairs began to slip and north-south tussle within the Congress gradually came to surface.

This process has brought Kamraj, a shrewd politician from the South, to the forefront. Elected as Congress president on 20 November, 1964,⁴ Kamraj soon over-shadowed most of the veteran Congressites. His first task as the

new Congress boss was to embark on a plan of re-organizing its whole structure.

The famous plan, named after him, re-activated the Congress, gave a big jolt to the supremacy of the north. Assuming the role of King-maker, Kamraj easily manoeuvred to get Lal Bhadur Shastri as Nehru's successor. Short-statured and frail Shastri was credited for his piety, simplicity and cool-mindedness, but he was no match for the shrewd and robust Kamraj.

Their reactions to the new situation is indeed an interesting study in contrast. The first session of the Congress parliamentary party under Kamraj chairmanship virtually exhausted him and he suffered a major heart-attack, while he told the meeting that he had never fallen ill. An unknown and unimpressive Congressite, Shastri has spent most of his life as a loyal worker under Ghandi and Nehru. He came to be known outside the Congress circles in early sixties when he offered to resign from the Central Cabinet after having accepted the responsibility of a major railway accident.⁵

After Nehru's death and mainly through the efforts of Kamraj, Chairman of All India Congress, Shastri found his way to the Prime Ministership of India. He had a humble origin and throughout his life remained a loyal worker. Simplicity and modesty were said to be his major traits. When his name was proposed to succeed Nehru, he offered to withdraw in favour of Indira Gandhi. He contributed in getting the official language Act Award enacted.⁶ But he always avoided publicity and preferred to remain a back-bencher. Such a person suited best Kamraj's planning, but he could not be expected to take any bold stand on an important issue like the Punjabi Suba. When in August 1965, Sant Fateh Singh, Vice-President of Akali Dal, has a talk with him regarding this issue, he simply replied that "any complaint about discriminations against the Sikhs could be discussed and investigated, but Punjabi Suba -- sorry."⁷ Later, at a Press Conference, Shastri commented : "Punjabi Suba is not a present to be offered on a platter."⁸ Sant Fateh Singh was very up-set and a few days later, announced a hunger-strike to be launched on August 10, 1965 at Akal Takhat, Amritsar, with an ultimatum to burn himself alive if Punjabi Suba was not conceded.⁹

This threat failed to move the government, but it did come to his rescue. The docile Shastri, lacking the stature and charisma of his predecessor, easily succumbed to the manoeuvring of politicians and the pressure from army generals, who had gained some foothold in the political arena as well, thanks to the Nehru's repeated recourse to troops to suppress the communal riots and the Sikh agitation. Extremist political and army leaders had always hankered for the total assimilation of Kashmir.

The most tortuous legacy left by Nehru was, and is, the Kashmir problem. During the last days of his life he had recognized the urgency of solving this problem and had sent Sheikh Abdullah to Pakistan to pave the way for a negotiated settlement. But Sheikh Abdullah reached Pakistan and could hardly hold initial talks at Islamabad when Nehru breathed his last.¹⁰ When Shastri was installed in his place, the situation in Indian-held Kashmir had already become explosive and Kashmiri Muslims, after having waited for more than 17 years, were on the verge of open revolt. There were large-scale demonstrations and clashes throughout the valley, with people openly denouncing the "Indian dogs."¹¹ India alerted its troops and rushed in re-inforcements. Pakistan, in order to forestall any Indian attack on Azad Kashmir, took precautionary measures. Its troops advanced into Chhamb and Jaurian in order to consolidate the defence, thus keeping this armed conflict within the limits of Kashmir state, recognized internationally as a disputed territory. A few months earlier India had tried its muscle in Rann of Kutch. And, having been badly beaten, Shastri had announced to open a front of his own choice.¹² He came under heavy pressure and embarked on a plan to invade Pakistan. On September 6, 1965, Indian army crossed international border with a view to attacking Lahore. In the war that ensued India was flatly mauled and after only 17 days, asked for a cease-fire.¹³

Sikhs as a whole supported the Indian war effort. Sant Fatch Singh, on an appeal from all leaders, including the President and the Prime Minister, postponed his planned hunger-strike and self-immolation.¹⁴ Sikh officers and Jawans in the armed forces proved faithful to their duty. Of the total number of officers and Jawans killed in action, 42 per cent were Sikhs.¹⁵

This stand taken by Sikhs and sacrifices rendered by them convinced the Government, the Congress and the Indians as a whole, of their sincerity and loyalty. Shastri, in a meeting with Sikh leaders, gave his solemn pledge to consider their demands sympathetically. Consequently, soon after the war was over, Indian Home Minister Gulzari Lal Nanda announced the formation of a parliamentary committee under the Chairmanship of Hukam Singh, the Speaker of Lok Sabha (Lower House of Indian Parliament). The committee included Indira Gandhi, Jagjivan Ram and Manavist Tayagi. It is interesting to note that it was Indira Gandhi's first major responsibility.

Moreover, a special cabinet sub-committee to investigate, discuss and recommend the demand for the Punjabi Suba was also formed.¹⁶ But with Shastri's sudden death at Tashkent, the whole initiative came to a stand-still. Whereas the parliamentary committee and the cabinet sub-committee had not yet started their work, the Hindu fundamentalists raised a hue and cry. Ram Kishan, the Chief Minister of the Punjab in a statement on October 5, 1965, strongly opposed the formation of the Punjabi Suba. Lala Jagat Narayan, an influential leaders of Punjab Arya Samaj (the Hindu religious organization) denounced it all the more. Thus the Hindu-Sikh amity created by the Indo-Pak war was again shattered. And Sikhs as a whole were convinced that their sacrifices rendered during the war had been totally forgotten in the short span of one month. When Indira Gandhi assumed the responsibility as Prime Minister, the uneasiness among the Sikh community reached its climax. She writes in her autobiography that "Punjabi Suba was one of the problems that required early attention at that time, though her father had been strongly opposed to it. But by 1966 the demand had grown so strong that the Centre was not in a position to resist it."¹⁷

Kamraj by now had totally consolidated his position as the Congress head. He had played a dominant role in getting Indira Gandhi elected as the new Prime Minister. Thus, he was recognized as an all-powerful leader, with a national stature, capable of taking bold initiative on important issues. He decided to settle the Punjab problem that had been a night-mare for the Indian leaders, once and for all. Kamraj had emerged on the Indian political

scene at a critical juncture and made his contribution is shaping post-Nehru policies. Thus his career required a careful study. He was brought up and groomed in typical South Indian surroundings, inheriting its typical traits and thinking.

In large under-developed countries, regional tendencies have never remained obscure and it is true of Bharat as well, where north-south differences have always played a vital role in shaping up the behaviour of the people and in moulding their thinking and habits. Qurat-ul-Ain Hyder is right in remarking the "Beyond Vindhyachal, the country is different."¹⁸ And it is a recognized fact that, in India, north-south tussle had been an important factor right from the pre-historic times. Dravidians have kept themselves at a reasonable distance from the Aryan stock of the north, cherishing the memory of their ancestors, driven out of Indus valley by the invading Aryans. Tamils also speak of Aryans as foreigners. Hindus of the South refer King Ravana along with Lord Rama. For them, Kaveri and Godavari rivers are as sacred as mother Ganges and fawn-coloured Krishna is more respectable than white-hued gods and goddesses such as pretty Indira, beautiful Lakshmi and charming Parvati. Buddhism also flourished and left deep impression there. Christianity had taken its roots there at its earliest stage and had developed with the patronage of the British rulers. It had contributed richly to the moral, social and spiritual uplift of the masses. That is why the Christians of the South are more respected and are far advanced in education, business, politics and administration than the Anglo-Indians of the north.

The period beginning with the advent Islam is a golden era as it manifested not only in beautiful gardens, grand palaces and mighty forts spread over the entire country from Vindhyachal to the Comorian Cape, but also its reflection was visible in the culture and the way of life of the people. Islam's stress on piety, simplicity, tolerance, large-heartedness had left a deep imprint on the people, bringing both Muslims and non-Muslims closer. Muslim rulers like Ahmed Shah, Tipu Sultan and Chand Bibi form golden periods of their common history and are still remembered for their

patronage of Hindus. The mighty rulers of Hyderabad (Deccan) are always referred to as the true benefactors of the south.¹⁹

In the later period, leaders like Rajgopal Achari demonstrated their large-heartedness by openly supporting Muslims' demand for a separate home-land.²⁰ And Dravida Monnetra Kazagham (DMK) was the first important non-Muslim political organization to support Muslim League's cause. Sirojni Naidu could not restrain herself from openly lamenting the fall of Hyderabad though she was Governor of U.P. at that time.²¹ Her condolence message on Quaid-e-Azam M.A. Jinnah's death is one of the finest tributes ever paid to the great Muslim leader of his time.²²

In short, the south has always remained free from the communal outlook that had ravaged the north right from the beginning of the British rule and even before, and Kamraj was the product of this particular background. Simplicity and straight-forwardness were his two recognized qualities. He took up the Punjabi Suba issue, not from a communal angle but as a purely administrative problem. Moreover, as a realistic and principled statesman, he was free from communal bias. He himself had ardently campaigned for the creation of a Tamil speaking province. He abhorred the very idea of denying the same right to the Sikhs that he had himself passionately espoused. Consequently, he acted without delay. Promptly summoning the Congress-working/Committee meeting on March 9, 1966, with Chief Minister concerned and the other influential leaders as invitees, he successfully piloted the briefest-ever-twenty-eight words or two-lines-resolution that said, "Out of the existing state of Punjab, a state with Punjabi as the state language be formed. The Government requested to take necessary steps for this purpose."²³ When he came out of the three-hour long session, he said that the principle of an unilingual Punjab had been accepted. But how it is to be brought about, has been left to the Government.²⁴ The Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, coming out of the meeting, said: "that working committee has passed a resolution and now we have to implement it."²⁵ The same day the Indian Government announced that "the demand for the creation of a Punjabi Suba has been accepted in principle."²⁶ The Central

Cabinet appointed a Boundary Commission to propose an appropriate re-organisation of the East Punjab. The Commission submitted its report on May 31, 1966, recommending that Punjabi Suba or Punjab should comprise 8 out of 17 districts, i.e., Amritsar, Bhatinda, Ferozepur, Gurdaspur, Kapurthala, Jullundhur, Ludhiana and Patiala.²⁷ It also recommended to include the districts of Kullu, Kangra, Lahaul, Simla and Spiti in Himachal Pradesh and Gurgaon, Hissar, Karnal, Rohtak and Mohindar Garh to be grouped in order to form Haryana province.²⁸ But the Government did not accept the Commission's report in its original shape. When the province was reconstituted under Punjab Re-organization Act, 1966, the actual Punjabi Suba, officially launched on November 1, 1966, comprised the districts of Amritsar, Kapurthala, Ambala, Hoshiarpur, Jullundhur, Bhatinda and Patiala in their original shape. But Gurdaspur district lost Dalhousie. Some parts of district Ludhiana and Sangrur were also detached. As a compensation, some parts of Kharar tehsil were attached to it.²⁹ Thus, Sikhs, after a long torturous struggle, were able to get a province of their own, though in a truncated form.

CONCLUSIONS

The geographical demarcation of the Punjabi Suba had a vicious basis. We have seen that when it came to the census, the Hindus claimed not to be Punjabi-speaking. As a result of this peculiar delimitation, the Suba suffered territorially and economically. It lost not only the Punjabi-speaking areas, but it was also robbed of its natural resources including head-works and water-resources. The administrative and constitutional aspects of demarcation turned it further into a unique phenomenon that could have occurred only within 'secular', democratic Bharat.

Chandigarh, which logically should have been part of the Punjab falls outside the geographical limits of the province and forms a part of Haryana state. However, it was declared the common capital of Haryana and Punjab. This is probably the only instance where the capital of a province is located along with another province. This anomaly speaks volumes for itself. It was declared to be the joint capital of Punjab and Haryana and constitutionally it

was to be administered by Central Government. The railway station of the capital also fell within Haryana state, a bitter pill to swallow even by the pro-India lobby. This is the reason why the Sikhs violently demonstrated to acquire Chandigarh. One of the Sikh leaders, Sardar Darshan Singh Pheroman, went on fast unto death to express the Sikh sentiments; he lost his life in the process. But the Hindu Congress Government was absolutely unruffled. Consequently, the issue of Chandigarh, the capital of the Punjabi Suba, still remains unsolved, and is a permanent irritant between Sikhs and Hindus.

Though apparently the Punjabi Suba was carved on linguistic lines, for all practical purposes it was sliced on the basis of religious and political considerations which not only served as an eye-opener for the Sikhs but rocked the very foundations of its creation. The 1961 census witnessed a strange inversion. The Hindu population with Punjabi as their mother tongue had a complete *volte face*: they declared Hindi as their mother-tongue.³⁰ As a result, Hindus inhabiting the areas of Kulhu, Kangra, Hoshiarpur and Nalagarh and so on collectively declared Hindi as their mother tongue though they had been speaking Punjabi for centuries.

The Hindus opted for Hindi as a gesture of defiance against Sikhs and as an assertion of their superiority over them. But the option of the Hindus clearly indicated the fact that a nation is not constituted by language, race and territory but religion remains its most vital basis. Theoretically, though the Hindus and Akali leadership had ridiculed the religious basis of nationhood at the time of the partition of the sub-continent in 1947. However, the flagrant contradiction in the Hindu attitude made it clear to the Sikhs that the Hindu mentality uniformly betrayed a deep-rooted prejudice against them. When they made a retrospective evaluation of the past Hindu support in the light of this startling revelation, they found the past attitudes of Hindus was based on hypocrisy more than on any sincere sympathy for their cause. The Sikhs could now see through the Hindu facade and later realized that Hindus considered themselves different from the Sikhs; this separation was rooted in the fact that the Hindus and the Sikhs believed in two different

religions. The Sikhs also felt that their own leaders had betrayed them by playing to the tune of the Hindu piper. They had acted as 'show-boys' for personal ends by sacrificing the collective Sikh interests.

The Sikh leaders had actually served Hindu interests and the Hindus used the entire Sikh community as pawns. This realization, though late, came to them with a feeling of intense anguish, and Sikhs justified their militancy and violence because they felt that they were betrayed by the Hindus. The Sikhs today are trying to re-establish of their pristine identity which they had lost through Hindu double-dealing and the role of their own leader who in the guise of sympathizers, had harmed their own community.

The slogan that 'Sikhs are Hindus' was propagated by the Hindu Congress and the loyalist Sikh leaders to hoodwink the Sikhs but the creation of the Punjabi Suba exploded its mythical nature and exposed its hollowness. The formation of the Punjabi Suba further confirms their sense of alienation from the Hindus, which is in striking contrast with their past posture. In the pre-partition days, the Sikhs and their Akali leaders vociferously championed the cause of undivided Punjab. They felt so strongly against the partition of the united Punjab that they went to the extent of shedding Muslim blood. And now the table was turned. The Sikhs' demand for the creation of the Punjabi Suba outrageously contradicts their earlier stand on the same issue. What was previously inconceivable has now turned into reality.

The formation of the Punjabi Suba and its constitutional political and religious implications have also highlighted the fact that the Indian National Congress rule, wearing the mask of nationalism, is nothing but the rule of Hindu imperialism. Whatever the case, one cannot ignore the far-sightedness of the Indian politics that the Hindu leaders right from Nehru to Indira managed to lull the Sikhs into submission by making tall promises which they never intended to keep. Now that the Hindu intentions are openly known, the Sikhs can devise a better strategy for themselves to withstand the Hindu challenge.

The Sikh leadership during the past Indian rule proved only a puppet in the hands of Hindus. The sacrificed collective Sikh cause. This has been stressed by the Sikh historians and scholars themselves. "The 'Suba' of the Punjabi language was formed out of the existing Punjab state on November 1, 1966. This 'Suba' was not a realization of Sikh dreams. The Punjabi state, formed in 1966, was refused its capital Chandigarh and various other Punjabi speaking areas including Bhakra Dam and other headworks. It was an obvious case of taking rather than that of giving of what they were offered by the Hindus."³¹

As a reaction against this decision, Sant Fateh Singh and other Sikh leaders declared on December 17, 1966, that they would fast until death for the acquisition of Chandigarh and other Punjabi speaking areas; if their demands were not accepted, they would burn themselves to death on December 27, 1966. But actually it did not come about because the speaker of the Lok Sabha, Hukam Singh, who was the main supporter of Sant Fateh Singh, managed to keep Fateh Singh away from this. Failure to translate words into actions was not only a direct insult to Akal Takht but also to the Sikh Panth. Reviewing the steps taken by the Sikhs, especially by the two leaders of Akali politics, Master Tara Singh and Fateh Singh, a Sikh scholar stated that "within the past five years this was the third vow broken by the Sikh leaders, the first by Master Tara Singh on October 1, 1961, the second by Sant Fateh Singh on September 9, 1965 and the third again by Sant Fateh Singh on December 27, 1966."³² The fact remains that the Sikhs were betrayed at every important step. The Sikhs realized that they could achieve their rights through sacrifices. Their struggle for complete freedom was born out of the Hindu betrayal.

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Problems of Working Women in the Rural Informal Sector of Multan District

KARAMAT ALI

I. INTRODUCTION

The important role of the informal sector in economic development of developing countries is emphasized by economists in recent years. Particularly, there is a growing interest in studying the informal sector since the beginning of 1970's. The informal sector was predominant and most significant sector in the economies of the developing countries in the so-called 'traditional or primitive' stage of economic development. It functioned in the colonies (now termed as developing societies) before the colonial rule was imposed on them.

The importance of the informal sector can be gauged by its contribution to the national income of a country, the number of persons employed in this sector and the share of informal credit to the total credit in an economy. "The study by Moir in Jakarta has concluded that the informal sector has contributed about 30 per cent to the overall income in this region. . . . The number of urban jobs provided by the informal sector are estimated to be between one-quarter and two-thirds "[Hemmer and Mannel (1989) p.1544]. The share of the informal credit to total rural credit in many developing countries is estimated from 30 to more than 80 per cent [Germidis, (1980) p.6]. The share of informal sector in urban employment of Pakistan is estimated as 69.05 per cent for 1972-73 by Guisinger and Irfan [(1980), p.418].

Adopting the same methodology Ahmed has calculated the share in total employment of informal sector for 1984-85 as 74.48 per cent [Ahmed (1989) p.10]. World Bank also estimated the share of informal sector in urban employment for Punjab as 78 per cent in 1984-85. Similarly in urban Sindh the percentage share of employment in informal sector in 1984-85 is estimated as 75 by the staff of Government of Pakistan for population Census of 1981 [Altaf (1989) pp.142-143]. Despite the significant role of the informal sector in Pakistan's economy, there is a limited research in the informal sector of urban areas [Burki (1990), Ahmed (1989), Aftab & Rahim (1989), Kazi (1987), Government of Pakistan (1984), Qadeer 1983) and Guisinger & Irfan, (1980)]. The informal sector in rural areas was almost neglected and the role of women in the informal sector of rural areas was completely ignored in the past. Although the percentage of females employed in the informal sector is not only higher as compared to the formal sector but is also increasing in the urban and rural areas of the country. "The informal sector female employment increased from 61.4 per cent in 1981 to 84.9 per cent in 1987-88. This increase was most pronounced in urban areas as it went up from 13.3 per cent to 45.8 per cent and in rural areas it increased from 76.9 per cent to 91.4 per cent [Khan (1990) p.13]." There is limited research on the role of women in the informal sector or urban areas of Pakistan [Khan (1990), Ahmed (1990), Kazi & Razi (1990), Shaheed and Mumtaz (1983)]. But there is no research regarding women working in informal sector in the rural areas of the country.

The objective of this paper is to focus on the problems of rural women in the informal sector and to highlight its significant contribution to the rural non-farm sector in the light of a recent survey.

II. DESCRIPTION OF THE SURVEY

Nearly 70 per cent of the population in Multan district live in rural areas and female population is about 47 per cent [Government of Punjab (1989) pp.398 and 401]. In order to achieve the objectives of the research paper as mentioned above, a survey was conducted in six villages of Multan district.

These villages were selected randomly. In selected villages one per cent households were selected randomly for the purpose of the survey. In each household one female was interviewed. There were 30 respondents from thirty households in six villages. The distribution of respondents according to villages is given in Annexure - A. Some information about the villages such as distance from the market, availability of electricity and educational facilities are mentioned in Annexure - B.

III. A PROFILE OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE INFORMAL SECTOR

This section of the paper will present the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of our female respondents which were interviewed for this purpose.

Presentage and age at which started working

Seventy per cent of the females are between 15 to 30 years of age. There are only 7 per cent whose age is less than 15 years while 23 per cent are more than 30 years. The mode age group is 15 to 30 years. This indicates that mostly young women are working. But the data regarding the age at which they started work reveal that 60 per cent of them started working below the age of 15 years. This indicates that a predominant number of females working in the informal sector started working at the age which qualifies them as child labour. The data regarding the presentage of the respondents and the age at which they started working is presented in Table 1.

Marital Status and Education

Predominant number of women working in the rural informal sector are married. The percentage of married women is 66.66 whereas 20 per cent are unmarried. 13.33 per cent of the females are separated, divorced or widowed. The data also reveals that 70 per cent of the working women can only read Quran. There are seven per cent who have education up to Primary level and another seven per cent upto Middle. There is only one woman who is educated upto Matric.

TABLE 1
Data on Characteristics of Respondents

Respondants	Number	Percentage
Age		
Less than 15	2	6.66
15-20	10	33.33
21-30	11	36.66
31-40	2	6.66
41-50	2	6.66
51-60	2	6.66
More than 60	1	3.33
Age At Which Started Working		
Less than 15	18	60.00
15-20	4	13.33
21-30	6	20.00
31-40	2	6.66
41-50	-	-
51-60	-	-
More than 60	-	-
Marital Status		
Un-married	6	20.00
Married	20	66.66
Divorced/Separated	2	6.66
Widowed	2	6.66
Education		
Un-educated	1	3.33
Quran	23	76.66
Adult Literacy	1	3.33
Up to Primary	2	6.66
Middle	2	6.66
Matric	1	3.33

Family Size and Income of Family

Average family size of the respondents is 9. Out of these 3 are the earning family members. The average daily income of a family is around Rs.46. Out of the three earning family members, 50 per cent are females and their average income is Rs.15 per day. The contribution of female family earning members to the total daily income of the family is around 33 per cent. This data reveals the extent of poverty of the families to which these working women belong to. Moreover, it appears that the females contribution to the income of their family is quite significant as indicated in the following Table.

TABLE 2
Distribution of Respondents according to the Number
of Earning Family Members, Daily Income, Working Days
Per Month and Working Hours Per Day

House Hold Sr. No.	Total Number of Family Mem- bers	Total Number of Earning Family Mem- bers	Total Number of Female Earning Family Mem- bers	Total Daily Income of Family Mem- bers (RS.)	Total Daily Income of Respon- dent. (RS.)	Total Number of Work- ing Days in a Month by Res- pondent	Total Number of Work- ing Hours per Day by Res- pondent	Total Daily Income of Female Earning Family Mem- bers	Perce- ntage Share Contri- buted to Family Income by Female Earning Members
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1.	7	3	2	36	3	20	6	6	17.00
2.	8	4	2	32	5	26	7	10	31.25
3.	5	1	1	5	5	12	6	5	100.00
4.	8	3	2	102	33	22	4	66	64.70
5.	7	1	1	4	4	18	8	4	100.00
6.	8	3	2	84	15	25	5	30	33.11
7.	4	3	2	41	13	26	2	26	63.41
8.	8	2	1	28	8	27	8	8	28.57
9.	13	4	2	35	12	28	9	24	68.57
10.	7	4	2	89	9	25	11	18	20.22

Continued

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11.	8	2	2	16	7	20	6	14	77.77	
12.	40	6	1	150	8	22	6	8	5.33	
13.	8	3	2	26	6	26	7	12	43.38	
14.	3	2	1	17	5	20	2	5	29.41	
15.	8	3	2	16	4	28	8	8	50.00	
16.	9	3	1	30	8	20	5	8	26.66	
17.	11	3	2	91	7	15	5	14	15.00	
18.	9	2	1	21	6	28	6	6	28.60	
19.	5	2	1	10	8	25	9	8	80.00	
20.	11	9	4	125	5	27	7	20	16.00	
21.	5	2	1	105	25	16	8	25	24.00	
22.	9	3	2	50	6	20	3	12	24.00	
23.	12	2	1	29	15	25	9	15	51.27	
24.	11	1	1	7	7	28	7	7	100.00	
25.	10	3	1	9	5	20	6	5	55.55	
26.	7	2	1	30	7	20	6	7	23.33	
27.	4	2	2	21	5	22	7	10	47.62	
28.	6	1	1	11	11	22	6	11	100.00	
29.	10	4	2	150	25	20	6	59	33.30	
30.	6	2	1	20	9	26	3	9	45.00	
Average	9	3	1.5	46.4	9.8	26	6.26	15	33	

IV. RESULTS OF THE SURVEY

The results of the survey reveals that except for one respondent all are doing more than one type of job or work. The only exception is a woman working as *Dai* or Midwife. There are 15 types of jobs being performed by the respondents. On average a respondent is doing four different types of jobs. The type of jobs being carried out by women in rural areas are shown in Table 3. Seventy three per cent of the respondents are doing embroidery with *Ar* which is a typical work of this area. The next highest percentage of women, i.e., 66 per cent are doing tailoring.

TABLE 3
Distribution of Respondents according to Nature of Work

Nature of Work	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Oven Baking	1	3.3
Agricultural Activities	1	3.33
Cotton Spinning and Weaving	1	3.33
Tailoring	20	66.66
Embroidery (With Needle)	16	53.33
Embroidery (With Glasses)	16	53.33
Work With <i>Ar</i>	22	73.33
Embroidery on (Shoes) Leather	8	26.66
Knitting Wool (Wool Based Crafts)	14	46.66
<i>Dai</i>	1	3.33
Durries/Cotton Rugs	3	10.00
Cotton Printing	1	3.33
Basketry/Mat	4	13.33
Tie and Die	1	3.33
Carpet Making	1	3.33
Straw Work	7	23.33
Working at Other's Home	4	13.33

Embroidery with needle and embroidery with glasses is being done by 53 per cent of the women. Knitting is being carried out by 47 per cent respondents. Twenty-seven per cent of women are doing embroidery on shoes or leather. Other type of jobs being performed by women included as straw work, basketry/mat making, durries, cotton rugs and working as domestic servants at others' home for different types of domestic work.

The most significant finding is that these women are doing more than one type of work and have the capability of performing these jobs. Although, as indicated earlier, most of them are illiterate and have no formal training, yet they learn all these jobs at home and start working at a very early age, i.e., less than 15 years. It is commonly believed that these women work on these jobs leisurely and in their spare time. But the data indicates that sixty per cent of the women are working for more than twenty-one days in a month. Forty per cent of women are working between ten to twenty days in a month. (Table 4). Women who reported as working less than twenty-six days in a month were also asked to report the reasons for not working more. Forty-five per cent replied that they could not work more because of bad health. Non-availability of work is the other major cause mentioned by the respondents (30 per cent) for not working twenty-six days a month. (Table 5). Although the predominant number of women are working for more than 25 days a month, the data reveals that most of them are under employed, i.e., 57 per cent are working for less than seven hours per day. But still 43 per cent are working for more than seven hours a day (Table 6). Most of the rural working women in the informal sector are found to be working for the equivalent number of hours in a week as the women in the formal sector. They are innovative, willing to take initiatives and are busy throughout the year.

TABLE 4
Distribution of Respondents according to
Working Days in a Month

No. of Working Days	No of Respondents	Percentage
Less Than 10 Hours	Nil	Nil
10 -- 15	2	6.66
16 -- 20	10	33.33
21 -- 25	8	26.66
26 -- 30	10	33.73
Total	30	100.00

TABLE 5
Reasons for Working less than 26 Days a Month

Reasons	No of Respondents	Percentage
Sickness	9	45.00
Non-Availability of Work	6	30.00
Seasonal Work	1	5.00
Domestic Engagements	4	20.00
Non-Availability of Raw Material	Nil	Nil
Total	20	100.00

Their behaviour is very rational and their approach toward their job and towards doing different type of activities is according to the economic requirements. They could not afford specialization only in one type of job. It is the training in different jobs which is essential for their working for the maximum period. They are availing the opportunities and utilizing their maximum time, given the constraints of the economic system. Although these women are working full time with the best of their abilities, yet they are underpaid. On average, by working for twenty-six days a month for more than six hours a day, they are earning only ten rupees per day. Twenty-seven per cent are earning rupees ten or more per day. (Table 7). These figures reveals the bleak picture of the women working in the rural informal sector.

TABLE 6
No of Working Hours for Job Per Day

No. of Hours	No of Respondents	Percentage
Less than 3 Hours	2	6.66
3 – 6	15	50.00
7 – 10	12	40.00
11 – 14	1	3.33
15 – 18	-	-
Total	30	100.00

TABLE 7
Income Per Day of Respondent

No. of Hours	No of Respondents	Percentage
Less than 5	2	10.00
5 – 9	19	63.33
10 – 14	3	10.00
15 – 19	2	6.66
20 – 24	-	-
25 – 30	3	10.00
Total	30	100.00

The lower wages are the main disincentive for these working women. They have to work under disadvantageous conditions. Otherwise, they will be deprived of even with the meager amount which they are earning.

Most of the women (60 per cent) are working just to fulfil the basic economic needs of their families. About 17 per cent are working so that the domestic requirements could be met easily. Another 13 per cent are working as there was no male member in their family to earn livelihood. Only one woman mentioned the children's education as the reason for her working. The data about the reasons for working is shown in Table 8.

About 80 per cent of the respondents mentioned low wages as the major problem regarding their working conditions. Thirty per cent mentioned domestic engagements as a hurdle in their work. Thirteen per cent mentioned that they face difficulty in buying raw material. Dealing with non-family male members is mentioned as a problem by only 7 per cent women. About 3 per cent revealed that their work is not considered desirable by their family and neighbours. Another 3 per cent consider that the distance to the market for selling commodity is the main problems. (Table 9).

TABLE 8
Reason for Working

Reasons	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Basic Economic Need	20	60.00
Domestic Requirements to be easily Available	5	16.66
Children Education	1	3.33
Unemployment of Male	2	6.66
Death of Male	2	6.66
TOTAL :	30	100.00

TABLE 9
Difficulties in Work

Difficulties	No of Respondents	Percentage
Get Less Wages than Work	25	83.33
Difficulties in Buying Raw Material	4	13.33
Domestic Engagements	9	30.00
Difficulty in Selling Commodities.	1	3.33
Dealing with Non-Family Male Members	2	6.66
Not considered good by Family and Neighbours	1	3.33
Market for Selling Commodity is too far	1	3.33

As regards the measures to facilitate their work, 70 per cent women suggest that they should be paid better wages for their work. Forty-seven per cent are of the view that better raw material should be provided to them. Thirty-three per cent are of the opinion that there should be more market opportunities for selling their commodities. Another 33 per cent mention that other facilities such as financial aid and facilities, such as rural roads, banks, education and rural electrification can help them in their work. About 23 per cent mention that training can be useful for their work. There are only twenty per cent who are satisfied with their work and think that there is no need to take any measures for facilitating their work as in the following Table.

TABLE 10
Suggested Measures to Facilitate Work

Suggested Measures	No of Respondents	Percentage
Training	7	23.33
Better Wages/Remuneration	21	70.77
Better Raw Material	14	46.66
Other Facilities such as Financial Aid, Bank and Road in Village	10	33.33
Not Applicable	6	20.00
Better Market	10	33.33

V. CONCLUSIONS

Women in rural areas of Pakistan are not only working in the agriculture sector but are also making significant contribution to the informal sector of rural areas. Female labour participation in rural economy of Pakistan has been underestimated. It is imperative to take measures to encourage the involvement of females in economic activities in rural areas of Pakistan so that they can increase their contribution to the rural economy of the country in particular and Pakistan's economy in general.

The survey reveals that women working in the informal sector of rural areas are utilizing their efforts and time up to the maximum under the given conditions of the system. They are un-educated, malnourished, underpaid and sick. But in spite of this, they are on average working for 26 days a month and 6 hours a day. They are contributing 33 per cent to the income of the family and constitute 50 per cent of the working members. The main hindrance in their work is low wages that they are being paid, i.e., nearly Rs.10 per day. In order to avoid unemployment, they are doing four different types of jobs and have acquired the skills in early age, i.e., below 15 years, from the female family members at home. Working women in the rural areas are the most neglected segment of the population in Pakistan. Moreover, it is not the social and cultural factors which are hindering in their participation in the economic activities and utilization of their skills for making contribution to the prosperity and well being of the country. Rather, these are economic factors which are responsible for the miserable plight of the working women in rural areas and a great hurdle in better utilization of their skills, efforts and time. There is an urgent need for improving the living and working conditions of working women in the informal sector of rural areas. Appropriate measures should be taken to ensure that they are paid wages according to the job performed. Moreover, proper raw material and marketing facilities needs to be provided. In addition, facilities such as hospitals, education, electricity, banks, training, and transportation should be made available not only to the villages but female labourers should have access to such facilities.

Number of Females Interviewed in Different Villages of Multan District

Name of Village	No. of Respondents	
Moza Nandala	6	
Mohalla Faridabad	10	
Qadir Sir	8	
Chah Hassanwala	2	
Pipli Wala	4	
Total	30	

**General Information on the Villages included in the
Survey from Multan District**

Name of Village Type of Information	Qadir Sir	Pipli Wala	Chah Hassan Wala	Moza Nandala	Mohalla Faridabad
Distance to Market (K.M.)	3	5	3	10	4
Village on Pucca Road or Village on Katcha Road	Pucca Road	Pucca Road	Katcha Road	Pucca Road	Pucca Road
Electrified or Non-Electrified	Electri- fied	Electri- fied	Non-Elect- rified	Electri- fied	Electrified
School Male : Primary Middle High	One No No	One No No	No No No	No No No	One One One
Dispensary/ Hospital	Dispen- sery	No	No	Dispen- sery	Hospital
Family Plann- ing Centre	No	No	No	No	No
Police Station (K.M.)	3	5	3	3	2
Agricultural Extension Centre	No	No	No	No	No
PSIC Centre	No	No	No	No	No
Social Welfare Department Centre	No	No	No	No	No
NGO Programme	No	No	No	No	No
School Female : Primary Middle High	One No No	No No No	No No No	No No No	One One One

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Why Mountbatten wanted to become the Common Governor-General of Bharat and Pakistan

M. ZAHID KHAN LODHI

It was Mountbatten's ambition to become "Joint Governor-General"¹ of Bharat and Pakistan. He himself stated : "I have always held the view that I should stay on with both sides or with neither of them."²

The question arises, why Mountbatten wanted to become Common Governor-General of Bharat and Pakistan ? Had he been permitted to act as such, to what extent it would have been in the national interest of Pakistan? Whether Pakistan could gain or suffer adversely from his position?

Most of the Pakistanis do not question the decision of the Quaid-e-Azam to become himself the Governor-General of Pakistan as they honestly believe that the Founder of the Nation did the right thing at the right moment. But a few, who are in fact in a microscopic minority, argue/contend that Mountbatten could have been appointed as Joint Governor-General of both the countries.

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Justice demanded that Mountbatten should not have sided and stayed with one side. There were two vistas open for him : either to stay in India if offered Governor-Generalship by both the Dominions or return back to England. Mountbatten followed neither of the two. To the astonishment of many, he accepted the Governor-Generalship of Bharat only. This was bound to make him further partisan and partial in the game of politics between Pakistan and Bharat. Consequently, he was condemned in every civilized society on account of his irresponsible behaviour.

However, if he could be permitted to become Joint Governor-General of the two countries, what could be its impact on Pakistan? What could be the overt and covert motives behind his ambition?

It was Mountbatten's desire to leave behind a united India. He along with the British Government wanted to leave behind the legacy of a unified India. His ideal state was based on the concept of a strong Centre wherein provinces were to be given lesser and lesser subjects. Even his sub-ideal state about India composed of a united India with a weak Centre. So, nowhere his ideas could fit-in with the scheme of things because the Quaid-e-Azam and his associates wanted a separate homeland for the Muslims, i.e., division of India into Pakistan and Bharat.

This was bound to result into a head-on collision between Mountbatten and the Quaid-e-Azam. Therefore, Pakistan which was achieved by virtue of strong determination of our Father of the Nation, would have been nullified on account of offer of Governor-Generalship to Mountbatten as the latter was absolutely emotional in leaving behind the united India. He would have made the subsequent events of the partition as pretext to challenge Pakistan as a viable state and obviously ordered for the re-unification of the two Dominions.

From Pakistan's point of view, therefore, the Quaid-e-Azam's decision to become himself the first Governor-General of Pakistan was in the national interest of this country because "A bird in hand is better than two in the bush."

It is essential to narrate the events which took place in this connection. On 17 May, 1947 Nehru conveyed that Congress wished that Mountbatten should continue as Governor-General of Bharat and the Viceroy accepted this offer. The Quaid-e-Azam, however, was opposed to the suggestion of a Common Governor-General and put forward the alternative suggestion that "there should be two Governor-Generals and (with Mountbatten as) a Supreme Arbitrator to adjudicate on matters as the division of assets."³

Mountbatten wanted that, like Nehru, the Quaid-e-Azam should also "nominate" him "as the first Governor-General of Pakistan,"⁴ thus making him Governor-General of the two states together. The recently released confidential document of the British Government justifies the stand of the Quaid-e-Azam. It reveals : "It would of course be perfectly proper for them (India and Pakistan) to decide that it would be preferable to have two separate Governor-Generals from the start."⁵

On 23 June, the Viceroy made enquiry from Mr. Jinnah in respect of the first Governor-General of Pakistan whose answer the latter put off. On 30 June the former repeated his request.⁶ On 2 July, Mr. Jinnah told the Viceroy that while he wished to have British Governors in every province except Sind and British heads of the Pakistan Defence Services, partly by way of "counter-balance,"⁷ he liked himself to be the first Governor-General of Pakistan.

The following day, the Viceroy spent four hours to persuade Mr. Jinnah to enable the former to become Joint Governor-General of India and Pakistan. Mountbatten told the Quaid that "if he went as a constitutional Governor-General his powers would be restricted but as Prime Minister he really could run Pakistan." The Quaid "made no bones about the fact that his Prime Minister would do what he said."⁸

"Mr. Jinnah . . . attacked me on the question of sanctions against the Union of India if they failed to comply with awards of the Arbitral Tribunal and hand over to Pakistan their fair share of assets." This gave Mountbatten

an opportunity to re-state his desire for a Common Governor-General. But the Quaid categorically refused to accept this and "realized all the disadvantages of giving up the Common Governor-General." Mountbatten asked: "Do you realize what this will cost you?" The Quaid said sadly: "It may cost me several crores of rupees in assets" to which Mountbatten replied: "It may cost you the whole of your assets and the future of Pakistan."⁹ Being enraged Mountbatten got up and left the room. "The Muslim League", however, "put forward Mr. Jinnah's name for the post of Governor-General of Pakistan."¹⁰

Liaquat Ali Khan thus wrote a letter to the Viceroy recommending the Quaid's name on behalf of the League as the Governor-General.¹¹ The appointment of the Quaid as Governor-General "came as a world surprise"¹² not only for Mountbatten but also for the British Prime Minister and his Cabinet as well. The Pakistanis consider the Quaid's appointment as Governor-General of Pakistan on account of successful diplomacy of their leader. Mountbatten himself confessed it in his letter of 5 July addressed to the British Prime Minister:

"As you know it was Jinnah who always begged me to stay as Viceroy or over all Governor-General . . . Ever since my return no efforts on the part of Ismay, Mieville and myself, have ever elicited from Jinnah the smallest hint of what was in his mind; even his closest advisers like the Nawab of Bhopal and Liaquat Ali Khan appeared to be seriously under the impression that he would accept me as Common Governor-General."¹³

Mountbatten himself confessed that it acted like a "bombshell" when the Quaid-e-Azam "suddenly announced his intention of being the Governor-General of Pakistan himself."¹⁴ Mountbatten's report to London of 4 July also "showed clearly how angry and disappointed he was at being robbed of an appointment which he was not only convinced would best have served the interests of India but would also have crowned his achievements as Viceroy."¹⁵ The Congress leaders on learning of the Muslim League's proposal, renewed their invitation to Mountbatten.¹⁶

This move and the subsequent events of the Congress confirm that Mountbatten was bound to play a sinister role as the first Governor-General of India. The Pakistanis regret that Mountbatten ought not have accepted "the position of a servant of one community in India. If both communities were not willing to have him as a Governor-General of Pakistan as well as India, he should have resigned and gone back to his country. However, he consented to become servant of the Hindus."¹⁷

When Jenkins and Burrows (Governors of the Punjab and Bengal respectively before the partition) expressed their unwillingness to stay after the independence (on the grounds that the former had "no personal axe to grind" and was "not interested in any offer of a Governorship from either party" and the latter considered it "unsuitable and undignified" to stay as the Governor of half of the province), Mountbatten appreciated it and thought that they were "right". However, he himself acted paradoxically when he accepted the Governor-Generalship of India only. The Nawab of Bhopal, Mr. Hamidullah, had clearly advised him not to "carry on after August 15th."¹⁸

Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, the Finance Minister of Pakistan stated during the Press Conference in London on 5 July, 1948 that "Lord Mountbatten's desire was to become the coming Governor-General of both India and Pakistan and that became an obsession with him."¹⁹ His acceptance of Governor-Generalship of India was bound to make him partial in the game of politics between India and Pakistan which led to his "dislike and indeed distrust" by the Pakistanis. The latter thought that both Mountbatten and Lady Mountbatten had become "thoroughly Hinduised and won't believe any thing bad of Hindus or good of Muslim."²⁰ Assuming his charge as Governor-General of India, he assured the Indians : "I would ask you to regard me as one of yourselves, devoted wholly to the furtherance of India's interests."²¹

Perhaps, he did his best to prove and justify his statement/assurance of the inaugural address. He "certainly played a prominent part"²² on all significant issues which India faced at that time. A member of his staff

was quoted as saying that "the mantle of the Governor-General fell from him and he assumed the garb of the Supreme Commander."²³

To quote Hodson, Mountbatten's new functions meant that he was virtually "acting" as "Prime Minister" on issues like Kashmir when the important decisions were made not in the Cabinet but in the Defence Committee.²⁴ For his active and partisan role, he was therefore, condemned by some of his countrymen. "Why our proud ex-Viceroy should degrade himself into Nehru's stoog or puppet. . . . The hasty way in which (partition) has been done and the resulting bloodshed brings no credit to us (Englishmen) nor to any one else concerned,"²⁵ they argued.

Being aware of the partiality of Mountbatten in favour of the Hindus, the Quaid did not want to risk the national independence. Therefore, he "preferred to lose the crores' worth of assets"²⁶ than share a Common Governor-General in his person.

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Book Review

Dr. Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza, *The Punjab Muslim Students Federation : Formation, Growth and Participation in the Pakistan Movement, 1937 - 1947*, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, 1991, Pages 491 + xxv, Price Rs. 250.00, US\$ 15.

At the time when the momentous freedom movement was at its peak, there were divergent views over the question of participation of Muslim students in practical politics, a question that had been frequently discussed during the pre-independence period. This issue used to be discussed by the academicians, the political thinkers and the Indian leadership in particular. It is a common knowledge that the Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah did not appreciate student's participation in active politics while the Hindu Congress and its leadership was strong spokesmen of the student's involvement in practical politics. The League leadership did not appreciate direct linkage of the Muslim youth in politics but at times, when Muslim India demanded services of the students, they stood with vigour and devotion and never gave chance of disappointment to the nation. There is no doubt to predict that half the battle for Pakistan was won by the Muslim students. Their sustained and continuous participation in the Pakistan Movement changed its colour altogether. At times, they sacrificed their studies and absorbed themselves heart and soul whenever the situation demanded. The Muslim students became active in late thirties and did meritorious job until 1947. They organised themselves under the banner of the All-India Muslim Students Federation and responded to every call made by the League and the Quaid. Of all its provincial branches, the Punjab Muslim Students Federation, which had been found even earlier than the central body,

contributed much more than any other provincial branch, as it had to show its worth in the absence of an effective Provincial Muslim League. The Punjab province was a strong citadel of the Unionist Party where the Muslim youth had to work single-handedly without the support of their elders. The story of their working has now been recorded beautifully by a well-known research scholar who has not only worked on the study under review, but has also published over a dozen books on the Pakistan Movement. He has successfully filled another gap by adding one more useful book in the Pakistani literature relating to our freedom struggle.

This is the first ever book on this subject, written by Dr. Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza, which deals with the student's role in the Pakistan Movement. So far, no other scholar has worked on the Punjab Muslim Students Federation. Dr. Mirza has the credit of publishing comprehensive Collection of Documents relating to the PMSF and All-India Muslim Students Federation, 1937-1947 in three volumes. Hence, he was particularly competent to write on the subject authoritatively. This book is a well-documented analytical research work which has been presented in a lucid style in accordance with the strict sense of research methodology. Handling skillfully, the author has elaborated every possible detail about the students stupendous work in the liberation struggle. The topic is spread over in five chapters and each chapter carries an in-depth analysis of the contemporary issues.

The book under review portrays the dynamic role of Muslim students in the socio-political struggle of Muslim India. Since the emergence of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation in 1937 until 1947, different activities of the students have been discussed in a systematic framework thereby picturising the political scenario of the Indian body politic and the great liberation struggle of the Indian Muslims under the leadership of the Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

In this book, the author has used extremely rare and useful basic source material and no argument appears without proper citation. In addition to this, the story of internal differences amongst the students; tactics of the

confronting groups and above all some bickerings within the rank and file of the PMSF appear to be a new and interesting study which was hitherto not commonly known. Apart from it, the details of organisational structure of the Federation and technique of conducting various annual sessions and Pakistan Conferences organised by the students in mid-forties are some of the scintillating features of the book.

Dr. Mirza has not confined the book to provide literature on Muslim students' activities only but has also dealt with nefarious underhand activities of their adversaries especially those of the Hindu student's organisations. Side by side with the Provincial Federation's activities, he had ably included a number of references about the working of the Muslim students on all-India basis.

The chapter on General Election of 1945-1946, carries every minor detail of students' participation in the electioneering campaign. A detailed account of the campaign has been discussed in such a balanced manner that one hardly finds any point missing in this context. There is lot of information about the students' day-to-day election activities. The same chapter carries abundant information about the Punjab Civil Disobedience Movement. There should be no doubt in confessing that for the first time, strictly from research point of view, such a detailed discussion has been made on these two crucial phases of our political history.

Another score that goes in favour of this study is the exhaustive explanatory notes and references given at the end of each chapter. Besides citing particular references, some explanations have also been added in support of the arguments given in the main text. Some of the original quotations in Urdu have made this study more authentic. Furthermore, inclusion of relevant supporting appendices appear to be quite useful in knowing more about the related subject.

The book carries an exhaustive bibliography which, apart from secondary works, is based on official documents such as Archives of the Freedom Movement; the Quaid-e-Azam Papers; Shamsul Hasan Collection; Private Collections of the contemporary student leaders; Unpublished

Diaries and pre-partition newspapers including some very important Journals and Magazines and Interviews of some of the prominent student and League leaders.

The Index at the end of the book is very useful which would ease much of the readers' job to find the references of his interest. National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, really deserves appreciation for having presented such a novel subject in the form of a beautiful book. Dr. Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza has done a commandable national job in the field of historical research on Pakistan Movement.

KAZI JAVED
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Statements

SOUTH ASIAN REGIONAL COOPERATION

MALDIVES TO HOST FIFTH SAARC SUMMIT

Male', Maldives : November 19-21, 1990

"It gives me great pleasure to announce that the Fifth SAARC Summit will take place in the Maldives from 19-21 November, 1990." This was announced by the Honourable Mr. Fathulla Jameel, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Maldives in a statement issued by him in Male' on 20th August, 1990 with regard to the Fifth SAARC Summit to be held there. The Minister said that it was a matter of particular pride that the Summit coincided with the 25th anniversary of independence of the Maldives. He made particular mention of the understanding and friendship shown by the governments of Sri Lanka and other member countries of SAARC for having agreed for the Maldives to be the venue of the Fifth SAARC Summit. In addition to announcing that, as per SAARC practice, the Summit Session would be preceded by the meetings of Foreign Ministers, Foreign Secretaries and Senior officials of SAARC member countries, he also announced that there would be meetings of the Governing Board of SAARC Food Security Reserve and the Chairpersons of the Twelve Technical Committees in the agreed areas of cooperation under the SAARC framework.

He appreciated the confidence reposed in President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom and the Government of Maldives who would assume the Chairmanship of the SAARC on this occasion and announced that a TASKFORCE,

led by a Ministerial Committee to organize the Summit and its work, was now well under way.

Four SAARC Summits have been held so far. The first was held in Dhaka, Bangladesh (1985), second in Bangalore, India (1986), third in Kathmandu, Nepal (1987) and the fourth in Islamabad, Pakistan (1988).

VISITORS TO SAARC SECRETARIAT

The Secretariat had two important visitors from India and the Maldives in August.

H. E. Mr. I. K. Gujral, the Indian External Affairs Minister while on an official visit to Kathmandu, visited the SAARC Secretariat on 6th August, 1990. In addition to meeting the Secretary-General, the Minister also met the Directors and inquired about the activities of the Secretariat. The Minister and Mrs. Gujral were hosted at a luncheon by the Secretary-General and Mrs. Bhargava during the visit.

Mr. I. H. Zaki, the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Maldives, also visited the SAARC Secretariat. Mr. Zaki was in Nepal from 24-26 August, 1990 for discussions with his Nepalese counterpart on matters relating to Fifth SAARC Summit. During his three-day stay in Nepal, Mr. Zaki held series of meetings with the SAARC Secretary-General and Directors concerning the Summit. The Secretary-General hosted a reception in his honour at the Secretariat.

TWO NEW SAARC PUBLICATIONS

SAARC Secretariat has put together two more new publications. One of them, entitled *SAARC Summits*, is a compilation of all the addresses of SAARC Heads of State and Government at the four SAARC Summits held from 1985 to 1988. *SAARC and Women in Development*, the second publication, consists of reports of five Technical Committee meetings on Women in Development and Two Ministerial Meetings, one in Shillong, India and the other in Islamabad, Pakistan, held between 1986 to 1990.

**EIGHTH MEETING OF THE SAARC TECHNICAL
COMMITTEE ON HEALTH AND POPULATION ACTIVITIES**

Sri Lanka : July 16 - 18, 1990

The Eighth Meeting of the SAARC Technical Committee on Health and Population Activities was held in Colombo, Sri Lanka from 16-18 July, 1990 under the Chairmanship of Dr. Joe Fernando, Secretary, Ministry of Health and Women's Affairs, Sri Lanka. The meeting was inaugurated by Hon. Mrs. Renuka Herath Ranawecera, Minister of Health and Women's Affairs, Sri Lanka. All SAARC member countries participated in the meeting. The SAARC Secretariat was represented by Director Mr. Daya Wijesekera.

The Hon. Minister of Health and Women's Affairs of Sri Lanka in her inaugural address stressed the importance of exchange of status papers on identified common problems which is the only way new and emerging priority problems could get identified as mutual regional problems. She also recommended for consideration by the Committee the relevance of some of the activities of other Technical Committees to the field of Health and Population, the possible roles of cooperation with other agencies and non-governmental organizations and inclusion of any new priority health problems within the purview of the Committee. The SAARC Director Mr. N. P. D. Wijesekera, in his statement suggested giving due consideration to Child Survival and Development in formulating programmes in the health sector. Speaking on activities of other SAARC bodies relevant to the work of the Technical Committee he mentioned as an example the growing evidence of a strong relationship between health and environment and the need for close interaction and cooperation among all agencies and bodies handling environmental and health concerns.

The Committee reviewed the progress in implementation of activities undertaken for the year 1989/1990 and expressed satisfaction at the work done in the six priority areas of Health and Population Activities selected for regional cooperation, viz. control of malaria, tuberculosis, leprosy, diarrhoeal disease, human rabies and maternal and child health. The Committee noted

that an activity had also been undertaken in the additional area of cooperation decided at the last meeting of the Technical Committee - prevention of disability and rehabilitation of the of activities for 1990/1991 on the basis of proposals made by the country delegations.

The Committee also considered the proposals for the establishment of SAARC Regional Centres for Tuberculosis in Nepal and Malaria in Pakistan. These two proposals will be reconsidered along with the feasibility of arriving at networking arrangements of existing institutions.

SAARC WORKSHOP-CUM-STUDY TOUR CONCERNING ARTIFICIAL LIMBS

India : September 3 - 12, 1990

The SAARC Workshop-cum-Study Tour concerning Artificial Limbs under the Health and Population Activities Sector was held in India from 3-12 September, 1990. All SAARC member countries except Bangladesh participated in this activity. The workshop focussed on actual rehabilitation of orthopedically handicapped including both physical and social rehabilitation. Participants presented country papers covering rehabilitation needs in participating countries, steps envisaged and highlighted how interaction among SAARC countries could help. While the workshop was held in Bombay, participants made field visits to the Artificial Limbs Manufacturing Corporation in Kanpur and the Mahavir Viklang Kendra in Jaipur.

SAARC SEMINAR ON BIOMASS GASIFICATION

Sri Lanka : July 10 - 13, 1990

A Seminar on Biomass Gasification under the Science and Technology Sector was held at the National Engineering Research and Development Centre in Colombo, Sri Lanka from 10-13 July, 1990. The objectives of the Seminar were to discuss :

- (a) The State of the Art in Biomass Gasification in the region, and
- (b) The status, potential and future action for application of Biomass Gasification to SAARC countries.

All SAARC member countries excepting Bhutan and the Maldives participated in the seminar. Participants presented country papers on the utilization of biomass for energy applications, especially on gasification which was followed by discussions on the following themes :

- (a) Thermal applications of gasifiers.
- (b) Intrinsic parameters governing gasifier efficiency.
- (c) Producer gas as an I. C. engine fuel.
- (d) Standardization of test procedures and methodologies for performance evaluation of biomass gasifiers and gasifier engine systems.
- (e) Thermodynamic of gasifiers.
- (f) Utilization of gasifiers in industry.

FIFTH MEETING OF THE SAARC TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON DRUG TRAFFICKING AND DRUG ABUSE

Karachi, Pakistan : August 6 - 8, 1990

The SAARC Technical Committee on Prevention of Drug Trafficking and Drug Abuse held its Fifth Meeting at Karachi (Pakistan) on 6-8 August 1990. The meeting was inaugurated by Mr. Dil Jan Khan, Secretary, Ministry of Interior and Narcotics Control. In his inaugural address the Chief Guest stated that the success of all efforts rests on the degree of support and maximum involvement of the community, through Non-Governmental Organizations and voluntary social workers on the one hand and governmental support and commitment on the other. He emphasized the need for developing grass-root level, broad based programmes of education about drugs and preventive activities suitable to the socio-cultural norms of the member States. He expressed satisfaction that SAARC efforts in this field through exchange of information, literature and material, preventive modalities and programmes, exchange of expertise, NGOs and officials has

shown a distinct improvement in our confidence and abilities to solve the problem of drug trafficking and drug abuse in the region.

Mr. A. Moiz Bokhari, Director, SAARC Secretariat, Kathmandu speaking on behalf of the Secretary-General stated that regional cooperation in the prevention of drug trafficking and drug abuse has been a success story. Beginning from 1985 at the time of the First SAARC Summit when a Study Group was set up to formulate recommendations in respect of prevention of drug trafficking and drug abuse as one of the possible areas of cooperation, a number of concrete steps have been taken to promote regional cooperation in this field. The Technical Committee in its first meeting worked out a comprehensive plan of action which was being effectively implemented by the member Countries. Observance of 1989 as the SAARC Year for Combating Drug Trafficking and Drug Abuse, messages by the SAARC Heads of State or Government on the occasion of SAARC Day Against Drug Abuse on 8 December 1989 and the preparation of a SAARC Convention on Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances and efforts at harmonizing drug laws in the region are some of the activities which have added greater substance to SAARC cooperation in this field.

The Committee reviewed progress in the implementation of its recommendations and prepared Calendar of Activities for 1991. While drawing up its future plan of activities the Committee recognized the need to concentrate on fewer but concrete and action-oriented activities of common concern with regional focus so as to generate optimal and equitable benefits to the member States. The Committee also considered report of the SAARC Meeting of Legal Experts on a Regional convention on Drug Abuse Control and forwarded its recommendation thereof to the Standing Committee of Foreign Secretaries for consideration and approval. Among other reports of activities held during 1989-90 the Committee considered the recommendations of the SAARC meeting of Legal Experts for Comparative Study of Existing Laws with a view to harmonizing drug laws in the region and forwarded the same to the Standing Committee for approval. The Committee also considered matters regarding role and modalities for involvement of

Non-Governmental Organizations in augmenting SAARC activities related to Drug Abuse Control, finalization of a Directory of NGOs engaged in the reduction of demand for drugs, networking arrangement of existing institutions in the member countries and measures for controlling abuse of pharmaceutical/psychotropic substances/drugs in the region.

The report of the Technical Committee will be presented to the forthcoming session of the Standing Committee due to take place on 15-17 November 1990 at Male', Maldives.

SAARC Workshop on Education for the Prevention of Drug Abuse was held at Lahore, Pakistan from September 2-5, 1990. The Workshop was inaugurated by Minister of Interior and Narcotic Control, Government of Pakistan and was attended by delegations from Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Pakistan. The delegates presented country reports and technical papers related to various aspects of education for prevention of drug abuse.

Recommendation of the workshop which cover a wide range of measures for educating the people in the region in the field of drug abuse prevention and involvement of various target groups will be considered by the Technical Committee on Prevention of Drug Trafficking and Drug Abuse at its next session in 1991.

NINTH MEETING OF THE SAARC TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE (TCA) New Delhi, India : August 28 - 30, 1990

The Ninth Meeting of the SAARC Technical Committee on Agriculture (TCA) was held on 28-30 August, 1990 in New Delhi under the Chairmanship of Mr. S. K. Misra, Secretary, Department of Agricultural Research and Education and Director-General, Indian Council of Agricultural Research, Government of India. It was attended by the representatives of all the member States.

In his inaugural address, Mr. Nitish Kumar, Hon'ble Minister of State for Agriculture, Government of India, stressed on the importance of

agricultural development as crucial for the growth of prosperity of the SAARC region. He highlighted the need for developing new technologies and sharing the same amongst the member countries in order to keep up with the fast growing demand for increasing food production to meet the requirements of the people.

In his welcome address, Mr. S. K. Misra briefly reviewed the status of the various activities carried out by the member countries in accordance with the decisions taken by the TCA in its previous meetings. He highlighted the problems and prospects common to the member countries and expressed the hope that cooperation in the agricultural sector should be further strengthened so that the overwhelming majority of people in the SAARC region could enjoy a better standard of living.

Mr. Amitava Tripathi, Director, SAARC Secretariat, in his statement made on behalf of the SAARC Secretary-General commended the TCA for the excellent work done so far in promoting regional cooperation in the agricultural sector. He requested the member countries to provide all assistance to the SAARC Agricultural Information Centre (SAIC) which has been functioning in Dhaka since December, 1988. Mr. Tripathi pointed that the steady degradation of the environment was a matter of concern for the Technical Committee on Agriculture and emphasised the necessity of taking greater recourse to science and technology in order to cope with the herculean task of providing for South Asia's teeming millions while preserving the environment at the same time.

The Committee considered the recommendations made by the various meetings of Counterpart Scientists as well as Seminars and Workshops held in the SAARC region during the 1989-90 period and approved some of these for implementation. It also proposed new activities to be taken up during 1991 and 1992.

SAARC LETTER WRITING COMPETITION 1990

With a view to promoting regional understanding, a letter-writing Competition for Children of South Asian Countries has been a regular

Nercy, perhaps you will remember this matter, as I wrote to you about it these days. It was by a Money Order that I received this money. So I went to the Post Office and produced this Money Order to the Counter and I was paid Rs. 200/-. Then I asked my father with whom I went whether it was not a loss to the Post Office. Then the father explained that the institution awarding the prize was paying the sum of Rs. 200/- to the Post Office and that the Post Office thereafter issues two documents, one to the recipient of the Money and the other to the Post Office of the area in which the recipient's house is situated. He also explained that when a person produces this document known as the Money Order to the Post Office he is paid the amount. You could, therefore, see how safe, reliable and convenient this system is. If not for the Post Office we would have had to go in search of that institution and undergone such inconvenience to obtain the money. Therefore, the Money Order system provides an excellent means of sending money between persons and it is not necessary for the persons concerned to meet each other for such transactions.

The Postal Service also provides us with the Registered Letter facility. This system provides us the opportunity of despatching important documents by post with their safety and security guaranteed.

Nercy, although you had asked me as to how the postal service could be considered a beneficial and reliable service, I have mentioned herein some facts relating to the history of the postal service in the hope that they will be of some importance to your school magazine.

Really speaking, the postal service is the only cheapest and reliable medium of communication that exists in the world today. This is due to the fact that the postal service has not yet entrusted its functions to robots in spite of the availability of advanced technological methods. This is an era where even the education of children is being done through robots but the fact that the functions of the postal service have not been transferred to robots is itself sufficient to place full confidence on the postal service.

A Robot or a Computer will perform a certain function for as long as its energy power exists but performance by a human being is not so. He works with his own energy. Since the work of the postal service is done by human beings, the postal service is undoubtedly a reliable service.

Dear friend, the postage due on a letter weighing ten grammes despatched from our country to your country is only Rs.11.00. How much of writing could we do on paper weighing ten grammes? Actually we cannot even imagine that I believe similar amounts are being charged in your country as well. My father told me that postage rates similar to these are charged in almost all the countries in the world. Even a telephone conversation between you and me could get interrupted in the event of an electricity failure but if we send a letter through the post it will definitely be received by the addressee which proves reliability of the postal service.

I was told that the words 'For the pleasure of the public' are written in the Post Office front wall with the marble finish. Surely, the postal service helps to bring together the hearts of two persons living at two distant places.

It would be seen that adverse weather conditions such as extreme cold, extreme heat, wind, rain or dew cannot prevent the postal service bringing together the hearts of two persons living far apart.

Dear Nercy, I have furnished you with a lot of information about the postal service and you can now write an interesting article to your school magazine on this subject based on this information.

You will see this letter contains facts about the postal service only. I could not write my usual friendly and jovial comments in this letter. Any way I will write to you again very soon. I am very much thankful to you for the photographs and stamps sent to me. I have received some photographs relating to the postal service and I have enclosed them herewith since I feel they will be very useful to you.

So you requested me to furnish information through the Post and I am furnishing you through the Post the information you sought. We will meet through the Post once again.

Wishing you best of luck,

*I am yours,
Loving friend,
(Delupa)"*

GROUP OF EXPERTS ON HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

Islamabad : August 21 - 23, 1990

A Group of Experts from the SAARC Member Countries met at Islamabad on 21-23 August 1990 to examine a proposal to establish a SAARC Centre for Human Resource Development.

The Leaders of South Asia at the Fourth SAARC Summit held at Islamabad in December 1988 welcomed an offer of the Government of Pakistan to host a Centre for Human Resource Development and directed the Secretary-General to set up a Group of Experts from the Member Countries to examine the proposal.

The Group of Experts after a thorough examination of all aspects of the proposal recommended that a SAARC Centre for Human Resource Development should be established. However, they were of the opinion that the Centre at the initial stage should be at a modest scale. The expansion of the nucleus centre could be considered in future after review of the functioning and operation of this nucleus centre.

The Secretary-General in his statement observed that though the SAARC Countries had made sufficient progress towards human resource development in the last four decades, the overall progress concealed significant disparities that obtained in SAARC Member States on account of gender bias or due to the chasm that existed between the rich and the poor or

between the urbanized and rural people. He thought that the real challenge before South Asia was to achieve high levels of human development at the modest levels of per capita income. He stressed on the need to "ensure that the targets we set for ourselves should be realistic and operational."

Mr. Q. A. M. A. Rahim, Director from SAARC Secretariat also participated in the Meeting.

The Report of the Meeting will be considered by the Standing Committee meeting at Male' later this year.

NINTH MEETING OF THE SAARC TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Thimphu : September 13 - 14, 1990

The Technical Committee on Rural Development held its Ninth Meeting at Thimphu on 13-14 September 1990. Delegations from all the Member Countries as well as a representative of the SAARC Secretariat attended the Meeting, which was chaired by Mr. Yeshey Zimba, Joint Secretary Planning Commission of the Royal Government Bhutan.

The Meeting was inaugurated by Dasho Paljor J. Dorji, Deputy Minister for Social Services of the Royal Government of Bhutan. Ambassador K. K. Bhargava, Secretary-General of SAARC, who was visiting Bhutan at that time at the invitation of the Royal Government of Bhutan also addressed the inaugural session of the Meeting.

In his address, the Deputy Minister placed emphasis on people's participation and the development of backward areas and disadvantaged groups. He also underscored the need for evolving rural development programmes which would result in tangible benefits for the rural people in the region.

The Secretary-General observed that the Technical Committee on Rural Development had a heavy responsibility for making a meaningful contribution to the achievement of the objectives of SAARC. He commended the Committee's accomplishments in analyzing the problems encountered in

the field of rural development and in working out detailed recommendations in several key areas. He felt that now it was important to translate all this into the reality of government programmes and self-help projects to be implemented through people's participation. In this context he advocated a political level meeting to facilitate the drawing up of a well-focused programme.

The Committee at its two-day meeting reviewed the progress in the implementation of its earlier recommendations and adopted the Calendar of Activities for the year 1991.

The Committee noted with satisfaction that since its last meeting held in October 1989, of the five workshops planned, four were already held and the last one was scheduled in October 1990. The four workshops already held were on Rural Communication and Transport (Islamabad, December 1989), Development of Agricultural Produce Markets (New Delhi, February 1990), use of Locally Available Material in Development of Rural Water Supply and Sanitation System (Ahmedabad, March 1990), and Improvement of Rural Services (Thimphu, May 1990).

Among its new activities will be two workshops on Strategies for Reducing Urban-Rural Disparities and on Group (Formal and Informal) Approach to Development of Women in Rural Areas and a Training Course for Trainers involved in Rural Development Programmes. While the two workshops will be hosted by the Maldives and Bangladesh respectively, the training course will be hosted by India.

**SECOND MEETING OF THE SAARC TECHNICAL
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION**

Dhaka, Bangladesh : September 23 - 25, 1990

The Second Meeting of the Technical Committee on Education was held at Dhaka on 23 - 25 September 1990 under the Chairmanship of Mr. A. N. M. Eusuf, Secretary, Education Division of the Ministry of Education, Government of Bangladesh. The Meeting was participated by delegations from all the member countries and Mr. Q. A. M. A. Rahim, Director, SAARC Secretariat.

His Excellency Kazi Zafar Ahmad, Prime Minister of Bangladesh, who also holds the charge of the Ministry of Education, inaugurated the Meeting. The Director of the SAARC Secretariat read out a message from Ambassador K. K. Bhargava, Secretary-General of SAARC.

The Committee reviewed the implementation of the recommendations of its First Meeting held last year and adopted the new Calendar of Activities for the next year. The delegates noted with satisfaction that of the five activities planned for the year 1990, four were already held and the last one was also expected to be held before the end of the year.

The Calendar of Activities for 1991 will include three workshops on Quality of Education, Environmental Education including Population Education and Distance Education.

**STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR K. K. BHARGAVA,
SECRETARY-GENERAL, SAARC
ON THE OCCASION OF THE EIGHTH MEETING OF THE
TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
Dhaka, Bangladesh : October 7 - 9, 1990**

Scientific and technological cooperation is one of the five original areas identified as early as in 1981. This is only natural because the efficient use of scientific and technological advances is essential for achieving the objectives of regional cooperation in South Asia.

Over the years, this Technical Committee has carried out a number of useful activities in regard to exchanges of experts, organization of training programmes, holding of seminars and workshops, preparations of State-of-the-Art reports on scientific subjects and those relating to preparation of joint projects for dissemination of technology in selected areas. While cooperation seems to have progressed satisfactorily in several of the fourteen areas which were identified by this Committee, joint programmes and effective research and development linkages in some areas such as biotechnology, micro-electronics, computer technology, and development of scientific and technological skills through high quality science teaching and engineering studies do not seem to have received adequate attention of this Committee. Distinguished Delegates, we can hardly over-emphasize the danger of neglect of new technologies as this may fore-close future options and will increase our dependence on the north. If we build up cooperation in the areas of frontier technologies, we will be able to avoid such an outcome and will help each other in pursuing the course of self-reliant development.

Another important factor which merits serious examination is the need for member States to prepare blue prints of their science and technology policies within the frame work of long term strategies. While it is for each member State to undertake this task, exchange of information and experience will help all member States to recognize correctly close inter connections among the different areas of science and technology and how balance between basic and applied sciences, low and high technologies can be secured with a view to achieving optimum progress. Another point for consideration is the use of science and technology for development of rural areas which will go a long way in preventing excessive migration to urban areas.

Distinguished Delegates may wish to consider how regular contacts and exchange of views can be organized between semi governmental organizations in the field of science and technology such as agricultural research councils, medical research councils, councils of scientific and industrial research, etc. Consideration may also be given to the setting up of some SAARC councils in key areas such as Bio-technology where

knowledgeable people in the SAARC region can examine regional problems that are amenable to bio-technology solutions. Another important point worth considering is the advisability of formation of professional associations in some important areas under the aegis of SAARC so that their valuable resources can be harnessed for facilitating institutional linkages and also for contributing to the implementation of some agreed joint programmes in the field of Science and Technology in the framework of SAARC.

I may mention that cooperation in the field of new and renewable resources of energy has received attention of this Committee ever since its origin. This area merits even greater attention now in view of the grave problems which member States are facing due to events in the Gulf.

I wish to draw the attention of this Committee to the decision by the Standing Committee held in November, 1989 in Islamabad about the holding of the first annual meeting of Chairpersons of the twelve technical committees which would consider recommendations in regard to the streamlining of SAARC activities under the Integrated programme of Action and will also look into the question of co-ordination of sectorial programmes and for selection of well identified target oriented and time bound programmes. I trust that the Distinguished Delegates will be able to formulate some inputs for this meeting.

In 1986 the Council of Ministers had decided that consideration might be given to the desirability of holding meetings in some of the agreed areas at ministerial level. As this Technical Committee has now acquired a wealth of experience, and succeeded in formulating important recommendations in several areas, it may be advisable to think of having the first SAARC Ministerial Meeting on Science and Technology sometime next year. Such a meeting can work out a strategy and programme for cooperation during 1990s.

Distinguished Delegates, this meeting is taking place on the eve of the Fifth SAARC Summit scheduled to be held in the Maldives next month. I have no doubt that its deliberations will contribute to its success.

I wish the delegates a happy and fruitful stay in the historic, beautiful and friendly city of Dhaka. In conclusion I thank the organizers for excellent arrangements made for the meeting and wish them all success.

**STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR KAND KISHORE BHARQAVA,
SAARC SECRETARY-GENERAL, AT THE FIFTEENTH MEETING OF
COMMITTEE ON STUDIES FOR COOPERATION AND
DEVELOPMENT**

New Delhi : October 30, 1990

Mr. Chairman and distinguished scholars participating in the fifteenth meeting of Committee on Studies for Cooperation and Development.

I am indeed very happy to be associated with this meeting. I must apologise for coming little late and also for the fact that I have not really been able to come out with a written statement which could be distributed. But I would like to nevertheless share my thoughts with the delegates here.

Committee on Studies for Cooperation and Development, in my view, can rightly be described as the intellectual progeniteur of regional cooperation in South Asia. Some of the scholars who have been associated with its work in the early stages are known all over South Asia for their great devotion and diligence. They carried out work on regional cooperation in difficult times when the political environment for such studies was not very conducive and very often they had to work under severe handicaps. In fact, while they had the vision and the correct perception of the tasks and challenges, it is fair to admit that they were not privy to the hard, latest and up-to-date information and policy approaches, the knowledge of which, in my view, was quite essential for their studies and for their research work. With considerable difficulties CSCD has succeeded in overcoming the knowledge gap which had existed for decades about the potential and prospects of regional cooperation in South Asia. With considerable foresight, CSCD was able to define the parameters of regional cooperation in South Asia. It made several important proposals regarding the policies, strategies, processes and institutions that needed to be followed and established in order that the full potential of regional cooperation could be achieved. The approach which the

CSCD adopted has indeed yielded positive results. In fact, SAARC as an inter-governmental body is also thinking more and more in terms of adopting this methodology of the networking of institutions, experts, information and services rather than setting up any regional institutions. Networking is the preferred alternative which is being explored in several areas in SAARC.

CSCD has produced a good number of studies on the basis of collaborative work on matters of direct interest for our region and we all know the topics : the development of resources in the region; transportation and communication linkages; payments arrangements and monetary cooperation; trade expansion and liberalisation in the region and the political dimensions of regional cooperation. I would venture to observe that even if these studies are somewhat imperfect and incomplete, they responded to a big need in South Asia. Thanks to these studies, there was a base for identifying areas and modalities of cooperation. If I may inject a personal note, when this whole exercise was being done, I happened to have the division in the Ministry of External Affairs in New Delhi looking after the work relating to Regional Cooperation in South Asia. I had then numerous occasions to consult these studies and to profit by the advice of Dr. Tarlok Singh in preparing our own papers on the subjects for SAARC meetings, etc.

As South Asia enters the last decade of the twentieth century which also marks the beginning of the post-cold war era, it is even more necessary that forums like CSCD should stimulate intellectual exchanges and undertake studies which would help in defining the objectives and setting priorities for South Asian Countries in regard to regional cooperation. CSCD can at least tell us what looks to be initially possible and then the thoughts of its scholars may open a sequence of steps towards the ultimate goals which SAARC asgovernmental organization may like to follow. I must point out in all earnestness that the SAARC leaders attach a great deal of importance to the kind of work which is done by bodies like CSCD. When the Foreign Ministers of SAARC Member States met in Islamabad last November, they recognised that a large number of research institutions, Universities and other bodies in the SAARC countries had produced useful material which

was directly relevant to the work of SAARC and its future scope. In fact, they were keen that there should be arrangements for providing access to research material to scholars and they had desired that this important development area should be covered by the proposed SAARC Documentation Centre. Now, this is one proposal which is there on the anvil. Let me not confuse you because of the nomenclature. In so far as the documents emerging from SAARC activities are concerned, it is the Secretariat which will continue to be the custodian. But the SAARC Documentation Centre was envisaged as an instrumentality to provide information on scientific, technological and developmental matters concerning the region as a whole.

India has offered facilities of INSDOC and there is also another parallel proposal by Nepal to have this Centre located in the SAARC Secretariat in Kathmandu and they will provide the buildings, etc. So, this will come up. But my point is that by its very nature it will take lot of time before this proposal gets implemented. So, till that time we must think of some mechanism by which the kind of objectives which the Foreign Ministers had in mind could be achieved. My submission is, that this should be achieved in the following manner :

The SAARC Documentation Centre has its national focal points, in all seven Member States. Now, it should be the responsibility of each of these national focal points to be the repository of the material which is produced in each of the member countries. Until such time as the SAARC Documentation Centre is set up, these focal points should provide access to research material. DEVINSA has done also a good deal of work. The SAARC Documentation Centre would compliment the activities of DEVINSA in the sense that it will give reliable and up-to-date information on technical, scientific and developmental matters. I think it will be very useful if CSCD could send to us in the Secretariat a well considered paper or a document which would detail the functioning of DEVINSA, the advantage which it offers, the areas where its work can be usefully complimented by the proposed SAARC Documentation Centre, etc. And I, on my part, would be

studies. In fact, I was very pleasantly surprised when I received some communication from some University in India saying that they were introducing a course in SAARC studies -- a master's course and things like that -- and they wanted our advice as to what should be the content of such a course. So, this is a trend which needs to be encouraged very much. I am sure that CSCD can also come out with a lot of thoughts and ideas in this regard. The whole point is that study of contemporary developments in our region including of the processes which are at work for regional cooperation should form a part and parcel of the curricula in the educational programmes which are followed in Colleges and Universities. Now, one area of concentration which I would like to propose for CSCD is the role of non-governmental organizations or professional bodies. NGOs is a very valuable source in our region which made some beginnings, but I am afraid, we have not yet reaped the full potential of its contributions. So, this is one subject which perhaps the CSCD may wish to undertake for their studies. They may study how the interaction of NGOs with SAARC work and activities, and of their own work could be organised in a systematic manner.

One thought I would like to share is the methodology for deciding on research work and studies. That is precisely what the distinguished scholars are debating here. My submission is that in addition to individual or collaborative research, some joint research work should be undertaken by the research scholars, say from India and from Pakistan taking up a theme and working together. We have to think of some innovative approaches so that we are able to harness the resources and knowledge of the link institutions of the CSCD. The link institutions themselves should coordinate with other academic institutions, area study centres, etc., in the country they are representing so far as the CSCD work is concerned.

While some sporadic studies have appeared about SAARC cooperating with other regional organizations, like ASEAN, etc., there has not been any path-breaking study as to how SAARC should set about establishing its external relations at least in those identified areas where it is cooperating internally. Now, it will, in my opinion, be useful if we can undertake a study

also about the interests which activities of SAARC have aroused in different parts of the world and how such interest can be responded to. Now, in this connection -- of course it is always invidious to isolate or to quote one example -- the visit of the Prime Minister of Japan to four South Asian Countries a few months ago was indeed a very significant event, and perhaps more notice ought to have been taken of it than what indeed was done. And, therefore, CSCD may like to undertake a detailed study about relations of each of the SAARC members with Japan and also on the ways and means in which the potential of Japan's cooperation with SAARC and its Member States can be exploited fully.

The subject of environmentally sustainable development is of topical importance and significance. Already, I believe there is something which is being done under the aegis of the South Asia Chapter of the Society for International Development, but CSCD may wish to consider whether in the context of the forthcoming UN Conference on Environment and Development, some kind of a comprehensive study on this could be undertaken by it.

These are really some of the thoughts which I have ventured to share with the distinguished scholars and I look forward to the deliberations of this meeting which would certainly be of great interest to us in the SAARC Secretariat also.

With these words, I want to thank the organisers once again for their kind invitation extended to me. It is a happy augury that I was able to respond to it favourably, because in any case I was coming here for consultations with the Indian authorities on the forthcoming Fifth SAARC Summit. So the timing of it has turned out to be very well. I would be glad to respond to any queries or to provide clarifications.

Thank you.

FIFTH SAARC SUMMIT HELD IN THE REPUBLIC OF MALDIVES

Male' : November 21 - 23, 1990

The Fifth Meeting of the SAARC Heads of State or Government was held at Male' from 21-23 November, 1990. The Summit was attended by the then President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, His Excellency Mr. Husain Muhammad Ershad, the King of Bhutan, His Majesty King Jigme Singye Wangchuck, the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, His Excellency Mr. Chandra Shekhar, the President of the Republic of Maldives, His Excellency Uz. Maumoon Abdul Gayoom, the Prime Minister of Nepal, the Right Honourable Krishna Prasad Bhattarai, the Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, His Excellency Mr. Mohammad Nawaz Sharif and the Prime Minister of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, His Excellency Mr. Dingiri Banda Wijetunga. The Summit was preceded by meetings of Programming Committee, Standing Committee and Council of Ministers which commenced on 13 November, 1990.

The meetings were held in an atmosphere of warmth, cordiality and mutual understanding. The Male' Declaration and the Joint Press Release issued at the end of the Fifth SAARC Summit have been printed separately and are available on request.

During the Summit the SAARC Leaders reaffirmed their commitment to the principles and objectives of SAARC and reiterated their resolve to intensify cooperation under its aegis. Apart from reviewing progress of SAARC over the years the Leaders took a number of important decisions setting new directions for the Association and for turning it into a dynamic instrument for achieving its objectives and creating an order based on mutual respect, equity, cooperation and shared benefits.

These are as follows :

- (i) Decided to extend cooperation in the field of bio-technology for the long-term food security of developing countries and to the

exchange of expertise in genetic conservation and maintenance of germplasm banks.

- (ii) Agreed to participate in the gene bank for developing countries being established on the proposal of the Group of Fifteen Developing Countries (G-15).
- (iii) Agreed that representatives of the national development banks of the Member Countries should meet to set up a fund for regional projects for making available credit on easy terms for the identification and development of regional projects.
- (iv) Decided to launch Special SAARC Travel Document Scheme.
- (v) Decided to launch the scheme for the promotion of organized tourism during the first half of 1991 and welcomed the proposal for institutionalized cooperation among the tourist industries of the Member States.
- (vi) Decided that measures for establishing joint ventures in the field of cottage industries and handicrafts should be taken up forthwith to set a stage for promoting collective self-reliance in the region.
- (vii) Directed the Standing Committee to submit its recommendations on the proposal for the establishment of a SAARC Regional Fund.
- (viii) Emphasised the importance of cooperation in the field of mass media and directed the Secretary-General to facilitate under the auspices of SAARC increased inter-action among federations / associations of journalists, news agencies and mass media of the region.
- (ix) Early ratification of the SAARC Convention on Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances signed by the Foreign Ministers at Male'.

- (x) Decided to set up SAARC Tuberculosis Centre, SAARC Documentation Centre and Centre for Human Resource Development in Nepal, India and Pakistan respectively.
- (xi) Plan of Action for Children in South Asia to be prepared.
- (xii) Designated Years 1991-2000 A.D. as the SAARC Decade of the Girl Child.
- (xiii) 1991 designated as the SAARC Year of Shelter.
- (xiv) 1992 designated as the SAARC Year of Environment.
- (xv) 1993 designated as the SAARC Year of Disabled Persons.
- (xvi) Second Ministerial Meeting on International Economic Issues to be held in India in 1991.
- (xvii) Decided to adopt a more business like and functional approach in the conduct of meetings held under the aegis of SAARC.
- (xviii) Directed the Chairman of Council of Ministers to prepare recommendations on rationalising SAARC activities with a view to promoting effective functioning of the Association.
- (xix) Authorized the Secretary to share information and exchange reports, studies and publications with European Community (EC) and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) to begin with, in the identified areas of cooperation.
- (xx) Sixth Summit to be held in Sri Lanka in 1991.

During the opening session of the Fifth SAARC Summit 14 Girl Children (2 from each SAARC country) delivered and Appeal to the Leaders as part of the observance of 1990 SAARC Year of the Girl Child. The Appeal read as follows :

"Majesty/Excellencies,

We, the girl children of SAARC Countries, appeal to you to give us the opportunity to become responsible citizens of our countries.

We, the girl children of SAARC Countries, live in societies where we are less than equal. We are victims of social injustice and discrimination. We also need love and care and the right to childhood. While we like to help our parents as much as possible, we also have a right to play and enjoy ourselves. Please protect us from exploitation and give us opportunities to develop to our full potential physically, intellectually and emotionally. Protect us from early marriage and motherhood for which we are not ready.

Thank you for making 1990 the SAARC Year of the Girl Child. This year has helped people think more about the special problems we have as girl children. We are confident that you will look into our problems and help us lead a better life.

Please create the conditions to bring us light and hope.

Our future lies in your hands.

Thank you."

A Seminar on Child Survival and Development under the Technical Committee on Health and Population Activities was held at the Institute of Child Health and Hospital for Children in Madras, India from 3-5 October, 1990. Representatives from Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal and Sri Lanka participated in this seminar.

EIGHTH MEETING OF THE SAARC TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Dhaka, Bangladesh : October 7 - 9, 1990

The Eighth Meeting of the SAARC Technical Committee on Science and Technology was held in Dhaka, Bangladesh, during 7-9 October, 1990. The meeting was inaugurated by Hon. Kazi Zafar Ahmed, Prime Minister and Minister-in-Charge of Education, Science and Technology, Government of Bangladesh. It was attended by delegates from all seven member countries. Mr. Daya Wijesekera, Director, represented the SAARC Secretariat.

The Hon. Prime Minister in his inaugural address made special mention of the universal degradation of the ecosystem like depletion of the atmospheric ozone layer, global warming, storms and flooding and the further aggravation of the situation by man-made environmental imbalances through wide spread and indiscriminate use of fuelwood, insecticides aerosols and hydrocarbon fuels. Coupled with the adverse effect the current trends in world socio-political events would have on our economies, he said that unless all out efforts are made for stable and sustained economic development, the world will be doomed to disaster, and the only way we can do this is through the fruitful utilization of science and technology.

Through cooperation and collaboration in science and technology a qualified and skilled human resources base could be created in the region and in this way reach a level of technical competence and self reliance collectively. He expressed satisfaction that most of the programmed activities have been undertaken during the year under review.

Director Wijesekera of the SAARC Secretariat, enlarging on the primary aim of the Committee to help member States reinforced their national scientific and technical capabilities and undertake coordinated programmes and activities at national and regional levels, stated that the Committee could examine broad relationships at the policy level between science and technology and economic and social development in a catalytic, promotional and advisory capacity, to incorporate science and technological programmes in the main stream of socio-economic development. He suggested micro electronics, marine sciences, genetic engineering, computer technology and scientific and technological man-power development as areas in which the Committee could undertake joint programmes and forge effective research and development linkages.

For the year 1991, six activities comprising two workshops, one joint research project, preparation of two state-of-the-art reports and an Expert Group meeting were approved for implementation. On the initiative of H.E. Mr. K. K. Bhargava, SAARC Secretary-General to examine carefully the possibility of cooperation in the SAARC framework in the field of bio-

technology and genetic engineering, the Technical Committee for the first time decided on a meeting of Experts to be held in India in September, 1991 to discuss trends in bio-technology and genetic engineering in the region and work out a programme for cooperation.

The Male' Summit last November noting the wide importance of biotechnology for the long term food security of developing countries as well as for medicinal purposes, decided to extend cooperation in this field and in particular to exchange expertise in gene conservation and maintenance of germplasm banks. The SAARC leaders welcomed India's offer of training facilities and agreed that cooperation in cataloguing genetic resources stored in different SAARC countries would be mutually beneficial. They also agreed to participate in the proposal of the Group of 15 Developing Countries for establishing a gene bank for developing countries.

NINTH MEETING OF THE SAARC TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON TRANSPORT

Islamabad, Pakistan : October 9 - 11, 1990

The Ninth Meeting of the SAARC Technical Committee on Transport was held in Islamabad from 9 - 11 October, 1990 under the Chairmanship of Mr. Malik M. Zahoor Anwar, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Communications, Pakistan. All SAARC Member Countries participated in the meeting. The SAARC Secretariat was represented by Director Mr. K. B. Shrestha. The Committee approved the Calendar of Activities for 1990-91.

Speaking on the occasion the Chairman stated that transport and communication provide the vital infrastructure without which no development can take place. Roads, railways, ports, civil aviation have to be provided, maintained and improved at all time to meet the ever increasing requirements of the domestic and regional development economies -- each with its own particular characteristics. He said the Committee had met to devise ways and means for inter-country smooth and efficient inter-linkages. It is in this context that the SAARC Countries will be called upon to meet the

challenges and suggest tangible solutions in order to lend greater depth and meaning to this organization.

Director K. B. Shrestha speaking on behalf of the Secretary-General stated that transport is one of the originally agreed areas of regional cooperation in South Asia. It may be said that whereas, a well balanced development of the transportation sector is considered to be an essential prerequisite for economic growth in a society, it is also, to a large extent an indicator of the state of development of an economy. He further said that a look at the work programme of the Committee will reveal the wide range of activities including different field of the transportation sector such as roads, railways, sea and inland transport as well as air transport. Each of these sectors have its own important role to play, in varying degrees in the economies of the countries of the South Asia.

The report of the Technical Committee was presented to the Thirteenth Session of the Standing Committee in Male'.

ELEVENTH MEETING OF THE SAARC TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON TELECOMMUNICATION

Dhaka, Bangladesh : October 15 - 17, 1990

The Eleventh Meeting of the SAARC Technical Committee on Telecommunications was held in Dhaka, Bangladesh from 15-17 October, 1990. Mr. Abdus Salim, Chief Planning, Ministry of Post and Telecommunications, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh chaired the Meeting.

Inaugurating the Technical Committee, Mr. Kazi Firoz Rashid, the Hon'ble Minister for Post and Telecommunications, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh stated that the SAARC is a glorious example of cooperation amongst the Member States and that his country attached great importance to this cooperation. He emphasized that Bangladesh had already implemented a number of programmes formulated by Technical Committee and hoped that the meeting of the Technical Committee during its deliberations will take far reaching decisions in the field of Telecommunications of the Region.

Director Ahmed Saleem, who represented the SAARC Secretariat on behalf of the SAARC Secretary-General, familiarized the Committee with SAARC guidelines and decisions taken by relevant SAARC bodies in order to streamline SAARC activities under the Integrated Programme of Action and complimented the Government of Bangladesh for having successfully guided and shaped the destiny of the Committee for the past two years.

SAARC WORKSHOP ON PLAN MODELLING

TECHNIQUES

New Delhi, India : October 29 - 31, 1990

Pursuant to the recommendation of the Third Meeting of Planners of SAARC Member Countries, which met in Kathmandu on 1 - 2 November, 1988, a Workshop on Plan Modelling Techniques was held in New Delhi on 29 - 31 October, 1990 to provide interaction among the experts of the SAARC Member States in the sphere of Plan Modelling. The programme of the Workshop was divided into seven sessions and included a trip to the Computer Services Division of National Informatics Centre, Planning Commission and Research and Information System for Non-Aligned and other Developing Countries. The Workshop was inaugurated by Dr. A. Ghosh, Member, Planning Commission, India and a Keynote address was delivered by Dr. A. Vaidyanathan, Member, Planning Commission, India. The Workshop was attended by representatives of Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.

The objectives of the Workshop were :

- (a) To provide a forum to the planners and model builders of the SAARC Countries to exchange their experience and knowledge in building planning models and using them in plan and policy formulation in their respective countries.
- (b) To explore the areas of cooperation in this field.

The following aspects of Plan Modelling were discussed in detail :

- (a) Role of planning models and planning systems in coordinating various economic activities.

- (b) Review of the types of models that have been developed and/or used in plan formulation in different countries of SAARC region.
- (c) Inadequacies of the existing models to deal with (i) price driven responses of the economic systems ; (ii) responses to external shocks, and (iii) integration with major economic trends in the rest of the world.
- (d) Need for improvements in the models to be able to deal with some of the important social goals in SAARC Countries, like poverty alleviation, employment maximisation, provision of basic needs, income distribution, and decentralisation of planning processes.
- (e) Issues pertaining to data-base and information management.

The recommendations of the Workshop would be considered first by the Sixth Meeting of Planners scheduled to take place in Bangladesh sometime in the first half of 1991 and thereafter by the Fourteenth Session of the Standing Committee.

FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF CHAIRPERSONS

Male', Maldives : November 13 - 14, 1990

The First Annual Meeting of Chairpersons of the Twelve Technical Committees (MCTC), met in Male' from 13 - 14 November, 1990 and laid down the following broad suggestions for preparation and selection by the Technical Committees of well-identified, Target-oriented and Time-bound programmes (Illustrative list) :

1. Such programmes may be groups-specific or area-specific with clear objectives where progress can be monitored and assessed easily. These could include for example, programmes directed at children, adolescent girls, rural youth, women and these should be devised wherever possible to have multiplier effect without their being unnecessarily repetitive.

2. Time bound programmes may be devised in clearly defined phases. In this connection the meeting recommended :
- (i) Universalisation of Primary Education by 2000 A. D.
 - (ii) Universal Immunisation of Infants by 1995.
 - (iii) Provision of Safe Drinking Water and Sanitation by 2000 A. D.
 - (iv) Adequate advances in Biotechnology research and training related to animal health, agricultural and horticultural production during the 1990s.
 - (v) Development of post-harvest technology for perishable food products during the 1990s.
 - (vi) SAARC network on climatology and data exchange for agricultural purposes.
 - (vii) Access to telecommunication facilities particularly telephones for rural population.
 - (viii) Special programmes for adolescent girl.
 - (ix) Devising demand-reduction strategies in consultation with all Member Countries with a view to undertaking realistic and viable programmes for prevention of drug trafficking and drug abuse ; involvement of Technical Committees on Education and Health and Population Activities for proper coordination of necessary preventive measures in the field of demand reduction.

SAARC AUDIO VISUAL EXCHANGE COMMITTEE MEETING

Male', Maldives : November 29 - December 1, 1990

The Seventh Meeting of the SAARC Audio Visual Exchange (SAVE) Committee was held in Male', from 29 November to 1 December, 1990. The Meeting was presided over by Mr. Hussain Mohamed, Director of

Programmes of the Television Maldives and leader of the Maldivian delegation. Mr. Abdulla Rasheed, Director, Department of Information and Broadcasting, Government of Maldives who inaugurated the Meeting commended the work of the Committee since its inception and assured the delegates that SAVE had been one of the success stories within the umbrella of SAARC. Emphasizing the point, Director Rasheed said that the success story lay in the fact that it was the work of the SAVE Committee that had brought true ideals of SAARC to a reality.

Mr. Ahmed Saleem, Director, SAARC Secretariat, had also made a statement on behalf of the Secretary-General and commended that the SAVE Committee had produced realistic and meaningful programmes for the past 3 years. He said that these programmes had proved to be more than a useful media for promoting South Asian consciousness among the people of the region. Co-production on socio-economic and technical themes, a part from the popular cultural themes, had added new dimensions to the programmes. He was of the opinion that allocation of more time on Radio/TV for the SAVE programmes might further enhance the efficacy of electronic media in the wider dissemination among the masses of issues and contents of regional cooperation.

A Seminar on Traditional Medicine under the Technical Committee on Health and Population Activities was held in Kathmandu from 25 - 26 December, 1990. Representatives from Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Pakistan and Nepal participated in this seminar.

The Seminar had for its objectives :

A. Status of Traditional Medicine in Member Countries.

B. Exchange of country experience in :

- (i) Traditional medicine as specialized service and its role in health care delivery in primary health care system.
- (ii) Cultivation, conservation and preservation of medicinal plants.

- (iii) Manufacture and supply of traditional medicines.
- (iv) Education, research and training facilities in traditional medicine.

C. Immediate/Long term strategy for cooperation in traditional medicine.

The Seminar urged Governments of the SAARC region to give adequate importance to the development of the traditional systems of medicine in close conjunction with western medicines so as to take advantage of the best from both and also to provide resources and opportunities for their all-round development. It resolved that there should be greater and more active cooperation among member countries in the exchange of information and close collaboration relating to traditional systems of medicine. The Seminar emphasized the urgent need for cooperation to establish programmes for conservation and propagation of medicinal plants on scientific lines as well as introduction of modern scientific techniques including bio-technology -- tissue culture, etc., to ensure that adequate quantities of good quality plants become available. The Seminar also proposed preparation of a directory of medicinal plants, a programme for exchange of experts in the field and that such seminars/meetings should be organized at least once a year to enable member countries exchange further information and to develop further strategy. The Pakistan delegation offered to host this activity at Islamabad in 1991 subject to confirmation of the Government.

SAARC PUBLICATIONS

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2. *Provisional Rules of Procedure*.
3. Dhaka and Bangalore Summits, *Declarations and Joint Press Releases*.
4. *SAARC Perspective*, May 1987.

5. *SAARC Perspective*, October 1987, Vol. I, No. 2.
6. Kathmanud Summit, *Declaraion and Joint Press Release*.
7. *SAARC Perspective*, May 1988, Vol. II, No. 3.
8. *Headquarters Agreement*, His Majesty's Government of Nepal and the Secretariat of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).
9. *Memorandum of Understanding of the Establishment of the Secretariat*.
10. *Agreement on Establishing SAARC Food Security Reserve*.
11. *SAARC Regional Convention on Suppression of Terrorism*.
12. *SAARC Perspective*, December 1988, Vol II, No. 4.
13. *Introduction*, South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).
14. Islamabad Summit, *Declaration and Joint Press Release*.
15. *SAARC Perspective*, June 1989, Vol. III, No. 5.
16. *SAARC Perspective*, October 1990, Vol. IV, No. 6.
17. *From SARC To SAARC : Milestons in the Evolution of Regional Cooperation in South Asia (1980 - 1989) : Vol. I*. US \$ 10.
18. *From SARC To SAARC : Milestones in the Evolution of Regional Cooperation in Soth Asia (1983 - 1989) : Vol. II*, US \$ 10.
19. *SAARC Summits (1985 - 1988)*, US \$ 20.
20. *SAARC and Women in Development (1986 - 1990)*, US \$ 15.
21. Male' Summit, *Declaration and Joint Press Release*.

LIST OF SAARC ACTIVITIES HELD IN 1990**July**

Seminar/Workshop on Biomass Gasification.

10 - 13 July. 1990, Sri Lanka.

Eighth Meeting of the SAARC Technical Committee on Health and Population

16 - 18 July 1990, Colombo, Sri Lanka.

August

Fifth Meeting of the SAARC Technical Committee on Prevention of Drug Trafficking and Drug Abuse.

6 - 8 August, 1990, Karachi, Pakistan.

Training on Innovative Technology for Development of Prawn Hatchery.

13 - 25 August 1990, Chittagong, Bangladesh.

SAARC Experts Group Meeting on Educational Research.

20 - 22 August 1990, Colombo, Sri Lanka.

Meeting of the SAARC Group of Experts on Human Resource Development.

21 - 23 August 1990, Islamabad, Pakistan.

Training Course on Farming Systems Resource / on Farm Research (15 days).

25 August - 9 September 1990, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Ninth Meeting of the SAARC Technical Committee on Agriculture.

28 - 30 August 1990, New Delhi, India.

September

SAARC Workshop on Educational for the Prevention of Drug Abuse.

2 - 5 September 1990, Lahore, Pakistan.

Workshop cum Study Tour Concerning Artificial Limbs.

3 - 12 September 1990, Bombay, India.

Training cum Workshop on Meteorological Telecommunications.

10 - 21 September 1990, New Delhi, India.

Ninth Meeting of the SAARC Technical Committee on Rural Development.

13 - 14 September 1990, Thimphu, Bhutan.

SAARC Seminar on "Improvement of Quality of Service in Telecom Network."

22 - 27 September 1990, Islamabad, Pakistan.

Second Meeting of the SAARC Technical Committee on Education.

23 - 25 September 1990, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

October

Seminar on Child Survival and Development.

3 - 5 October 1990, India.

Eighth Meeting of the SAARC Technical on Science & Technology.

7 - 9 October 1990, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Workshop on People's Participation.

8 - 11 October 1990, Colombo, Sri Lanka.

Ninth Meeting of the SAARC Technical Committee on Transport.

9 - 11 October 1990, Islamabad, Pakistan.

Expert Group Meeting on Science and Technical Education.

10 - 14 October 1990, Islamabad, Pakistan.

Eleventh Meeting of the SAARC Technical Committee on Telecommunications.

15 - 17 October 1990, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Workshop on Documentation of Musical Traditions.

28 October - 4 November 1990, India.

SAARC Workshop on Plan Modelling Techniques.
29 - 31 October 1990, New Delhi, India.

November

Eighth Meeting of Programming Committee.
13 - 14 November 1990, Male', Maldives.

Second Meeting of SAARC Food Security Board.
16 November 1990, Male', Maldives.

Thirteenth Session of the Standing Committee.
16 - 17 November 1990, Male', Maldives.

Eighth Session of the Council of Ministers.
18 - 19 November 1990, Male', Maldives.

Fifth SAARC Summit.
21 - 23 November 1990, Male', Maldives.

Seventh SAVE Committee Meeting.
29 - 30 November 1990, Male', Maldives.

December

Seminar on Traditional Medicines.
26 - 27 December, 1990, Kathmandu, Nepal.

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Chronology of Important Events

SOUTH ASIAN REGION

July to December, 1990

BANGLADESH

- July 15* Opposition parties called on Bangladesh President Hussain Mohammad Ershad to resign forthwith the honour his promise to hold an impartial election.
- 22 A new industrial policy was realised putting more emphasis on industrialisation, and liberalising further the existing policies to attract foreign capital in the country.
- 23 Korban Ali, Vice-President of the opposition Awami League, died in Dhaka.
- August 6* President Hussain Mohammad Ershad inaugurated Bangladesh's biggest barrage which was expected to boost grain production by 1.5 million tonnes in five years.
- 15 The International Monetary Fund announced that it had approved a loan of 353 million dollars over three-year to Bangladesh under the IMF's enhanced structural adjustment facility.
- September 3* In Dhaka, shops, schools and most of the offices were closed due to a general strike as a protest against the Government's decision to send troops to Saudi Arabia in connection with the Gulf War.

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

- September 10* The Foreign Minister of Bangladesh, Anisul Islam Mahmud called on the President of Pakistan, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, at the Aiwan-e-Sadr, Islamabad.
- 24 One Bangladeshi was killed and three wounded when Indian soldiers raided a village inside Bangladesh and fired at random.
- October 9* At least 50 people were killed while hundreds were found missing after a storm accompanied by seven feet tidal waves which lashed coastal Bangladesh.
- November 16* President Hussain Mohammad Ershad and his Turkish counterpart Turgut Ozal, held brief talks in Dhaka on bilateral and international issues.
- 17 Hussain Mohammad Ershad accused 'a neighbouring country' (India) of fomenting the unrest in the country.
- 20 Opposition groups issued a joint statement calling for the immediate resignation of President Ershad and demanded fair and free election within three months in the country.
- 27 President Hussain Mohammad Ershad declared a state of Emergency.
- December 2* Hussain Mohammad Ershad said that he was forced to proclaim a State of Emergency for the security of the people and to carry forward his development programmes.
- 5 Bangladesh's three major opposition political parties chose Shehabuddin Ahmad, Chief Justice of Bangladesh, as a Caretaker Administration.
- 6 President Hussain Mohammad Ershad dissolved the Parliament and lifted the State of Emergency.
- 6 Hussain Mohammad Ershad confirmed the appointment of Justice Shahabuddin Ahmad, as the Vice-President to head a caretaker administration until elections were held.
- 10 The acting President Justice Shahabuddin Ahmad, indicated that some action might be taken against the former President Hussain Mohammad Ershad.
- 13 A leftist political party filed charges of murder, misappropriation of funds and illegal seizure of power against the deposed President Hussain Mohammad Ershad.

- December 14* Bangladesh's Acting President Justice Shahabuddin Ahmad set the date for the parliamentary elections for March 2, 1991.
- 24* Dhaka was without newspapers due to a 24-hour strike by the Dhaka Union of Journalists (DUJ) which demanded the reopening of an English language daily.
- 28* Bangladesh's deposed President, Hussain Mohammad Ershad and his wife were arrested for corruption and abuse of power.
- 31* It was reported that the eight-year rule of the former President, Hussain Mohammad Ershad, saw the deaths of some 19,500 people for their political beliefs.

BHUTAN

- November 19* King Jigme Singye Wangchuck led the Bhutan's delegation to attend the Fifth SAARC Summit held in Maldives (Male') on 21-23 November.

BURMA

- July 3* According to unofficial figures, Burma's opposition National League for Democracy (NLD) won 392 out of 485 seats in the general elections held in May, 1990.
- September 3* Burma's military Junta said that the National League for Democracy (NLD), which swept the elections in May, had not formulated national policies and was unprepared to take the office.

INDIA

- July 8* Indian Foreign Minister, Inder Kumar Gujral, alleged that talks with Pakistan would be worthwhile only if Islamabad "ceases its support for Muslim and Sikh secessionists."
- 8* Several political parties in India and disputed Kashmir Valley condemned Delhi's move to declare the occupied State as 'disturbed area'.
- 11* The Indian Home Minister, Mufti Mohammad Saeed, urged the Sikh politicians to stop their "bloody war for independence" in East Punjab so that a new state government could be elected.
- 12* India's main opposition party demonstrated in front of Sri Lanka's Consulate in Madras, urging a ceasefire in the Island's northeast.
- 13* Nine Sikh militants were among 12 people killed in separatist violence in India's northern Punjab.

- July 14* The Indian Prime Minister, Vishwanath Pratap Singh announced to resign from his office.
- 14 The Indian High Commissioner, J. N. Dilit, said that foreign secretary level talks between India and Pakistan, scheduled for July 17-18, would not be affected by V. P. Singh's offer to resign from his post.
- 14 In India nearly 170 people were killed in the unabated fury of monsoon rains and floods.
- 15 V. P. Singh withdrew his offer to resign after conferring with the leaders of his National Front Alliance. It was announced by the groups' Chairman.
- 18 It was reported that India would purchase sophisticated weapons, including missiles from the Soviet Union which were to be withdrawn from the Eastern Europe.
- 19 The Indian Premier V. P. Singh, stressed that "politically Indo-Soviet relations were in harmony with the new atmosphere in the world."
- 22 It was reported that India had ordered import curbs on domestic industry to save about 588 million dollars in the face of a major foreign exchange crunch.
- 23 The Indian Premier V. P. Singh, flew to Moscow for his first Summit with President Mikhail Gorbachev, aiming at reinforcing New Delhi's traditionally strong relations with the Soviet Union.
- 31 V. P. Singh called a top level meeting in New Delhi to decide the future of his Deputy Prime Minister, Devi Lal.
- August 1* Devi Lal, the Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of Agriculture, was dismissed from the Cabinet.
- 15 V. P. Singh warned Pakistan that India would not compromise on its unity or integrity.
- 17 The Indian Foreign Minister, I. K. Gujral, flew to Baghdad after having talks with senior US officials on the "calamitous situation" in the Gulf.
- September 1* The Akali Dal (M) President, Simranjit Singh Mann, declared that his party would campaign for the "creation of a sovereign, independent and separate nation, Khalistan", in the event of a referendum conducted under the auspices of the United Nations.
- 1 V. P. Singh, announced to convene an all-party meeting to pull the country out of the crisis.

- September 21* The Indian Army was called out in two north Indian cities to control rampaging students protesting against Federal Government's move to reserve more jobs for the under-privileged.
- 30 India's key leftist parties for the first time backed a controversial job quota policy, as violent and sacrificial protests against the scheme continued in the country's strife-hit north.
- 30 V. P. Singh said that he would stand firm on a job quota policy despite the increasingly violence backlash to it in northern India.
- October 10* The opposition leader, Rajiv Gandhi, endorsed the idea of summit-level talks between Pakistan and India, floated at the meeting between former Federal Minister and Senator, Maulana Kausar Niazi and the Indian Prime Minister V. P. Singh.
- 15 India announced to award its highest civilian honour to Nelson Mandela.
- 23 Prime Minister V. P. Singh, whose coalition government faced collapse after the withdrawal of the support by a key ally, declared that he would not resign.
- 26 Maneka Gandhi resigned as Minister of State for Environment and Forests.
- November 1* The Speaker of Lok Sabha, Rabi Ray, admitted Prime Minister V. P. Singh's motion, for seeking a vote of confidence at a one-day special session of the house.
- 2 Premier V. P. Singh said that if his government failed to secure a vote of confidence at the special session of the house, it would be a defeat for secular forces.
- 2 India won a seat on the United National Security Council at a time when its occupation forces were attempting to put down a popular uprising in the held Jammu and Kashmir State.
- 10 Chandra Shekhar was sworn in as the eighth Indian Prime Minister by President R. Venkataraman. Devi Lal took the oath of office for the second time as Deputy Prime Minister of India.
- 10 The Indian President, R. Venkataraman, said that Pakistan and India had "much in common including a common history, and a shared cultural heritage and even common problems."

- November 24* The Indian Prime Minister, Chandra Shekhar, said that after meeting his Pakistan counterpart, Mian Nawaz Sharif in Male' (Maldives), "both countries shared a common concern for reducing tensions in the (South Asian) region."

MALDIVES

- July 3* Maldives expressed its thanks to the Sri Lankan Government for agreeing to let it host the Fifth Summit of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) in November, 1990.
- 22 The Speaker, Citizens Majlis (Parliament) of Maldives, Ahmad Zaki, was warmly received when he arrived at Islamabad on a three-day visit to Pakistan.
- 23 The Speaker, Citizens Majlis of Republic of Maldives, Ahmad Zaki called on the President of Pakistan, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, and Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mohtarama Benazir Bhutto, at Islamabad.

NEPAL

- July 11* Nepal's King Birenda Bikram Shah Dev suspended 42 key Articles and sub-articles of the Constitution, vesting full authority to the coalition government.
- 14 Nepal unveiled an austere budget that featured reduced spending, more taxes and strong dependence on foreign aid as the country recovered from a dehumiliation trade rout with India.
- September 1* Visiting Soviet Deputy Minister for Civil Aviation, Victor Gorlov called on Nepal's Prime Minister Krishna Prasad Bhattarai at his office.
- 6 Nepal appeared to be heading for another political crisis over the promulgation of the already drafted constitution for a multi-party system.
- November 9* King Birendras promulgated the new Constitution in Nepal and ended the absolute rule of the Shah dynasty.
- December 10* More than 170,000 civil servants in Nepal had threatened to go on strike, if the Government did not increase their wages and improve working conditions.

SRI LANKA

- August 13* White flags of mourning fluttered above Muslim homes in five Sri Lankan fishing villages, where Tamil gunmen slaughtered 173 residents with machinegun fire and machetes.

- September 2* At least 30 separatist Tamil guerillas and seven soldiers were killed in clashed in Northeastern Sri Lanka.
- November 7* Sri Lanka Muslim Organisation demanded that the Sri Lankan Government recruited 5,000 Muslims for a paramilitary unit to protect its community members when they resettled in the northern province after being forced to flee their homes over the past two weeks.
- December 18* Government troops killed at least 10 Tamil guerillas in operations over the past 24 hours in Sri Lanka's violent-hit northeast.

SAARC

- August 22* Foreign Secretary of Maldives, Ibrahim Hasan Zaki expressed the hope that the arrangement would soon be finalised for holding three-day Fifth SAARC Summit due to start in Maldives from November 19, 1990.
- September 5* A four day SAARC workshop on education for the prevention of drug abuse ended.
- October 22* A 4-member team from SAARC countries, which was currently in Pakistan to observe the general elections, called on the Punjab Governor Mian Mohammad Azhar at the Governor's House.
- November 5* The Secretary General of SAARC, Mr. K. K. Bhargava called on the Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan and discussed with him matters relating to the forthcoming SAARC Summit.
- 16* The Fifth Summit meeting was held in the Maldives on November 21-23 of the Seven-Nation South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).
- 23* Seven South Asian leaders ended a three-day Summit with a call for the urgent and unconditional withdrawal of Iraq troops from Kuwait.
- 23* The SAARC countries signed an agreement in Male' to promote regional cooperation in fighting drug abuse and illicit traffic of narcotics.

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

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

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

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

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