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# SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES

JULY 1991

## SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES

RAFIQ AHMAD

*Editor*

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# Ethnicity, National Integration and Education in Sri Lanka

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C. L. SHARMA

## INTRODUCTION

Sri Lanka has a strategic location in the Indian Ocean because the sea and air lanes connecting the East, West, and South converge here. Chosen as the site for the establishment of the Southeast Asian Command during the Second World War, it falls more in the region of South East Asia. Geographically, Sri Lanka is still counted as part of South Asia.

The Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka is a pear-shaped island country in the Indian Ocean. It is a mass of crystalline rock and limestone, with plains skirting around it. It has an area of approximately 25,000 square miles, and extends 270 miles from north to south and 140 miles from east to west.

## THE HISTORICAL PAST

History of Sri Lanka till 1500 A. D. is generally obscure, it presents conflicting record of wars, invasions, usurpations, and dynastic rivalries. Tamil population was largely concentrated in the North while in the South Tamils constituted a majority. In 1505, the Portuguese established settlements on the West and South coasts. Despite their desperate efforts to subjugate the whole island, the Kandyan kingdom resisted their domination

In 1612, the king of Kandy formed an alliance with the Dutch to repel the Portuguese but, in the process, he himself became subservient to them. In 1646, the country was under the domination of Portuguese and the Dutch. In 1656, the Dutch thoroughly defeated the Portuguese who finally left the

island. For a century and a half, the Dutch were in control of the greater portion of the island. In 1796, they capitulated to the British who brought the Tamil, the Sinhalese and the Kandyan under a unified administration by 1815, and effectively ruled the whole country until 1948, when Sri Lanka became independent.

### THE ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE SOCIETY

The population of Sri Lanka is nearly 18 million (1986 estimates), comprising several self-conscious ethnic groups, differentiated by language, religion, social customs, and racial extraction. The main ethnic groups are : Sinhalese (about 73 per cent), Tamils (about 18 per cent), Moors (about 7 per cent), and Burghers, people of Dutch or mixed descent, (about 1 per cent). The other ethnic groups—Veddahs, Malays, and Europeans — account for the rest.

The ancient history of Sri Lanka (except for the past 400 year or so) is recorded in the *Great Chonicles* whose historiographic authenticity is suspect.

Theravada Buddhism was introduced from India in the 3rd Century B.C., and is the religion of the majority of the inhabitants. Hinduism, the other major religion of the island, was also brought from India in ancient times. The Arab traders and the Western colonists brought along with them Islam and Christianity, about the tenth and sixteenth centuries, respectively. Buddhists constitute approximately 67 per cent of the population ; Hindus, 18 per cent ; Christians, 8 per cent; and Moslems, 7 per cent.

*The Sinhalese* : Both legend and linguistic evidence suggests that the Sinhalese came to the island probably as invaders from North India about 500 B.C. According to *Mahavamsa*, a chronicle written by an unknown Buddhist monk in the fifth century A.D., the Sinhalese are a unique and specially favoured people of Aryan stock with an Indo-European language, Sinhala. They are the chosen guardians of Buddhism, and Sri Lanka is the place of sanctity for the Buddhist religion to flourish. Their ancient history is replete with themes of recurring struggles to protect Buddhism from external incursions and to establish the Sinhalese culture on the Island. They are particularly proud of the cultural and economic achievements of the ancient Sinhalese kingdoms of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa that existed from 200 B. C. to 1300 A. D.

The Sinhalese (the lion race) constitute the largest ethnic group. They are divided into two subgroups based upon geographic and cultural distinctions. The low-country Sinhalese, who principally live in the southern and western coastal regions, comprise 62 per cent of the Sinhalese community and form nearly 47 per cent of the total population. The Kandyan Sinhalese occupy the highlands of the south-central region, compose approximately 38 per cent of all Sinhalese, and are nearly 26 per cent of the island's population.

The vast majority of the Sinhalese are farmers and live in villages largely organized according to the traditional caste system and feudal relationship. The countryside people are mostly educated in their native language, Sinhala, with virtually no exposure to Western thought. The Kandyan, Sinhalese are relatively more conservative than the low-country Sinhalese. The latter, being coastal people, have come in contact with travelers and traders from other countries over the centuries and have developed a more cosmopolitan outlook. Also, they encountered the European colonists first, intermingled with them, absorbed their culture, and served as interpreters between them and the island people. The Kandyans, on the other hand, insulated by their formidable terrain and shielded by their political independence, almost remained impregnable to foreign influence prior to the establishment of the British rule which brought the region under its effective control. In fact, the Kandyan region served as a haven to those conservative coastal Sinhalese who found the Christianity and European culture repugnant, could not counteract them, and therefore decided to migrate from their region. The cultural differences between the two groups were accentuated during the rule of the Portuguese and Dutch colonists who could not subdue the Kandyan and whose influence was therefore largely confined to the coastal areas. Despite the more pervasive and penetrating British rule for over 150 years, a readily observable cultural schism between the two groups persists. The Kandyans, by and large, continue to be conservative, parochial, tenaciously clinging to the traditions of the past, committed to the preservation of Buddhism, and devoted to the restoration of the ancient Sinhalese culture. The low-country Sinhalese, on the other hand, having availed themselves of Western education and profited from business and commercial contacts with the outside world, tend to be a liberal, progressive, dynamic, and forward-looking segment of the Sinhalese community.

*The Tamils* : The Tamils, who constitute approximately 18 per cent of the population, are the largest and longest established minority in Sri Lanka. They arrived from South India at various times, beginning nearly 2,500 years ago. By medieval times, a Tamil kingdom was established in the northern part of the island. The Tamils are primarily of Dravidian stock, profess Hinduism, and speak Tamil which is one of the South Indian languages.

The Tamils are divided into two subgroups—the Sri Lankan Tamils and Indian Tamils. The Sri Lankan Tamils form approximately 50 per cent of all the Tamils, are largely descendants of the Tamil of Sri Lanka, and are known to have inhabited the island for at least a thousand years. They are concentrated in the north, particularly around Jaffna, as well as in the eastern coastal region. Being industrious and venturesome and impelled by the general poverty and dearth of resources in their areas, many Sri Lankan Tamils have in recent years somewhat scattered to other parts of the country. But the Jaffna region is their ancestral home, the center of their cultural and intellectual life, and the source of their inspiration and strength. The Jaffna region is densely populated and is not very fertile. Therefore, the Tamils of this area, who are mostly farmers, have to work very hard for a living. The eastern part of the country, not so densely populated, is not very productive either.

The Indian Tamils were brought from South India by the British planters during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries mainly as indentured labourers to work on the tea estates of the Kandyan highland region. They were mostly illiterate and poor and were settled on self-contained tea estates carved out of the forests. They have provided cheap labour for the industry, and have contributed enormously to the economy. However, they have had no meaningful communication or interaction with other groups on the island, and have played no other significant role in national life. They use Tamil language, practice Hindu religion, and over the years have maintained tenuous contacts with their kin in India.

The Sri Lankan Tamils who belong mostly to the higher castes and who are educationally and economically more advanced, also maintain a social distance from them. In spite of their presence on the island for several generations, shortly after independence, they were declared foreigners subject to deportation. The agreements of 1964 and 1974 between Sri Lanka and India

provided for the repatriation of about two-thirds of the Indian Tamils to India and the remainder to be granted citizenship of Sri Lanka.

*The Moors* : The Moors, so called by the Portuguese, profess Islam and account for nearly 7 per cent of the total population. Generally, they speak Tamil as a home language, observe distinctly different social and religious customs, engage in trade and commerce, and form a separate ethnic community. Although they can be found all over the island, their concentrations are in the eastern and western coastal areas.

Moors are divided into two subgroups : The Sri Lankan and Indian Moors. The Sri Lankan Moors are the descendants of the Arab traders who arrived at various times during the past 900 years and many of whom settled in Sri Lanka. As a result of intermarriage with the local people and proselytization to Islam, their number has grown substantially. Most of the Moors on the east coast are farmers and are not very advanced educationally or economically.

The Indian Moors are descendants of Arab traders who had settled in South India for several centuries, had intermarried there, and then migrated to Sri Lanka in more recent times. These people are primarily traders and merchants.

In the eighteenth century, the Dutch brought some Indonesians and Malaysians as soldiers to the island. They have religious affinity with the Moors, share communal solidarity with them, constitute almost 20 per cent of the Moslem population, and are principally concentrated in the western region.

*The Burghers* : The Burghers are a community of Eurasian and European descent and account for about 1 per cent of the population. They are the result of intermarriage of European colonists with local families. The term *Burgher* comes from the Dutch and originally referred to Dutch nationals, and their descendants. Gradually, it came to be applied to all local residents of European ancestry, including Eurasians.

The Burgher community came into existence with the descendants of the early Portuguese settlers, many of whom married into local families. The Dutch settlers later contributed substantially to the size of this community. During the British rule, the Burgher community further expanded, and adopted English as its home language. The Burghers are Christians, both Catholic and

Protestant, and are concentrated in urban areas. The group known as the Dutch Burghers claims to have unmixed European blood and tends to exclude others from its social circle. Since independence, with the upsurge of national spirit, repudiation of the Western style of life, and relegation of the English language, the Burgher community has suffered loss in its prestige and status, and its members are migrating in large numbers to Australia, New Zealand, and other white nations of Commonwealth.

*The Veddahs* : The Veddahs are the aboriginal inhabitants of Sri Lanka who form a negligible fraction of the total population. Very little is known about the origin, culture, and language of these people. They are gradually being assimilated into the general society, and soon they will cease to be recognized as a distinct ethnic group.

### COMMUNAL RELATIONS

The relations among the ethnic communities have had a significant bearing on all aspects of the national life, including education, in Sri Lanka. The most intense rivalry and extreme antagonism have existed between the Sinhalese majority and the Sri Lankan Tamil minority. The Sinhalese history has contributed to the bitter relations in no small a measure.

According to the *Mahavamsa* chronicle, the Sinhalese were firmly established in Sri Lanka by the fifth century A. D., and so were the Tamils; and the two communities were in frequent conflict with each other. Prior to the tenth century A. D., both the communities were situated in the northern region of the island, and there was considerable assimilation between them for many centuries. About the eleventh century A. D., the Chola invasions started from South India and large-scale warfare ensued which devastated vast areas of the country and pushed the Sinhalese to the central and the southern parts of the island. For the next four centuries, prior to the arrival of the Europeans, the Sinhalese and the Sri Lankan Tamils lived side by side.

Moreover, there are many Sinhalese today who fervently believe that the decline and fall of the ancient Sinhalese civilization was caused by the Tamils. They pointed out that the Tamils deliberately destroyed the irrigation works of the dry zone which sustained the earlier Sinhalese settlements. There is no historical evidence to support these allegations. Nonetheless, the myths of former Sinhalese greatness and of the evils brought on Sri Lanka by the Tamils

have been fondly preserved and faithfully passed on to the succeeding generations.

Although, traditionally, they have not shown interest in aligning themselves with the Tamils of India, the Sinhalese, nonetheless, consider this to be a distinct possibility, and are terrified at the spectre of Sri Lanka being dominated by the Tamils. The Tamils, on their part, seek to preserve and further their own culture and would not like it to be smothered by the Sinhalese. The violent disturbances of 1958 clearly evidenced the distrust and fear of the two communities of each other. The Tamil extremists, in retaliation, have clamoured for the creation of a separate Tamil state in Sri Lanka. Thus, suspicion and hostility of the two groups toward each other have continued unabated.

Colonial policies, particularly those introduced during the British rule, have generated in the society of Sri Lanka certain stresses that have continued to date with vehemence. Of particular significance is the use of English language for the administration of the country. The knowledge of English gave certain minorities, especially the Sri Lankan Tamils and the Burghers, status, power, and influence. The Jaffna region, the homeland of Sri Lankan Tamils, is a poor farm land. The population pressure has forced them to explore other avenues of livelihood. They early discovered in formal education a valuable source of opportunities for other desirable vocations. Being impressed by their habits of industry, activeness, and receptivity, the Christian missionaries established a large number of schools in the Jaffna region enabling the Sri Lankan Tamils to excel in English education. This prepared them to enter the colonial government services and the professions in numbers disproportionate to their strength in the country.

The English planters, finding the Kandyan Sinhalese peasantry not very receptive to the idea of working on the tea estates, imported Tamils from South India in large numbers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and thereby added another dimension to the ethnic complexity of the Sri Lankan society. In spite of their having lived in the country for several generations, the Indian Tamils continue to be considered as foreigners and are looked upon with disdain by all other ethnic groups, including the Sri Lankan Tamils. Being of Humble origin, brought to the island as indentured labourers, and confined to the tea estates in the Kandyan hills, they have been, by and large, illiterate and

backward, with no effective national participation. They have become the target of rancour of Kandyan Sinhalese peasantry as the tea estates have progressively encroached upon their villages, and have dispossessed them of their lands and means of livelihood. The Sri Lankan Tamils, who had heretofore been aloof from the Indian Tamils because of their low caste origin and general backwardness, have shown interest in them since the rise of the Sinhalese nationalism in the late 1950's. The two groups have begun to communicate with each other, develop a feeling of amity, and forge an ethnic solidarity against the common adversary.

Nationalistic movement prior to independence was largely initiated by the English-educated natives who formed the elite of the society. In the early years of independence, Sri Lanka was governed by the elite members of the various communities. Since English was the language of administration, the common people, not conversant with English, could not participate in their government. With universal suffrage and popular awakening, the Sinhalese, especially the Kandyan, realized that they had been unjustly excluded from the national government by the English-educated elite. They also noted that Sri Lankan Tamils and the Burghers had wielded an unfair share of power by virtue of their English education. They expressed the fears that, despite their being a majority in Sri Lanka, Sinhala language, Sinhalese culture, and Buddhism faced the danger of extinction, and that Christianity and Hinduism were getting preferential treatment.

Leadership for this resurgence came from the Sinhala-educated intellectuals who comprised the *Ayurvedic* (indigenous medicine) physicians, the village priest, and the village school teachers who had considerable influence in rural areas. They had only one objective in mind : the revival of Buddhism, Sinhala language, and Sinhalese culture in Sri Lanka. Gradually, the Sinhalese majority began to press its demands for what it considered to be its rightful place in its own homeland and to rectify the perceived injustice suffered through the centuries.

Immediately after independence, in 1949, under pressure from the Sinhalese majority, the United National Party government of the elite rescinded the Sri Lankan citizenship and the franchise of most Indian Tamils who had acquired them through the Donoughmore Constitution in 1939. These people were rendered stateless and lived in extreme insecurity and uncertainty

until the agreements of 1964 and 1974 between the Governments of Sri Lanka and India.

The M. E. P. (People's United Front), with the support of the Sinhalese majority, won the election in 1956 on the slogan of 'Religion, Language, and Nation' and formed the government. About the same time, the Report of the Buddhist Commission entitled *The Betrayal of Buddhism* led to urgent calls to protect and promote the Buddhist religion which embodied the Sinhalese culture. Soon the government passed legislation adopting Sinhala as the sole official language of the country, to the exclusion of English and Tamil. This severely curtailed the power and influence of the English-educated elite, Burghers, and Sri Lankan Tamils in the government.

In the 1980's, the violence by the Tamils, the repression by the Sri Lankan Government, and the barbarity by the Sinhalese chauvinists assumed unprecedented dimensions in savagery. The riots of 1983 and 1986 in particular resulted in a heavy loss of human life, colossal destruction of property, huge devastation of industries and commerce, and inordinate grief, misery, and destitution of hundreds of thousands of people. The United National Party Government of President Jayawardene took some steps to change the course of events.

The replacement of English by Sinhala, in addition to being an expression of nationalism, was meant to restrict opportunities for the Tamils to receive higher education, obstruct their entry into the professions, and curtail their chances for employment in public and private sectors. The peasant resettlement schemes are viewed by the Tamils as a government strategy to reduce them to a minority in their own homelands. The injustice against the Indian Tamils persists as they still are not considered citizens of Sri Lanka, although they have lived there for generations.

In the quest of bringing about an end to the deadly civil war on the island, India, after arduous, protracted, and frustrating negotiations, succeeded, in July 1987, in its mediation efforts between the Tamils and the Sinhalese-dominated Sri Lankan Government. The settlement provides for regional autonomy for the Tamil areas and annulment of certain legislation. India is obligated to help implement the agreement, protect the interests of the Tamils, disarm the guerrillas, and suppress the extremists. The Sri Lankan Government has undertaken to amend its constitution, and create conditions for

normal, peaceful, amicable co-existence. Understandably, the settlement has angered the extremists on both sides, heightened their passion, strengthened their resolve to sabotage it, and intensified their onslaughts.

The Tamil and Sinhalese extremists escalated their attacks on the Indian peace-keeping forces stationed on the island as well as on the Sri Lankan Government.

Legislation by the Sinhalese majority government declaring Sinhala as the only official language and effecting nationalization of private schools created fear and suspicion in the Tamil minority. The Tamils viewed it as directed primarily against them and considered it detrimental to their identity, culture, language, and livelihood. It took violent agitation, loss of lives, destruction of property, national turmoil, and untold human suffering in 1958 to persuade the Sinhalese majority government to recognize Tamil as the secondary language of administration and education.

## CONCLUSION

Resurgent Sinhalese Buddhist nationalism is the prevailing force in Sri Lanka today, and any individual or group unacceptable to it has no chance of constitutional power in the polity. Some small minorities appear to be trying to make adjustment to this reality through conversion to Buddhism, emigrating from the country, learning Sinhala, and forsaking their ethnic identity. The Tamils, who constitute the largest minority, have resisted Sinhalese people.

Although Buddhism is not the state religion by law in Sri Lanka, it has acquired that position in practice, and government today is a *de facto* theocracy.

The specific issues related to language, employment, education, regional autonomy, and colonization have played a crucial role in intensifying the conflict. In the face of these multifarious, formidable, divisive forces, it would require leadership of the highest order on both sides to reach an amicable settlement.

Sri Lanka is today plagued with the problems of poverty, hunger, disease, unemployment, population pressure, devastated economy, and rampant violence. They require application of science and technology, peaceful conditions, industriousness, cooperation, pragmatism, and imaginative

leadership. The country has reached an impasse, as neither group is capable of subduing the other. It may continue the present course of ethnic fratricide to total obliteration, or it may strive to salvage itself by building a just, fair, and decent society. The basic ingredients of a solution to the Sri Lankan ethnic problem are :

1. Formation of a government committed to justice, fairness, and decency in its treatment of minorities, eschewing religious, linguistic, and ethnic considerations.
2. Realization by the Sinhalese that Sri Lanka is a pluralistic society in which every ethnic group has the right to live with dignity.
3. Realization by the affected groups that they have the right to dissent and peaceful demonstrations, but not to terrorism and separatism.
4. Revision of the Sri Lankan constitution to grant regional autonomy to the Tamil areas and to repeal discriminatory legislation.
5. Fair representation of the Tamils in the armed forces and law enforcement agencies.
6. Equitable allocation of the government funds for the development of Tamil areas.
7. Enforcement of merit as the governing criterion for admission to institutions of higher education and for employment.
8. Realization by the Sinhalese and the Tamils of the inevitability of learning to co-exist as integral parts of the Sri Lankan society, or of facing the consternation of mutual annihilation.

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# Family Types, Authority Structure and Women's Participation in Rural Development in Bangladesh

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Dr. PROFULLA C. SARKER

and

FARIDA YASMIN RINA

## *Abstract:*

This paper is an attempt to discuss the composition and typology of family and its authority system. The concept of authority is meant the person who takes the responsibility for the maintenance of family and plays a dominant role in decision making in any affair of the family irrespective of sex either individually or of both (husband-wife). The typology and authority of family might influence or interfere with women's participation in development programmes. This paper also discusses that the nuclear and sub-nuclear family in connection with egalitarian or matriarchal authority system encourages women's participation in development programmes than the joint and extended family where patriarchal authority system exists.

## INTRODUCTION

Family is the basic unit of the society and consequently it occupies a most important place in the social structure. Family refers to a group of persons united by marriage, kinship or adoption and interacting roles of husband and wife, father and mother, son and daughter and brother and sister. It is a social group characterized by common residence, economic cooperation and reproduction. It also provides emotional, social and financial security to its

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members. The resources of the entire family are responsible for meeting all needs. The behaviour of individuals is to great extent moulded by influences within the family not only during the socialization process but also after they have reached maturity.

The types of family depends upon the composition of its membership pattern, socio-economic dependency and living conditions which also vary from one society to another or even in the different segment of the same society. In this paper the typology of family is confined to nuclear, sub-nuclear, joint and extended. A nuclear family refers to parents and their children in one household. No other relatives are present. Typically a nuclear family includes here a married man and woman in the relation of husband and wife with their offspring, although in individual cases one or more additional persons may reside with them which is also called supplementary nuclear family in the sense of Kolenda (1970 : 52). A sub-nuclear family is a fragment of a former complete nuclear family such as a widow with her unmarried children. This may happen due to death, separation and divorce. Joint family is a system in which the agnatically related males of two or three generations live together with their dependents. Mainly the wives and children of the adult males, their parents and younger siblings and not usually, their first cousins, nephew and nices constitute the dependents. A common residence, common property, common worship, a common kitchen, and system of mutual obligations have been found among the different units of the joint family. The head of the joint family is the eldest male member or some other responsible male member of the family. The rest of the family members have to abide by the decision of the head. The extended family is a group of nuclear or joint families or of both, where all members are agnatically related and living together in the same homestead. Though each unit of the extended family is economically independent but it has wide meaning of control over members behaviour regarding marriage, divorce, observance of *purdah*, women's participation in development programmes. It refers to all male patrilineal descendants of great grandfather, including unmarried sons, who are bound together through a common bondage. They can trace their origin to a single male ancestor who may still be alive or who may have died.

The authority of family depends upon the structure, composition and function of the family. Authority is meant the person who takes the responsibility for maintenance of family and plays a dominant role in decision

making in any affair of the family irrespective of sex either individually or both (husband-wife). Thus the concept of authority undertakes to assign 'power' in the family. The authority relationship in the family include the patriarchal, where authority is vested in the father or any responsible elder male member; matriarchal, where it is vested in the mother or any responsible elder female member; and egalitarian, where the husband and the wife have rough equality in decision making in any affair of the family, i.e., in the patriarchal system authority is vested in the man alone, in the matriarchal system authority is held by the woman alone, and in the egalitarian system it is shared by both man and woman.

Development is a multidimensional phenomenon. Economists, anthropologists, sociologists and other social scientists used the term 'development' as 'growth', 'modernization', 'progress', and 'change' according to their own ways of thinking. But the central idea of development is shared by everyone with the view that it is an outcome of the progress made in different sectors of economic activities in the system of social and political ideology. The objective of any development programme is concerned with the idea to seek and promote ways of reducing the poverty of people by increasing the availability of economically productive employment and earning opportunities. In keeping with this view development has been divided here into two dimensions : one is economic development which is productive oriented deals with income generating programmes and another is socio-cultural development deals with health and sanitation, education recreation, family planning programmes. Both of these two dimensions of development is interconnected to bring out overall development of the target people.

The main focus of this paper is to possible use of local resources by the female participants through the implementation of different dimension of development programmes initiated by the Social Service Department through the rural social service programmes based on 'area development' and 'target group' approaches in connection with their affiliation of family type and its authority system.

### POSITION OF WOMEN

Female constituting about 48.5 per cent of the total population of Bangladesh. About 90 per cent women are living in the rural areas with a literacy rate of only 10 per cent compared to 29 per cent of men. The

economic participation of the rural female population appears insignificant. About 4 per cent women is counted as the civilian labour force. Among the 4 per cent, 3.4 per cent is found employed. The remaining 96 per cent non-civilian labour force are engaged in household works. The household work consists of cooking, washing, cleaning, fetching water and firewood, a caring for the children and the old, serving food to the family members, tending domestic animals, kitchen gardening, sewing, food processing, preservation and food storing. Usually a village woman works from dawn to dusk. The most labour absorbing work is that of food processing. Because the agricultural crops after being harvested, have to pass through several processes before they are transformed into the finished product. For example there are six different post harvest processes for transforming paddy into rice : threshing, parboiling, drying, husking, winnowing and shifting. All these activities at the intermediate stage are performed by the female members of the household. If the women get employment yet they have to perform their household work and child rearing duties during the off time of official work. As a result the employed women play dual role as housewife and official.

The culture of Bangladesh gives emphasis on the motherhood role of women. Usually the women are not consulted or asked about their marriage. Early marriage are always preferred and they are not consulted regarding any choice of life partners. The guardians normally arrange the marriage and consent of the bride is a matter of formality only. Socially they have no individual identity, rather they are addressed by their kinship position like *meye* (daughter), *bou* (wife), *ma* (mother), *dadi* (paternal grand mother), *nani* (maternal grand mother), *didi* or *upa* (elder sister), *bon* (younger sister) of someone. It is also believed that a woman is never to be independent and without male control in her life. In childhood a female must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband and when her lord is dead to her sons. The whole life of the woman is confined to domestic affairs.

In the process of socialization girls are given the idea from their very childhood that they should learn how to adjust with their husbands and their relations when they are given in marriage. The wives are expected to be modest, submissive and dutiful to their husbands and other elders in the family. According to Aziz and Maloney if a bride remains satisfied with little food and clothing she is praised in her husband's household as a *bhalo bou*

(good bride) and she is said to have been born in a *bhalo bangsa* (good lineage). McCarthy also observed in Comilla district, that a daughter-in-law with 'good' qualities is one who can work well in the household with *purdah* (seclusion). *Purdah* in Bangladesh is a highly pervasive practice. In general women do not go to work in the fields, nor go for shopping, nor take part in public activities. If women are seen in fields, it is assumed that they are exceedingly poor, or widows or tribals. *Purdah* is a very important symbol of local social standing, particularly for those who have at least minimal land or resources to maintain the appearance of respectability. It is socially desirable that a wife should not communicate in any way with any male other than her immediate kith and kin. Divorce and remarriage are widely practised among the Muslim families of lower income and social status. It is difficult for a divorced wife to get herself married for the second time but a man may easily marry for the second or third time. The women's status is determined by the status enjoyed by her husband.

The status of women is also concerned with the interest of the legal right of the inheritance of property. Religion is the basis of the law of inheritance of property generated from British rule in India. Among the Muslims son inherits a lion's share of his father's property whereas daughter inherits half of the son's shares. On the other hand, among the Hindus in presence of son, daughters cannot inherit their father's property. The females are not allowed to perform any Vedic rituals by religious law. Therefore, a daughter is useless when it comes to keep dead ancestors at peace. Similarly, the Muslim women cannot take part at *janaza* (prayer before burial), funeral procession and *gor-jiarat* (prayer at the grave for the deceased soul). Dowry is also associated with the status of women in the family of their husbands. It is widely practised in Bangladesh irrespective of religiosity.

In principle women have equality of status with the men but in practice the traditional view of the role and status of women prevails especially in the patrilineal society of rural Bangladesh. The status of women has changed with their employment opportunities particularly in the urban and metropolitan

areas. In rural Bangladesh, a few of the house-wives are taking part in development programmes in addition to their daily household activities.

### ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORTS

In Bangladesh, various programmes have been introduced by the national and international organizations for the socio-economic upliftment of the disadvantaged women as a part of their total programmes. These organizations are working both as statutorily and voluntarily. The statutory organizations are : Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD), Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDB), Bangladesh Small and Cottage Industries Corporation (BSCIC), Bangladesh Women Rehabilitation and Welfare Foundation (BWRWF), and Rural Social Service (RSS). The voluntary organizations both at the national and international level are : Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC), Concern Women (CW), Jute Works (JW), National Women's Cooperatives (NWC), Bangladesh Handicraft Cooperative Federation (BHCF), International Union for Child Welfare (IUCW), Centre on Integrated Rural Development for Asia and Pacific (CIRDAP), United States Agency for International Development (USAID), United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF).

Both of these statutory and voluntary organizations have variety of programmes covering family planning, health and sanitation, childcare, literacy programmes as well as income generating activities like agriculture, horticulture, poultry raising, pisciculture, handicrafts, cottage industries. All of these programmes have common aims of organizing women through cooperatives, imparting education and training in family planning, health and child care, improving women's productive capacity through skill and development and making them self reliant. Most of these organizations have spread out their programmes to the village level. In this paper women's participation in development is confined to the rural social service programmes in the Charghat Upazila (sub-district) of Rajshahi district which are sponsored by the Social Service Department of the Government of Bangladesh.

### WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION

Now our discussion turns to women's participation in development programmes initiated by the Rural Social Service (RSS) department at

Charghat Upazila for the uplift of socio-economic conditions of the disadvantaged women. The Rural Social Service (RSS) programme was started in Bangladesh in 1974 in 19 *thanas* (now Upazila) one in each district. Now it has been expanded to 144 Upazilas to cover the whole area of the country in keeping with the view to overall development of the disadvantaged people especially youth, women and landless persons. In this paper the discussion is confined to the under privileged women and their participation in development programmes at Charghat Upazila. Rural Social Service (RSS) does not believe in charity approach, rather organizes the womenfolk with the spirit of self reliance. Self reliance is a continuous process and womenfolk under this programme are trying to be self reliant through utilization of local resources with the economic assistance provided by the Rural Social Service (RSS) department. The programmes have already been taken by the Rural Social Service (RSS) is divided into two categories--one is economic development deals with the income generating programmes and another is socio-cultural development deals with the health, sanitation, nutrition, education, recreation and family planning.

In income generating programme, Rural Social Service (RSS) department has taken five schemes for the 191 women at Charghat Upazila. These schemes are paddy husking, cow and goat rearing, poultry, preparation of fried rice and preparation of *khoyer* (paste made from juice of indigenous tree used as ingredients for betel leaf and paint). These schemes cover eight villages within the radius of five miles of Charghat Upazila headquarter. These 191 women are identified as disadvantaged and landless with the help of the local leaders and then they are allowed to participate in these schemes. Rural Social Service Department provides economic and administrative support to execute these schemes effectively.

In paddy husking scheme the scheduled women take loans from the Rural Social Service (RSS) department. The loanees purchase a certain quantity of paddy from the local *hat* (market twice in a week) and sell them after husking. They also sell the by-product in the local *hat*. Similarly the loanees purchase paddy from the *hat* and prepare rice for *muri* (fried rice) and sell them in the

*hat* and also to the permanent *murir dokan* (fried rice shop). For the preparation of *khoyer* (paste made from juice of local tree and use for painting and also ingredients for betel leaf) the women take loans from the Rural Social Service department and they purchase *khoyer* tree in the *hat* or locality. For the preparation they cut the *khoyer* tree into pieces for boiling at the iron made pot. After boiling they prepare paste from the juice. It should be noted that the Charghat is only place in Bangladesh where *khoyer* is produced. There is a daily market centre at Charghat for selling the *khoyer*. In cow, goat and poultry rearing schemes the disadvantaged women take loan from the Rural Social Service department and when the animals and birds are sold in the market after rearing, the rearer gets cent per cent of the profit but they have to pay their loan to the Rural Social Service (RSS) fund with interest. It should be mentioned that the RSS also takes a little amount of percentage of the money from the profit mainly to cover the incidental losses which occur due to the death of animals and birds. In this way a significant number of women from the disadvantaged group are getting economic benefit.

Besides these, the mothers' club act as a focal point of various vocational training for the socio-economic development of the disadvantaged rural women. It also provides training for education, nutrition, health and sanitation. Recreation and family planning facilities are also provided by the mothers' club. The mothers' clubs are also financed and organized by the Rural Social Service (RSS) department.

Now the question is what type of family in connection with the authority system encourages or discourages women's participation in development programmes in rural Bangladesh? The answer of this crucial question is contrasting and controversial because the typology and authority of family is not static. The women may be member of different types of family in connection with the different authority system in their life cycle. But the women's participation in development programmes is examined here in connection with their existing affiliation of four types of family--nuclear, sub-nuclear, joint and extended in relation to existing patriarchal, matriarchal and egalitarian authority system. Table 1 gives a clear picture about the

participation in development programmes of 191 women in connection with their family types and authority system.

TABLE I  
Women's Participation in Development Programmes in connection with  
Family Types and its Authority System

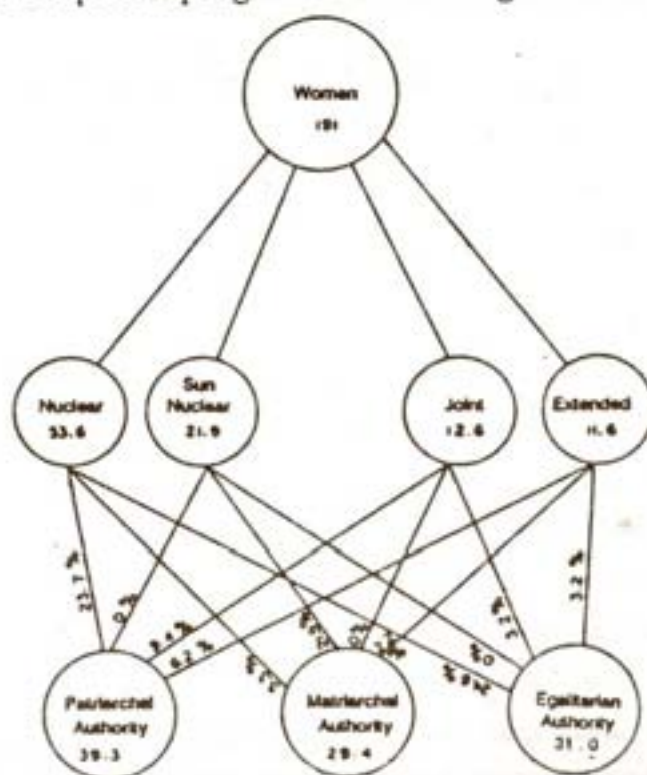
Family Types Authority System	Nuclear	Sub- nuclear	Joint	Exten- ded	Total
Patriarchal	45 (23.7%)	-	18 (9.4%)	12 (6.2%)	75 (39.3%)
Matriarchal	10 (5.3%)	42 (21.9%)	-	5 (2.2%)	57 (29.4%)
Egalitarian	47 (24.6%)	-	6 (3.2%)	6 (3.2%)	59 (31.0%)
Total	102 (53.6%)	42 (21.9%)	24 (12.6%)	23 (11.6%)	191 (99.7%)

This table indicates that about 53.6 per cent women belong to nuclear family. Among them 24.6 per cent have rough equality for taking decision in any affair of the family with their husband. Because they have economic contribution to family. About 5.3 per cent nuclear families are matriarchal because the male persons (husbands) are physically inactive due to illness. The rest of 23.7 per cent nuclear families are patriarchal in nature. The sub-nuclear families are matriarchal because the women are divorced, separated and widows. In joint and extended families an insignificant number of women have right to take part in decision of any affair of the family. Only 3.2 per cent women have right to take part in decision due to their economic contribution for family maintenance. About 2.2 per cent extended families are matriarchal because the male persons could not contribute to their families. From the above table it is clear that the nuclear and sub-nuclear family in connection with egalitarian and matriarchal authority system encourages women's participation in development programmes than the joint and extended family

where patriarchal authority system exists. A model is given here in connection with the above table for a clear idea of the women's participation in development programmes in relation to family types and its authority system.

### CONCLUSION

In conclusion it could be mentioned that the rural women work dawn to dusk at their houses but it is not considered to be productive as their work does not bring money. This paper recommends that the women economic contribution through the participation in development programmes in addition to their daily household activities is one of the steps for the socio-economic emancipation of disadvantaged women in a patrilineal society like rural Bangladesh. Through the participation in development programmes they could realize their own situation which helps to make them socially active and economically self-reliant. This paper also suggests that the further research should be undertaken in rural Bangladesh from the view points of the problems of women's participation in development programmes irrespective of class structure which will contribute to the knowledge of the planners and the policy makers to chalk out an appropriate and realistic strategy to involve more women in rural development programmes to strengthen our national economy.



The model represents the women's participation in Rural development in Bangladesh in connection with family types and its authority structure.

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# Parliamentary Democracy in Pakistan (1947--1958)

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Dr. FARHAT IMRANA ALSAM

It is a fact beyond doubt that the creation of a separate state of Pakistan was based on the demand that where the Muslims constituted a majority in India, that area should be set apart and the Muslims should govern themselves in the light of their ideology. What was it that kept the Muslims united as one man and what was the bedrock and sheet-anchor of the country, asked Mr. Jinnah, "Islam," he said, and added, "It is the Great Book, the Quran that is the sheet-anchor of the Muslim India. I am sure that as we go on and on, there will be more and more oneness--one God, one Book, one Qibla, one Prophet and one Nation."<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Javid Iqbal stated correctly : "Pakistan claims itself to be an ideological state because it is founded on Islam."<sup>2</sup>

Ideological bastion of the new state was an established fact. Its political system had to conform to this political reality.

Pakistan, alike many other states which gained independence from the imperialist countries, inherited the colonial structure of administration. On the threshold of freedom, the Act of 1935, which envisaged a parliamentary form of government was adopted with certain modifications.<sup>3</sup> However, it was made known that Pakistan's Constitution would be framed, keeping in view the aspirations of the people and the trend that dominated the struggle of the Muslims for achieving a separate homeland. This is what provided solace to the people.<sup>4</sup>

In the early phase of its political existence, Pakistan was studied with a special focus. It was expected that the Islamic outlook would be given shape whereby the democratic pattern of governance would be established. This thought is a continuing trend in the political life of Pakistan. But it became a complex issue and the constitution-making did not have a smooth sailing. It took Pakistan nine years before it could usher in its first Constitution in 1956, which lasted only for two years.<sup>5</sup>

Pakistan, in the period under survey and analysis, continued a political existence under the amended 1935 Act. Only from March 1956 to October, 1958, it lived under a Constitution of its own.

The political system of Pakistan was discussed in the general pattern prevalent in the World. Its parliamentary features--corollaries in the forms of political parties, and the bureaucratic system--were the dominant themes which attracted the scholars.

In the third world, the military leadership was fast becoming a new reality. Peoples' expectations could not be fulfilled overnight. For all the failures the civilian political leadership was blamed. The military take-over from the civilian rules became a common phenomenon. Pakistan fell in line with this trend and the Martial Law was imposed in October, 1958.<sup>6</sup>

In order to establish the state on the firm foundation, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, became the Governor-General of Pakistan.<sup>7</sup> All but one of the Governors were Englishmen. Army, Navy and Air Force were placed under the command of the earstwhile rulers. Bureaucracy was kept intact to run the general administration.

Cabinet was constituted with Liaquat Ali Khan as the first Prime Minister.<sup>8</sup> Quaid-i-Azam died on 11 September, 1948. On the demise of the Quaid-i-Azam, it was not predicted that the cabinet system would collapse abruptly. But the loss of the founder of Pakistan, soon-after its creation, was a colossal one and it caused tremour all around.

Rushbrook Williams correctly depicted the political status of Liaquat Ali Khan :

When Quaid-i-Azam died, he could, in the nature of things, leave no real successor, but Liaquat Ali Khan . . . inherited some share of his leader's prestige. . .<sup>9</sup>

Liaquat Ali Khan was faithful and trusted lieutenant of the Quaid-i-Azam.<sup>10</sup> The Quaid enjoyed rare prestige. He was the chief spokesman of Pakistan, before and after its creation. But Liaquat Ali Khan had to manage his cabinet in a manner different than that of Quaid-i-Azam. He used persuasion as method to advance his policies, but some times without success :

. . . Some of his colleagues were far too forceful and too ambitious to accept the sensible self-effacing advice. He fell back upon the plan of settling issues by majority voting -- a thing unheard of in Quaid-i-Azam's time--and not infrequently failed to convert his colleagues to his own way of thinking.<sup>11</sup>

Liaquat Ali Khan's sacrifices were immense. He was subjected to undue criticism. The political leaders failed to adjust themselves within the framework of the cabinet system. Their efforts to build their own power-bases led to the weakening of the central government. When he was assassinated on October 16, 1958, he was facing a tremendous challenge from within his government. Despite this, Liaquat Ali Khan maintained his demeanour and remained composed and firm.<sup>12</sup>

The problems of the new state faced were of grave nature. The influx of refugees, the lack of administrative structure, the weak financial outlay, lack of industrial base and the constant hostile propaganda of the top leadership of India that kept on predicting that Pakistan was bound to collapse, were, among others, the chief factors which kept Pakistan in the state of instability. The loss of two top leaders, Quaid-i-Azam and Quaid-i-Millat, at the very outset of the existence of Pakistan, were major blows. Ian Stephens observed :

Looking back, it may seem a wonder that, after two such catastrophic early losses, a country any how so extraordinary as Pakistan in its geographical structure and ideological basis should have survived those years at all.<sup>13</sup>

Khwaja Nazimuddin followed the constitution and believed in the parliamentary system of government. It was his trust in that system that he took over the role of the Prime Minister.<sup>14</sup> But the Governor General, Ghulam Muhammad, his successor, was a bureaucrat and had hardly any respect for parliamentary system. He placed his faith in the strong executive power with the head of the state. More than any thing else, this led to the downfall of Khwaja Nazimuddin.

Ian Stephens believed that Khwaja Nazimuddin had to cope with many problems which were slowly seething underneath in the days of his predecessor :

The new Prime Minister was respected figure. Of distinguished family, he had integrity and was liked; moreover he was known to be a devout practising Muslim. But it is plain now that he lacked an essential quality for the job : force of the character. Perhaps, also, history had been unkind to him. He took office at an adverse moment. Signs of coming storms, constitutional and economic, had appeared in Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's time, but were not fully recognised. In November, 1950, the report of the Constituent Assembly, basic principle committee had to be withdrawn . . . boom caused by the Korean War . . . was collapsing. Harvests had been bad. . .<sup>15</sup>

The language controversy took a dangerous turn and in May, 1954, Bengali and Urdu were accepted as two national languages. But as long as he was the Prime Minister, Khwaja Nazimuddin adhered to the earlier line of thinking of Quaid-i-Azam of keeping Urdu as the only national language. Apparently, loyalist leaders began to yield grounds to those who had not faith in the oneness of Pakistan.

Khwaja Nazimuddin was depicted as a weak political leader. Rushbrook Williams upheld this line : "Khwaja Nazimuddin did not make a good Prime Minister because he proved too modest to trust his own judgement and to impose his will on other people."<sup>16</sup> If this is to be accepted as the whole truth, his effort to restore law and order in Pakistan during Anti-Qadiani movement

could not have taken place. Conspiracies against Khwaja Nazimuddin proved far too strong and he fell to the decision of Ghulam Muhammad who was riding roughshod over the political affairs of Pakistan. He was sacked on dubious grounds. Ghulam Muhammad announced :

I have been driven to the conclusion that Cabinet of Khwaja Nazimuddin has proved entirely inadequate to grapple with the difficulties facing the country. . . I have, therefore, in exercise of my power under Section 10 of the Government of India Act as adopted, relieved Khwaja Nazimuddin of its responsibility. I have called upon Mr. Muhammad Ali, Pakistan's Ambassador to the United States, to form a government.<sup>17</sup>

This was a thunderbolt and turned the Parliamentary system into a Presidential one. The Prime Minister wielded majority in the Assembly but despite that he was ousted by the head of the state as if Pakistan was ruled by a President. The disregard for parliamentary majority was made a principle and in the subsequent years, the system suffered a set-back and lost respect. Presidential system and even promulgation of the Martial Law in 1958 could well be traced to this dismissal of Khwaja Nazimuddin's Cabinet in 1954.

Khwaja Nazimuddin had been unfairly assessed. He was criticised far being indecisive and slow. His private life was subjected to undue criticism. The fact remains that he was one of the few leaders from East Pakistan whose commitment to Pakistan was total, a quality which became rare. Shortsightedness disillusioned many loyalists and East Pakistan was slowly lost to such elements who had worked against the integrity of Pakistan. Loyalty to Pakistan, at that time, was not counted as the chief trait. Khwaja Nazimuddin fell a victim to highhandedness of the Governor-General who wanted to grab powers of the Prime Minister as well as that of the Legislature.

Distrust of parliamentary system made the Governor-General Ghulam Mohammad to put up a theory of a strong leadership to be provided by the head of state. Rushbrook Williams assessed his political precepts :

. . . he believed that Pakistan needed strong leadership from the top by a Head of State who, because he was independent of all party ties and

affiliations, could afford to ignore every thing but the interest of the nation at large.<sup>18</sup>

Ghulam Mohammad turned to the Army to strengthen his power base. In 1953, the anti-Qadiani movement was crushed with the help of the Army. In his cabinet of talents, he introduced General Ayub Khan as Defence Minister. The Interior Ministry was assigned to General Iskandar Mirza. He even suggested to Ayub Khan to take over the government of the country. That offer, as stated by General Ayub Khan, was turned down by him.<sup>19</sup>

On October 24, 1954, the Constituent Assembly was dissolved. The Constitutional crisis is now a part of political history. The new body was inaugurated under the direction of the Supreme Court and the Constitution was ultimately framed and approved in 1956. However, this event of dismissal of the Constituent Assembly went unbemoaned, as noted by Leonerd Binder :

. . . no public protest was raised, no procession taken out, no further agitation went on; the man-in-the-street was unconcerned, completely indifferent.<sup>20</sup>

The ailing Governor-General Ghulam Mohammad stepped aside to make way for General Iskandar Mirza. However, the new trend was born and the mighty ruler was the Governor-General :

This it seemed obvious where power now lay: with the bureaucracy; in particular with Mr. Ghulam Mohammad, backed by another former civil servant Chaudhuri Mohammad Ali, who had been Finance Minister since 1951, an even abler man perhaps though less iron-willed.<sup>21</sup>

General Mirza controlled firmly the political forces as he believed that the Head of the State should provide strong leadership. He even advocated the concept of 'controlled democracy.' Iskandar Mirza kept himself busy all the time in hatching conspiracies against the political leaders as "Mirza was very dubious about the prospects for parliamentary institutions of any kind in Pakistan."<sup>22</sup> His moves to topple cabinets after the fall of Chaudhuri Muhammad Ali has been narrated by Lawrence Ziring :

Suhrawardy was dismissed by President Mirza such as Nazimuddin had been some years before, without a vote of confidence being taken in the legislature. Mirza swiftly made and unmade coalitions and after a brief Republican--NAP alliance, he suddenly shifted his support back to the Muslim League and asked I. I. Chundrigar to become the new Prime Minister. But after less than two months in office his government collapsed and Mirza called upon Firoz Khan Noon, an important landlord from the Punjab and a Republican, to form still another government.<sup>23</sup>

Firoz Khan Noon was the last in the row until his dismissal which ushered in the Martial Law. The democratic phase started with the inception of independence in 1947 and ended with the declaration that the parliamentary system of government was not suitable and Pakistan should work out a system of government which was in accordance with the genius of its people.

Pakistan's political pattern exhibited consistent use of force by the head of the state in removing the Prime Ministers. Liaquat Ali fell to a bullet of an assassin on October 16, 1951. Khwaja Nazimuddin was dismissed by Governor-General Ghulam Mohammad to bring in strong government. Muhammad Ali Bogra resigned in August, 1955. Chaudhri Muhammad Ali followed his predecessor and resigned in September, 1956. So did Mr. Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy in October, 1957. Mr. I. I. Chundrigar also resigned in December, 1957. Firoz Khan Noon fell a victim to the Martial Law. The quick rise and fall of the Prime Ministers presented, to the people of Pakistan and the outside observers, the picture that Pakistan was not working well with parliamentary democracy and, therefore, it should plan a political system which should provide the state a political stability.

The parliamentary democracy works through the system of political parties. The Muslim League, the political body that created Pakistan, suffered a serious set-back during subsequent elections at the provincial levels. No other party, by itself, could claim a majority to form government during this period. The parties in East Pakistan were based on provincial loyalties. The Republican Party was raised on crutches and failed to replace the Muslim League.

It has been also argued that democratic trends had not as yet struck deep roots in Pakistan. Old rivalries raised their heads and politicians failed to rise above their petty feuds.

People in Pakistan, it was said, desired Islamic way of life. They were not that keen to uphold the democratic system of the Western type. They were prepared to sacrifice their lives for the Islamic percepts alone. Democratic way of life was tolerated as long as it fitted within the framework of Islamic thinking. That too, enfeebled the support for the parliamentary system in Pakistan.

The tolerance of unlawful actions became an accepted pattern. The Prime Ministers either quitted the office or were bundled off even when they enjoyed the support of the majority in the Assemblies. Amazingly, the ousted Prime Minister never took the courage to resist the high-handedness of the head of the state. On the contrary, the new incumbent received the approval of the House, leaving no chance for the ousted Prime Minister to stage a come-back.

The concept of freedom was also not that strong. People still recalled the blessings of the foreign rule. This view aided the strong rulers to introduce Army as a new factor to provide strength and stability to different governments. Men in uniform did better job and the politicians accepted their role in the civil administration. This approach diminished the chances of the politicians to uphold parliamentary democracy on their own.

In many states, when people succeeded in gaining independence from the imperialists, the Army took over the civilian administration, as the politicians failed to come up to the expectations of the people. Pakistan was no exception. Parliamentary democracy in this phase, from 1947 to 1958, presented a gloomy picture. But, the subsequent political history of Pakistan, gave adequate evidence that the Parliamentary form of government, as long as it is within the realm of Islamic thinking, suits adequately the genius of the people of Pakistan.

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4. Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, Oxford University Press, 1984, pp. 339-343.
5. G.W. Chaudhury, op. cit., p.102.
6. Ayub Khan, *Friends Not Masters*, Oxford University Press, 1967; Mohammad Ahmad, *My Chief*, Lahore, 1960, p. 103. "Thrice I have been ordered to take over and thrice I have refused."
7. G. Allana, *Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah : The Story of a Nation*, Karachi, p. 508 : "His Excellency the Governor-General has been pleased to appoint Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal, Mr. Fazlur Rehman to be the Ministers of the Government of Pakistan."
8. M. A. Ispahani, *Quaid-i-Azam as I knew him*, Karachi, 1966, p. 245. "My boy there was indeed a time soon after Partition and until early 1948 when even I worried whether Pakistan would survive the many unexpected and terrible shocks which India had administered soon after we parted company with her. But we pulled through and nothing will ever worry us so much again. I have no fear now. Men may come and men may go, but Pakistan is truly and firmly established and will go on, with Allah's grace forever."
9. F. L. Rushbrook Williams, *The State of Pakistan*, Faber and Faber, London, 1962, pp. 136-137.
10. Ziauddin Ahmad, *Shaheed-e-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan, Builder of Pakistan*, Karachi, 1990, p. 305. On December 24-26, 1943, at Karachi session of the Muslim League, the Quaid-e-Azam said, "Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan is my right hand man."
11. L. F. Rushbrook Williams, op. cit., p. 138.
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# Training for the Higher Civil Servants in Bangladesh: Issues and Problems

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MUSLEHUDDIN AHMED TAREK

## INTRODUCTION

The Indian sub-continent has rich legacy in administrative training. Formal training of the East India Company's officers started in the Indian sub-continent as early as 1800 with the establishment of Fort William College in Calcutta. The Haileybuoy College which took over the responsibilities of training was established in 1805 and the Fort William College was converted into a language training school. What the British rulers in India did nearly two hundred years ago was emulated by the European nations and England herself in post Second World War period. The celebrated ENA (Ecole Nationale-d'Administration) in France was set up in 1945, the Academy for Public Administration (at Speyer) in Germany in 1947, the Civil Service College in England in 1970; the Spanish Civil Service Training Centre in 1957. Despite long experience, the training system of civil servants in Bangladesh faces a number of complex problems.

The aims of training are too varied to compress into a concise definition. There is a tendency to define training in terms of teaching or instruction. It is looked upon as instruction in an art, a profession, or an occupation, consisting of teaching, drill or discipline by which powers of mind or body are developed. Training certainly is teaching with clearly defined objectives, but it is also learning. Unless something has been learned as well as taught, there is no training.

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With particular reference to the civil service, training is the reciprocal process of teaching and learning a body of knowledge and the related methods of work. It is an activity in which a relatively small group of persons, acting as instructors, impart to the larger mass of civil servants knowledge which is believed to be useful in the work of the latter. The instructors assist at the same time the larger body of civil servants to perfect skills which are useful in their work. In brief, training imparts knowledge and develops skills. Training is imperative in the civil service for the following reasons :

1. It helps the civil servants in attaining the tasks he is called upon to perform in a changing world. It, in other words, helps him to adjust his outlook and methods to the new needs of new times.
2. It saves the civil servants from becoming a robot-like mechanically perfect civil servant. He is made aware of his work and the services that he is required to render to his community.
3. It not only enables an individual to perform his current work more efficiently but also fits him for other duties. It develops in him capacity for higher work and greater responsibilities.
4. It pays substantial regard to staff morale as the latter have to perform tasks of a routine character throughout their lives.
5. Training helps the employees to become people-oriented and inculcates in them respect and regard for the general public. Even Assheton Committee had observed thus, "Nothing could be more disastrous than that of the civil service and the public should think of themselves as in two separate camps. The inculcation of the right attitude towards the public and towards business should therefore be one of the principal aims of Civil Service Training.

In short, a man not a born executive, he is made so through a series of training at different stages of his service. The aftermath of the Second World War witnessed the emergence of a large number of independent states. In addition to running the civil administration of the country, the new governments had to undertake various activities. Bangladesh faced a similar situation on her independence. Overnight provincial government was converted into a central government. All these new responsibilities put a tremendous strain upon the civil machinery. Hence, the first and foremost necessity was to

form a sound civil service system. It, therefore, became essential for the government to attract talented and bright young persons to the various services, properly trained at different stages, and retain them for the rest of their career.

### **TRAINING INSTITUTIONS FOR THE HIGHER CIVIL SERVANTS IN BANGLADESH**

Understanding the great importance of training in the field of civil service and in increasing the efficiency of the civil servants. The Establishment Division acts as focal point in the sphere of administrative training. In real operational terms, however, the responsibility of imparting training the civil servants in Bangladesh, earlier, was vested in the following institutions :

1. Bangladesh Administrative Staff College (BASC) established in 1977 for in-service training of senior officials usually of and above the rank of joint secretary, concerned with policy making, administrative leadership and co-ordination.
2. National Institute of Public Administration (NIPA) established in 1961, for training of mid-level officers responsible for policy execution and programme management.
3. Civil Officers Training Academy (COTA) established in 1977, for foundation training of BCS probationers into regular executive and functional cadre.
4. Staff Training Institute (STI) established in 1963, for training of Secretariat Staff.

### **PATC : ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT**

The PATC is a new arrangement with the old institutions. It has passed through several stages to reach its present position of pre-eminence among public sector training institutions. The government constituted in early 1978 a working group of three senior civil servants to prepare a scheme for the development of Bangladesh Administrative Staff College (BASC). The report of the group paved the way for a joint meeting in March 1978 of the Boards of Governors of BASC, Civil Officers Training Academy (COTA), Director General of National Institute of Public Administration (NIPA), representatives of Establishment Division, Ministries of Finance, Planning, Public Works,

Education and External Resources Division, decided that there would be one common administrative training complex comprising of BASC, NIPA and COTA who would share common facilities but maintain their separate academic and administrative identities.

In the second phase, a Project Office (PO) was set up almost immediately to implement the decisions of the joint meeting. A senior civil servant was appointed as Project Director (PD). The Government constituted in August 1978 a five member committee on Curriculum Development and Training Programmes (CCDTP) to facilitate the work of the PO. The terms of reference of the Committee among others included survey and assessing the training needs of the government at all levels as well as for evaluating the current training programmes and recommend changes/improvements.

In November 1982, a Martial Law Committee on 'Organizational set up Ministries/Divisions, Departments and other organizations under them' made very significant recommendation pertaining to PATC. This recommendation was accepted by the government and actions were initiated to implement it. The Martial Law Committee recommended that all the training institutes, i.e., BASC, NIPA and COTA be merged into a single national training institute to allow flexibility, to design courses suitable to specialized groups or in specialized areas maintaining required compartmentation/integration between different age/generation groups. The Committee felt that because of location, a single compound (proposed) institution's common facilities could be used by all groups. It was hoped that because of this new arrangement the unit cost of training would be substantially reduced and frequent levels (as trainees) would be ensured. The Committee recommended upgradation of the status of Regional Public Administration Training Centres (RPATCs) to include it within the administrative jurisdiction of PATC. To ensure 'autonomy' of PATC, the Committee called for the appointment of a high-powered twelve-member Board of Governors with the Establishment Minister as Chairman to decide overall policy directives and guidelines. The role of Establishment Ministry would be supportive in nature. On May 3, 1984 the President and Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad formally opened PATC in Savar, Dhaka.

Some of the Important Functions of the PATC are:

1. To determine training needs of senior administrators and top executives in government, in autonomous organizations and public enterprises.
2. To advise government on determination of training policies and in matters of selection of participants for various courses.
3. To conduct regular training courses and also short and special courses for new entrants, mid-level and senior level officers of government and corporations.
4. To organize and hold seminars, conferences and workshops and establishment of linkage with alike organizations.
5. To organize and conduct field research.
6. To evaluate individual performance of participants.
7. To run foundation, inservice, refresher and orientation training courses for Class II officers and non-gazetted staff of the government and the RPATCs.

### OTHER TRAINING INSTITUTIONS

In addition to the training arrangements under the Establishment Division, the aforesaid training institutions, there are Bangladesh Management Development Centre (BMDC) and Industrial Relation Training Institute (IRTI) for Industrial Management and productivity training. There are Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD), Rural Development Academy and National Institute of Local Government (NILG) for imparting training on Rural Development Planning and co-operative management. There are Training Academy for Planning and Development (TAPD) and Bangladesh Institute for Development Studies (BIDS) for development planning and research work.

Institutional training facilities also exist for public servants in other functional areas for imparting both post-entry and in-service training. They include, inter alia, the Audit and Accounts Academy under the office of the Comptroller and Auditor General, the Customs and Excise Academy and the Income Tax Institute, both under the administrative control of the National

Board of Revenue and the Police Academy under the Ministry of Home Affairs.

## **TRAINING PROGRAMMES FOR THE CIVIL SERVANTS**

Post-entry training is imparted to the civil servants during the course of service. This type of training aims at (a) better performance of present work; (b) preparation for advancement (i.e., higher position).

Post-entry training consists of the following training :

- (a) Foundation Training.
- (b) Departmental Training / Institutionalised Training/Professional and Specialized Training.
- (c) On the Job Training

### **(a) Foundation Training**

It was first introduced in 1977. This training is for a period of four months given at Bangladesh Public Administration Training Centre. According to existing rules, foundation training is mandatory for 30 cadres in Bangladesh. Two questions, therefore, arise in this connection :

- (i) Feasibility of imparting foundation course to all cadre services in Bangladesh.
- (ii) Adequacy of the duration of foundation course in Bangladesh.

The Objectives of Foundation Training in Bangladesh are as under:

1. To promote esprit de corps among the various cadres of civil service.
2. To enhance theoretical and practical knowledge of administration.
3. To familiarize the trainees with the conduct, etiquette and the norms of administration.
4. To enhance the analytical and decision-making capabilities of the trainees.
5. Habituate the trainees to hard physical and mental exercise.

6. All round development of the personality.
7. To impart suitable training in :
  - (a) Bangladesh studies.
  - (b) Economics.
  - (c) Public Administration.

### **Problems**

The various components of probation are not well planned. The timing and duration of these components are dictated by exigencies of the government rather than by a well-designed plan. The main reason for uncondinated training is the unpredictable and erratic recruitment to various cadre services.

Foundation training which aims at promoting the right type of attitude for civil servants, loses its effectiveness as it is imparted several years after joining. There is a huge backlog of foundation training accumulated since 1972. The situation has been further exacerbated by large scale recruitment of BCS officers in all the cadres which nullified all assumption made in connection with projection of required number of officers for the future.

#### **(b) Departmental Training/Institutionalised Training/Professional and Specialized Training**

Legally foundation training is to be followed by professional and specialized training in the departmental training institutes through well-defined course at different stages in the career of civil servants. Its importance is quite apparent. It is increasingly becoming an integral part of the modern administration. Indicative of this growing realisation is the establishment of training institutes and designing suitable training programmes for the civil servants in all countries including our own.

Institutionalized training has certain inherent needs for which it has been widely accepted.

First, this kind of training provides the probationers knowledge about the techniques of administration. This training is more job-oriented.

Second, public programmes rarely remain static being frequently revised by legislation or administrative order and the quickest way to adjust to such changes is through deliberate orderly training to its officers.

Third, seminars, group discussions, reading materials and other training devices adopted in the Training Institutes go much further in creating enthusiasm for the mark than does by bearing through trial and error.

Fourth, it is more efficient to improve the skills of existing officers to optimum level than to rely on initial recruitment to provide a hypothetical supply of the highest skilled available. In fact, many services such as police service, taxation service, finance service are entirely or almost entirely specific and they require specific skills which are seldom prepared in general educational institutions.

Fifth, the activities of the government especially in a developing country like ours have increased tremendously. There have been a lot of new dimensions of the role and responsibilities of the civil servants. They require fresh knowledge and new techniques for performing those new responsibilities. The training institutes which are also responsible for researches in administration are the best schools for providing them with the same.

Sixth, in order to achieve cohesiveness and co-ordination in an agency, it is important for officers to understand the aims and functions of the rest of the organization, not by chance or in fragments, but by an orderly study of policies and programmes presented in a manner that builds mutual respect and confidence.

Seventh, in all countries the scholars, thinkers, researchers and writers on administration have something to say about training of civil servants. Their ideas are often systematic, scientific and full of lessons and if followed, of course, after proper scrutiny and examination, the civil servants are sure to be benefitted and assisted in increasing their professional efficiency. But unless they are brought to the departmental institutes for training for a specific period, they cannot be given those ideas and hence institutionalized training becomes all the more important.

### **Problems**

Because of the lack of a systematic training plan, the foundation training course in the BPATC is not well-integrated with professional training in

departmental institutes. Sometimes the trainees are recalled to BPATC in the middle of their departmental training. Ideally, the foundation course should precede the professional course. At present, there is no logical sequence of these trainings. In some cases there is duplication and overlapping in the curricula of the BPATC and departmental training institutes. There is no regular mechanism for exchange of ideas between the BPATC and other departmental training institutes.

Out of thirty cadres where officers are recruited directly, there are few cadres which still do not have departmental training institutes.

Moreover, most of these training institutes are under-staffed and ill-equipped. The departmental training institutes which normally train the probationers for six to nine months have been neglected by the government.

### **(c) On the Job Training**

On the job training is an essential component in the post-entry training. This means that an officer is trained by doing the work and learning from mistakes committed in the practical field. The best training for a civil servant is for him to be immersed in the day to day work of his administration, to deal with current business as it comes to the office, to learn step by step under the watchful guidance of his superior the appropriate method for dealing with the affairs which come to hand, and in the course of time to build up a profound and comprehensive knowledge of his own field. As his experience broadens, so the field for which he is responsible will be extended. The greater his power of assimilation and his understanding of detailed matters, the greater his competence for assuming wider responsibilities; by coping with a multitude of detailed affairs, he will learn instinctively the essence of administration itself, he will grasp the common nature of complex and administrative problems, and will be able to apply to problems of other fields the lessons learnt from his experience of many detailed matters in one special field. Thus training offers opportunities to the officers to learn from the day to day relationships of junior officers with their superiors, in conferences, staff meetings and it is related with regular tasks performed by them. The junior officers are enabled to pick up the art of administration by actually practicing it as well as by observing how it is practised. Almost uncsciously they imbibe suitable habits and standards.

## **Problems**

Firstly, no systematic plan for on the job training of BCS officers is prepared.

Secondly, the supervisors remain so busy with their own work that they do not take adequate interest in the activities of probationers. The probationers should rotate among various sections in the office so that they get all-round experience. In fact, the rotation does not take place systematically because of the indifference of supervisors.

The other major weakness of on the job training in Bangladesh is that the supervisors do not differentiate between trained officers and probationers. In some cases, too much responsibility is given to officers who had no opportunity to learn their job at all. A number of probationers have been dismissed for inefficiency and misconduct. Many of them had no opportunity to learn the tricks of their trade at all. Such hostile and negative attitude of the supervisors towards the probationers is not helpful for on the job training.

To make on the job training more effective, the following steps should be taken in Bangladesh :

- (a) The appointing authority of each cadre should prepare a systematic plan for on the job training and this plan should be periodically reviewed by a Committee of experts.
- (b) On the job training of the probationers should be closely monitored. If the appointing authority cannot monitor it properly, this responsibility may be given to the heads of the departmental training institutes who may be authorized to countersign the confidential reports of the probationers who are learning their job in the field.
- (c) A supervisor's manual for on the job training of each cadre service should be prepared and should be periodically updated by a Committee of experts.
- (d) A supervisor should not ordinarily be given the responsibility of overseeing the job training of more than 3 probationers.

It is only after post entry training which includes foundation training, professional and specialized training and on the job training, the minimum probation duration being two years that the services of the BCS officers are confirmed.

### **In-Service Training**

In-service training of public employees may be distinguished from their pre-entry preparation by reference to two exclusive criteria : first, the time for the training, and, second the nature or content of the instruction. Neither of these criteria is precise or capable of being applied in a wholly objective manner. While the dividing point in time is usually marked by the change in status resulting from recruitment into the civil service, the new employee is often treated as something less than a full-fledged civil servant. His status during an extended period, may be that of apprentice, probationer, or inturn. During this trial period, he may be required to continue his preparation to assume the duties intended for him. Such training may be imparted by informal guidance on the job, or the recruit may be required to attend classes in a training institution. If the instruction is of such a nature as to be generally regarded as necessary for an entry into a profession or on occupation, it may be regarded as part of pre-entry preparation. If the instruction is intended to supplement the basic knowledge or to perfect the skills needed in public employment, it may be regarded part of in-service training, usually called induction training. Instruction received later in the career, intended to impart new knowledge or to develop additional skills, may easily be recognised as in-service training. In other words, in-service training is sort of training which is imparted to the candidates after their selection to the public service.

Nevertheless, it is not easy, nor is it necessary, to make a sharp distinction between pre-entry and in-service training. In effect, not infrequently one type of training tends to merge into the other almost imperceptibly. The broad objectives remain the same, in-service training is particularly designed to prepare a all-rounded civil servant, capable of performing to tasks assigned to him and of growing to meet new responsibilities. It raises the morale and makes them attuned to the new tasks of onerous nature.

### **Training for Class II and III Services**

The four Regional Public Administration Training Centres (RPATCs) in Dhaka, Chittagong, Khulna and Rajshahi also impart all level in-service training to Class II and Class III government servants.

### **Problems of Training in Bangladesh**

It may seem that in Bangladesh today there is no dearth of departmental institutional facility for imparting training to civil servants belonging to different functional areas of government machinery. In fact, most of the existing training institutions originated at different times before 1971. But the official planners of the country observed that while preparing the Second Five-Year Plan (1980-85) the training network in public/development administration was deficient, both in quantity and quality. Most programmes in the area of administrative training, in particular, have been pursued in a rather uncoordinated manner and almost independent of a comprehensive, coherent, career development plan. Moreover, no systematic effort has been made to review and measure the effectiveness of training in this vital area till the establishment of the PATC in 1984.

Training programmes have, by and large, been copied from western institutions without considering their appropriateness to national needs. Besides, important elements in the area of training such as action research for assessment of training needs of clientele, development of indigenous training materials, devising appropriate training techniques and objective evaluation of training effectiveness have so far received insignificant importance and attention. As a result, the training programmes have not been functional and need-oriented and the impact of training activities in terms of increase in efficiency of the country's administrative system has been poor.

The courses offered by the other training institutes except PATC are not always sufficient and even realistic. The administrators thus face a host of problems in handling the complexities of present time.

There is a good deal of apathy among the mid and senior level officers towards availing themselves of the training facilities offered within the country. A few of them try to avoid attending the training courses on ground of personal difficulty. They are also abetted in this by their employers who

would agree to spare them only if substitutes are available although no substitutes are to be provided. Amazingly, no such difficulty arises if the venue of the training is in a foreign country.

The results of professional training and the findings of research work are not disseminated to the end users. This is a serious drawback in our sector specific training and research work which is affecting the overall development of the country.

The training courses run by PATC looked design. These do not reflect adequately the current administrative decentralization. The reading materials are not up-to-date. Moreover, heavy dependence on guest speakers at PATC adversely affect training.

Training in Bangladesh is mainly theoretical. But such theoretical training becomes ineffective if it is not accompanied by practical application. The training institutes are also inadequate in training materials, physical infrastructure, skilled and experienced instructions.

### **Recommendations**

1. As there is no legal requirement of training for officers who are promoted to Bangladesh Civil Service, a special training course in the BPATC may be prescribed for such officers.
2. Special courses should be designed for induction training of non-cadred officers and a well defined policy should be formulated in this respect.
3. Concerned agencies should prepare an annual indicative plan for recruitment for next five years.
4. The implementation of recruitment plan should be reviewed and monitored by the National Training Council (NTC).
5. All Ministries responsible for administration of various cadres should be asked to prepare and submit every year a comprehensive plan for training of its BCS probationers to NTC and it should be reviewed twice a year by the NTC.

6. A clear cut policy with regard to existing backlog of foundation training is an immediate necessity. With a view to reduce the present backlog by 60 per cent to avoid similar problems in the future, following categories of services may be exempted from taking foundation course :
  - (a) All direct recruits to BCS (Education : General Education), BCS (Education : Technical Education) and BCS (Family Planning: Health).
  - (b) All direct recruits whose age is over 35 years.
7. In view of the existing academic environment in Bangladesh and the compulsion of the foundation course should be raised to 6 months with a separate one and half month attachment to Rural Development Academies.
8. Institutional mechanism should be developed for regular exchange of information between PATC and other training institutions engaged in training of BCS probationers. A conference of the heads of the training institutions engaged in BCS post-entry training should be held every year.
9. Training facilities in existing departmental training institutions should be strengthened.
10. A training institute for BCS (Admn.) cadre should be set up immediately.
11. A clear cut policy on the sequence of on the job training and departmental training is necessary. In view of the number of new entrants, following strategy may be followed :
  - (a) The members of specialized services BCS (Agri : Agri), BCS (Agri : Forest), BCS (Agri : Fisheries), BCS (Agri : Livestock), BCS (Engineering : Public Works), BCS (Engineering : Roads and Highways), BCS (Education) or BCS (Health and Family Planning) should join their respective posts first and may be withdrawn in phases for foundation training.

- (b) The officers of other 20 cadres should report first to respective training institutes. The trainees may be withdrawn for foundation training according to a systematic plan drawn earlier.
12. The appointing authority of each cadre should prepare a systematic plan for on the job training and this plan should be periodically reviewed by a committee of experts to be appointed by either NTC or concerned agencies.
  13. The rules regarding inter-seniority should be reviewed and a committee may be appointed by the government for this purpose.
  14. RPATC, Dhaka, should design and develop curriculum, utilise available modern training aids and solve staffing problem.
  15. Professional training at all levels of an officer's career should be accompanied by related management training imparted through foundational courses or departmental or promotional examinations or through career development courses.
  16. To stop the tendency of avoiding of the attending the training courses among the middle and senior level offices the government should consider the introduction of training at different stages of an officer's career as an important pre-condition for promotion.
  17. The PATC must attempt to strike a proper balance in its training, research and consultancy activities, taking stock of its manpower, objectives and financial resources, as well as the reality that the centre's ultimate success lies in imparting knowledge, teaching skills and modifying attitudes of the trainees.
  18. The present dependance of PATC on foreign consultants and exogenous theories and concepts must be substantially reduced to all the Centre to develop through meaningful research, case-studies, models and approaches.
  19. Final passing out examination should be held at BPATC for each group of trainees following the completion of foundation course.

## CONCLUSION

To conclude, it can be said that a national training policy is the *sine qua non* for effective training for the civil service in a developing country like Bangladesh. But the country's national training policy of such a comprehensive nature cannot grow in a vacuum. The foremost priority to undertake this important task calls for providing adequate measures towards the development of professionalism in the field. It, then, should be followed by a central overview, inter-agency co-operation, involvement of experts from sectors outside the civil service, and the firm commitment of those who constitute the top political and administrative leadership in the country.

Since 1980, the government has given adequate attention to the training of the public servants of all levels. It is expected that this thrust would be carried into the current and the last decade of this century with a view to get the desired objectives of training the public servants to serve the nation more efficiently.

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# Sri Lanka's Tea Production and Exports during 1970s

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ZEENAT MAJID

## INTRODUCTION

Tea is the most important income-earning commodity of Sri Lanka, domestic as well as in terms of foreign exchange. It makes a major contribution to the employment sector. During the Portugese,<sup>1</sup> Dutch and early British periods, large scale commercial cultivation of coffee dominated the economic scenes. However, in the later British period, which ended in 1948, when Sri Lanka became independent, the place of coffee was gradually taken over by tea, alongwith other plantation crops like rubber and coconuts. For many decades now tea has remained the mainstay of Sri Lanka's economy.

In this study the trends of production and export of tea during 1970s are surveyed. This period has been selected because it witnessed significant changes in the patterns of production, export and demand of tea, with important implications for the future. The production of tea and export aspect are analysed on the basis of this appraisal, certain conclusions are also drawn.

## CONTRIBUTION OF TEA TO SRI-LANKA'S ECONOMY DURING 1970s

Tea made the highest contribution to the plantation sector of Sri Lanka. Its share in the domestic gross product is given in Table 1.

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TABLE I  
G. D. P. L. Value in Agricultural Sector<sup>2</sup>  
(Constant Price 1963 = 100)

(Million Sri Lankan Rupees)

Year	Tea	Rubber	Coconut
1970	884.6	347.9	214.0
1971	905.6	299.4	300.0
1972	870.9	297.2	302.3
1973	875.9	325.7	213.0
1974	881.9	289.0	204.5
1975	891.0	305.9	260.4
1976	819.6	327.3	229.3
1977	868.1	323.7	195.3

### TYPES OF TEA PLANTATION

The tea producing lands are generally classified into three categories namely high, middle and low-grown. This classification is based on the elevation at which the land is situated, and sometimes on the elevation at which a factory is established. But generally, tea cultivated at an elevation of 3,000 feet or above is considered high grown, and between 1500-3000 feet as middle grown and below 1500 feet as low grown.<sup>3</sup>

The following acreages were reported under these categories during 1978-79 :

High grown lands	:	195,926 acres <sup>4</sup>
Middle grown lands	:	236,212 acres
Low grown lands	:	168,087 acres

It will be seen that greater acreage is covered by middle-grown tea, followed by high grown and low grown tea. Tea grown on high lands is considered to be the best quality.

The tea lands are also classified into estates and small holdings. The Census of 1973 defined an estates as a holding of 20 acres and above, with a minimum of 10 resident labourers. Others were treated as small holdings. Tea

Small Holdings Development Authority, established in 1975, covered holdings of 50 acres and below.

During 1978-79 geographical distribution of tea estates and small holdings according to administrative districts was as follows :

TABLE 2  
Size of Tea Estates and Small Holdings 1978-79<sup>5</sup>

Districts	Estates	Small Holdings	Total Acreage
Columbo (gampaha)	606	244	850
Kagalle	22817	8968	31785
Kandy	149415	41679	191094
Nuware Eliya	98834	6982	105816
Matara	17880	1988	19868
Badulla	85189	8323	93512
Kalutara	9518	3157	12675
Calle	21246	14118	35364
Matara	23300	12363	35663
Hambantota	18	208	226
Ratnapura	58440	12265	70705
Kurunegala	649	248	897
Total	487912	110547	598455

The size of acreage covered by estates is generally greater in Kandy, Nuwara Eliya, Badulla, Ratnapura and Kagalle Districts. Acreage under small holdings is greater in Kandy, Galle, Matara and Ratnapura Districts. Out of the total acreage, four-fifths is covered by estates and one-fifth by small holdings. Tea cultivation is largely under the control of estates.

### AREAS UNDER CULTIVATION

Acreage under tea plantations fluctuated during seventies. Yearwise changes are not drastic, but the decline in replantation is of great significance. The continuous decline in replantation resulted in the fall of tea production. These trends are visible in Table 3.

TABLE 3  
Acreage Under Tea Plantation<sup>6</sup>

(Million Lbs.)

Year	Total Acreage	Replanted Annual Acres	Production
1970	597,490	6857	468,480
1971	597,171	6640	480
1972	597,645	6418	471
1973	598,740	5953	466
1974	598,466	4282	450
1975	597,691	4356	471
1976	594,681	2756	433
1977	598,000	3067	460

The decline was due to nationalisation of lands and estates during 1972 and 1974 resulting in organisational changes which in turn led to uncertainty. The Government tried to arrest this tendency by offering subsidies for replantation. For replantation a subsidy of Rs. 6000/- per acre, and for a new plantation, a subsidy of Rs. 3500/- per acre alongwith an in-filling subsidy of Rs. 2/- per plant upto a maximum of Rs. 1500/- per acre was given.<sup>7</sup>

### EMPLOYMENT GENERATION

Tea being a major plantation crop provided a great deal of full time and part time employment in the rural areas. It was estimated that about 468,538 persons were employed in the tea estates and factories. The labour requirements to maintain one acre of tea plantation in good agricultural condition (yielding about 1200 lbs. of tea per acre per year) work out to be 355, of which 240 work days go for plucking and 115 days for sundry works--such as weeding and fertilising.

The labour requirements for harvesting 1 kg. of green leaf is about 0.098 work days and for sundry works is about 0.145 work days.<sup>8</sup>

Apart from the resident labourers on regular pay roll, village labour is often employed on a part time or casual basis on estates of tea. Village labour is reluctant to work on estates in adverse weather conditions, and on certain taxing-chores such as pruning. The size of non-resident labour varies

seasonally. Resident labour is also unwilling to move on to another estate where work is available. There are also competing demands for labour in the cultivation of paddy and other food crops.

Unemployment and underemployment in the tea estates are often due to the inability to find sufficient number of work days each month within the estate itself. This is on account of poor management and oversupply of labour. Fragmentation of estate lands for village expansion purposes and lack of land within the estate for agricultural diversification also causes unemployment.

The problems of small holders are different from those of the estates. There is a general shortage of factory capacity in areas where there is a concentration of small holders. Even in newly developed areas like Galle and Matara, where there is a large population of small holders there are no factories.

The sale of green leaf is a constant problem, it has either to be brought back to the factory next day, incurring a high percentage of rejects for spoilt leaves, or has to be thrown away.

Mostly small holders depend on middleman, for collecting and transporting green leaf to factories. They resort to various malpractices such as short weight, unfair deduction and underpayment. Lack of sufficient credit and extension services are also the problems of small holders.

Government established a Tea Small Holdings Development Authority in 1975 to solve various problems faced by small holders. There is an entire range of activities in the tea sector, which can provide full-time and part-time employment in the rural areas. This includes replantation, new plantation, in-filling of vacancies, fertilising, diversification of uneconomic sections, maintenance of estate roads and housing.

Nationalisation of estates from foreign owners in 1974 further extended the scope for employment by co-ordination development programmes between estates and rural areas.

### **PROBLEMS OF THE DOMESTIC FRONT**

On account of its form the organization, such as estates and small holdings, it is clear from the above survey that tea plantation faced a multitude

of problems both in the fields of production and management. Production expansion possibilities required not only more acreage under cultivation in newly established areas by plantation, but also by replantation. The absence of continuous replantation had an adverse impact on the production of tea. In addition small holders also faced problems in producing, transporting and marketing tea. The availability of inputs, fertilizer and extension services are the main constraints in production increase.

Production of tea is affected by picking of green leaf which is a technical problem. (Witnessed during a visit to Tea estate managed by Tea Research Institute Talawakele, Sri Lanka). Availability of labour at the right time is of crucial importance. Malpractices of intermediaries and the attitude of factory owners in accepting or rejecting the green leaf are some of the major problems.

The establishment of Tea Small Holders Development Authority in 1975 ushered in a new phase for solving these problems. Careful deliberations were needed to avoid the repetition of such practices by corporate bodies like Ceylon Tea Corporation which aimed at to amalgamation of the benefits of the public sector in marketing and of the private sector at production level. These organizations are more powerful than the middlemen.

Management of estates suffered on account of organizational transformation. Control was shifted from foreigners to nationals of Sri Lanka. The adverse impact was immediate and was felt on production even during the transitional period.

### DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION

In spite of multiple problems tea remained the major foreign exchange earning item. Domestic consumption was almost negligible. Major part of produce was exported.

### CONTRIBUTION OF TEA TO EXPORTS DURING 1970s

Tea is the main foreign exchange earning commodity in Sri Lanka. A major part of the produce is exported as shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4  
Production<sup>9</sup> and Export<sup>10</sup> of Tea

Year	Production in kg.	Total Exports in kg.	Percentage and Prices	Export Volume 1967 = 100
1970	212,212,008	208,279,100	96	110
1971	217,846,373	200,799,565	96	113
1972	208,857,889	202,797,946	87	125
1973	211,272,871	205,517,037	95	124
1974	204,040,279	175,156,191	81	158
1975	213,927,979	212,458,442	98	185
1976	196,605,975	189,706,855	92	214
1977	208,571,844	185,430,720	85	385
1978	198,980,583	192,514,764	N.A.	N.A.

The volume of exports declined during seventies due to nationalisation at home and practices at the London Auction Market.

The loss of volume was compensated by rise in prices. The value of exports continued to rise both F. O. B. and at Colombo Auction.

TABLE 5  
Tea Exports (Bulk and Packets) and Average  
F. O. B. and Colombo Auction Prices.<sup>11</sup>

Year	Volume in Kg.	Value in Rupees	F. O. B. Prices in Rs./Kg.	Average Colombo Auction Price Gross in Rs./Kg.
1970	208,279,100	1,116,326,755	5.36	3.72
1971	200,799,919	1,132,861,975	5.64	4.14
1972	202,797,946	1,159,878,275	5.71	4.39
1973	205,517,037	1,255,155,157	6.11	4.34
1974	175,156,191	1,353,246,141	7.71	6.63
1975	212,458,442	1,924,267,338	9.06	6.84
1976	199,706,855	2,092,001,313	10.47	9.21
1977	185,430,720	3,489,720,699	18.82	16.05
1978	192,514,765	6,382,765,238	33.16	14.90

The shrinking exports of tea from Sri Lanka and rising prices in the London Auction Market were good incentives for other tea producing countries to expand their output. Output expansion in response to price changes in different countries is given in Table 6.

TABLE 6  
Tea Production in Major Countries<sup>12</sup>

*(In Million Kilograms)*

Country	1976	1977
North East India	400.6	429.6
South India	118.8	131.2
Sri Lanka	196.6	208.6
Kenya	62.0	86.4
Indonesia	47.8	48.0
Bangladesh	33.3	37.5

Tea produced by other countries like Kenya was higher in price than that of Sri Lanka in the London Auction Market, particularly after 1974 as is clear from Table 7.

TABLE 7  
Price in London Auction Market<sup>13</sup>

*(Pence Per Kilo)*

Year	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Sri Lanka	46	45	45	45	61	63	85	156
Kenya	48	47	43	44	64	66	94	164

As a result of this rise in prices, production expanded.

According to Table 8, United Kingdom was the biggest buyer of Sri Lankan Tea in 1970, followed by U. S. A., Australia, Iraq, Africa. The share of U. S. A. and Australia had declined significantly by 1978. Iran continued to increase its share.

Pakistan became the biggest customer from 1972 onward, mainly on account of the abrupt halt to tea shipment from East Pakistan.

TABLE 8  
Exports of Tea (Bulk and Packets) 1970-78<sup>14</sup>

Country	(In Million Kilograms)								
	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
Britain	70.7	46.9	33.6	32.6	30.4	25.6	27.4	23.6	20.9
Pakistan	0.3	13.3	22.6	30.3	27.5	34.4	29.3	27.6	19.4
U.A.R.	8.2	9.6	10.3	9.3	2.0	13.7	8.8	12.6	17.2
Iraq	12.8	19.6	14.4	20.2	15.6	21.6	15.1	18.8	17.1
U.S.A.	18.0	22.6	16.9	17.7	16.0	16.6	20.4	17.1	15.3
Syria	2.4	3.0	4.7	5.9	4.7	7.2	7.4	9.4	11.2
Iran	4.0	4.6	4.8	4.3	6.1	8.0	6.2	4.1	11.2
Saudia Arabia	5.7	4.5	7.3	7.5	5.6	6.9	8.8	4.8	10.8
Australia	13.0	14.7	11.6	11.1	9.5	10.7	11.0	9.4	7.4
Libya	6.8	9.3	12.3	8.8	5.7	11.5	3.3	3.9	6.8
Canada	6.8	5.6	6.5	5.6	4.7	6.1	6.4	5.3	6.1
Kuwait	5.0	2.8	4.3	4.5	4.6	3.9	6.1	3.5	5.8
Union of South Africa	11.7	12.1	10.1	10.7	9.8	10.8	10.6	7.4	4.5
New Zealand	6.4	6.2	4.7	5.7	4.6	3.5	4.1	3.7	3.9
Aden	3.1	1.3	-	0.9	0.0	0.4	0.4	2.4	3.8
Netherlands	3.5	3.4	4.3	5.2	5.3	3.6	5.4	4.8	3.4
Yemen A.R.	0.7	1.8	1.5	2.3	1.5	3.9	2.9	2.4	3.3
U.S.S.R.	2.5	2.2	0.0	1.0	1.8	2.4	2.6	2.8	3.0
Tunisia	-	-	0.4	0.8	2.0	4.3	5.6	2.6	2.8
Germany F.R.	2.3	3.0	2.8	3.2	3.1	2.3	2.9	3.1	2.7
Jorden	0.6	0.6	0.4	0.6	0.7	0.8	2.0	1.8	2.3
Japan	3.2	3.2	2.5	2.5	2.0	1.9	2.1	1.9	2.2
Afghanistan	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.3	1.4	0.5	1.9	1.2
Italy	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.8	1.4	0.7	1.4	1.5	1.2
Ireland	2.7	0.8	1.4	1.1	0.9	1.2	1.0	1.1	0.9
Lebanon	4.1	4.8	1.6	2.2	1.4	0.9	0.4	0.4	0.6
Sweden	1.0	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2
Others	11.3	10.1	23.1	9.3	7.7	8.0	7.2	12.9	7.3
Total :	208.3	207.4	202.8	205.5	175.2	212.5	199.7	185.4	192.5

Britain was traditionally the biggest buyer of tea which was mainly re-exported after blending. However, there was a sharp decline (from 70.7 million kg. to 46.9 million kg.) of tea exports from Sri Lanka to Britain during

1971 and their decline continued during the seventies. It was partly due to reaction against the policies of the ULF Government which assumed office in mid 1970, and partly due to the price differential. As a result the percentage volume of tea shipped to London Auction Market declined, as is evident from the Table 9.

TABLE 9  
Shipment to London Auction<sup>15</sup>

<i>(Percentage Volume)</i>								
1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
19.8	16.5	11.6	10.3	13.3	8.1	7.2	7.9	7.4

The price of tea jumped to a new height at Colombo Auction and F.O.B. value of export rose manifold (Table 5)

Other reason for decline in the share of Britain was preference for tea bags (which do not require good quality tea), the decline in the purchasing power of Britain and the developed countries, and increase in tea purchases by OPEC countries. In 1979 Sri Lanka provided less than a tenth of British tea purchases.

Developed countries which traditionally accounted for the bulk of Sri Lanka's tea exports, purchased only minor fractions of the exports. (Table 8)

Pakistan share of Sri Lanka's market shot up on account of disturbance in East Pakistan, but gradually declined with normalisation of relations with Bangladesh.

U.A.R., Iran, Iraq, Syria shares of exports increased. The changes in demand are reflected in the prices of the tea exported to different countries.

Developed countries, purchasers of high grown quality tea paid average F.O.B. prices much below the prices of Sri Lanka export tea. This is clear from Table 10.

TABLE 10  
Export Prices 1978<sup>16</sup>

(Price in Rupees)

Country	Million Kg.	Per Kg.
Saudi Arabia	10756	53.07
Iran	11159	48.85
U.A.R.	17246	31.45
Syria	11248	31.34
U.S.A.	15251	29.21
Britain	20877	26.05
Pakistan	19415	26.05
Iraq	17139	25.48

These trends are likely to continue on account of shift in demand by developed countries for packets which require low quality tea and demand for high grown tea reflected in higher prices by these counties.

Sri Lanka's trade promotion authorities have to address this problem and introduce this change in the tea plantation.

In this direction more use of Colombo Auction, than of London Auction Market reflected the transformation in the structure of tea exports. Countries who used to patronise London Auction Market for Sri Lanka tea switched over to the African tea (which was cheaper except Kenya's). But some of the West and South Asian counties increased their purchases from Sri Lanka.

Tea export of packets has increased tremendously over the years, and the difference between the price of packets and bulk has widened during this period. This can be seen from Table 11.

TABLE 11  
Tea Export (Packets) Average F.O.B. Prices<sup>17</sup>

Year	Volume in Kg.	Value in Rs.	F. O. B. in Rs./Kgs.	F. O. B. (Bulk) in Rs./Kg.
1970	7,720,135	46,605,960	3.37	5.35
1971	10,281,185	60,565,271	5.87	5.61
1972	14,574,025	102,408,848	7.02	5.61
1973	13,918,198	93,375,877	6.69	6.05
1974	9,195,914	7,853,741	7.79	7.70
1975	17,032,744	181,34,988	10.64	8.91
1976	17,210,423	214,951,693	12.49	10.29
1977	14,066,056	320,360,082	22.79	18.50
1978	25,178,086	1,104,303,615	43.87	31.61

The above statistics depict the tremendous increase in volume, value and price of packet tea, (normally it is low grown tea; its price in 1978 was Rs.17.41 per kg. against Rs. 13.64 and Rs. 10.69 for high grown and mid grown tea at Colombo Auction. It also reflects the change in the nature of demand by the developed countries.

This rise in the price of packed tea was greater than the bulk tea, so its export and value jumped to a new high during 1978.

Sri Lanka will have to produce cheaper tea to capture the expanding international market. Otherwise it will lose grounds to African suppliers. Kenya, Malawi, Argentina were enhancing their output, so were Bangladesh and Turkey. China was also emerging as an important supplier.

Manufacturing of tea bags in Sri Lanka is not that promising, as most of the requirements, machinery, equipment, raw material other than tea has to be imported from countries to which tea bags are to be exported. This is not to deny fact that the markets for high grown tea which fetches higher prices is to be ignored. It would be worth while to hold this small section of the market for its probable overall impact on export value.

## CONCLUSIONS

- (i) The aforementioned survey of production and exports of tea indicated the undisputed supremacy of tea in Sri Lanka's economy during 1970s.
- (ii) Its contribution to Gross Domestic Product was highest in spite of variations in different years. It generated a great deal of full time and part time employment.
- (iii) Production increased by bringing more land under plantation and replantation of existing lands. This had a favourable impact on employment as well.
- (iv) Nationalisation was undertaken to solve various problems faced by small holders. It led to problems during the time lag between the transfer of authority to the new management, and policy making under new conditions.
- (v) To boost up exports, diversification in the direction of trade is required to face international competition. Similarly variation in the quality of tea has to be introduced in accordance with changes in the demand of developed countries for low quality tea bags.
- (vi) Markets lost by switch over from London Auction Market to Colombo Auction Market have to be replaced in OPEC and from amongst the South Asian countries.

In view of the important position of tea in Sri Lanka's economy it is vital that policy makers and planners should pay full attention to projections of future world demand and supply position at home, in order to prepare themselves to meet the challenges of international competition.

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# Two - Nation Theory -- Role of Journalists

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Dr. A. R. KHALID

The creation of Pakistan was not an instant act of inspiration, its roots go deep down into the fourteen hundred years old history of the Muslims. As the Quaid-e-Azam had eloquently said : "The foundation of Pakistan was laid on the day the first person embraced Islam on the Sub-continent."<sup>1</sup>

The Quaid-e-Azam elaborated this point more explicitly in a speech delivered in Lahore in March, 1940. The demand for a separate homeland was not merely a geo-political concept. On the contrary, it was the consequence of consciousness of the Muslims that they should carve out a state based on religious and cultural values. The Quaid-e-Azam is reported to have said.

It is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality, and this misconception of one Indian Nation has gone beyond the limits and is the cause of most of our troubles and will lead India to destruction, if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religions, philosophies, social customs and literature. They neither intermarry nor interdine together and indeed they belong to two different civilisations. . . . To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and the final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a State.<sup>2</sup>

Allama Muhammad Iqbal is one of the pioneers of Two-Nation Theory. Iqbal had come to the conclusion in 1910 that Muslim nationalism was not based on geographical considerations, but was deeply rooted in religious mores of the Muslims. On a non-political level, therefore, the concept of nationalism was acceptable to them. But on a political level it was cast into a new mould and that mould was indisputably Islam. In 1930 he came out with a solid proposal in his famous Allahabad Address where he said :

I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North-West India.<sup>3</sup>

Nobody can challenge the validity of two-nation theory propounded by Quaid-e-Azam and Allama Iqbal. But the role of journalism is to guide and instruct public opinion. To evaluate the contributions of old journalists towards understanding and propagation of the Two-Nation Theory is worth mentioning. Since this theory was the corner-stone of the Pakistan Movement which culminated in the formation of Pakistan, it is imperative for us to know its conceptual under-currents as well as the practical efforts which transformed a mere concept into a viable political reality. Muslim journalists played a vital role in explaining and elaborating the two-nation theory. About Jamal-ud-Din Afghani, Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi says :

Jamal-ud-Din Afghani is reported to have dream of a Muslim Republic embracing the present Central Asia, Socialist Republic, Afghanistan and the Muslim majority areas in the North-West of the Sub-continent. We have it on the authority of Afghani himself that several Urdu journals reproduced translation of articles originally appearing in his famous periodical, *Al-Urwah* (1884).<sup>4</sup>

Jamal-ud-Din Afghani urged two things, firstly he said :

From Adrianople to Peshawar we find a number of Islamic States. Their borders are contiguous to each other. They form part of one collective unit of Quranic Law. Their population is not less than two hundred million. In bravery and chivalry they have an edge over all nations in all times. Then should it not be their mission to

coordinate their efforts against their enemies and restore their national honour.<sup>5</sup>

Secondly he urged Afghanistan and Iran to forge a united front :

To my mind perhaps you have not forgotten the fact that the British gained a foothold in India because the Iranians and the Afghans were engaged in internecine warfare. Don't you know that every Muslim is looking towards Punjab. They are every moment expecting that Iranians in unison with Afghan would march on Punjab.<sup>6</sup>

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, on the occasion of the 1857 freedom movement, had grasped with rare wisdom the basic weakness of the Muslims, the oppressive policy of the British and the extremely subtle political chicanery of the Hindus. Therefore in a fit of irrational fervour he never wanted the Muslims to march down the ever-gaping gullet of death and destruction. He followed a course of action that hoodwinked both the clever British and the still cleverer Hindus. Even some of the myopic Muslims could not gauge the extent of his telescopic vision at that time. Therefore, the following statements of Sir Syed kept rattling in their consciousness with an unsavoury noise : "India is like a beautiful bride whose two eyes are the Hindus and Mussalmans and her beauty consists in that her two eyes be of equal lustre."<sup>7</sup>

Although the critics are of the opinion that Sir Syed changed his stand in 1867 during his discussion with the Commissioner of Benaras Mr. Shakespeare--Sir Syed's biographer Maulana Hali however, recalled this discussion as follows: "I was saying something about the education of Muslims and Mr. Shakespeare was listening with an expression of amazement, when at length he said, 'This is the first occasion when I have heard you speak about the progress of the Muslims alone. Before this you were always keen about the welfare of your countrymen in general' I said now I am convinced that both these Nations will join whole heartedly in anything."<sup>8</sup>

In his speech in 1883 Sir Syed said : "Now suppose that all the English were to leave India. Then who would be the ruler of India? Is it possible that under the circumstances the two-nations--The Muslims and Hindus--could sit on the same throne and remain equal in power? Most certainly not, it is necessary that one of them should conquer the other and thrust it down. To

hope that both could remain equal is to desire the impossible and inconceivable."<sup>9</sup>

After that Sir Syed pleaded Two-Nation Theory in almost every speech he made and in every article he wrote. Besides this rather delayed but consistent exposition, the Two-Nation Theory is derived directly from his earlier statements. These statements displayed minor inconsistencies but they never contradicted his essential stand. In his book, *Survey of Indian History*, K. M. Pannikar states that two-nation theory was advocated by Sir Syed when he declared that Hindus and Muslims were the two eyes of India. Richard Symonds writes about Sir Syed in his book, *The Making of Pakistan*: "In politics he had stated the Muslims were a nation who could not and must not be submerged in a system of government by majority of vote. The Pakistani rightly claim him as one of the fathers of their country."<sup>10</sup>

Abdul Haleem Sharar was an outstanding journalist in the history of Urdu literature. He also felt the need for a separate homeland for the Muslims. In his Urdu weekly, *Muhazzib*, he wrote on the Two-Nation in India: "Times are such that the religious rights of one nation cannot be performed without injuring susceptibilities of the other. Nor is there the element of patience to ignore insults. If things have reached such a stage, it would be wise to partition India into Hindu and Muslim Provinces and exchange the population. The Hindu seems to be of the view that they should not allow Muslims to be their neighbours. Neither do they like to convey the jingle of their temple bells to the Muslim infidels nor they themselves like to hear the *Azan*. Surely this position would be unacceptable to Muslims because they too seem to be tired of Hindus."<sup>11</sup>

Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar a hero of Muslims and an eminent Journalist was a terror for Indian Government. H. G. Wells says "Muhammad Ali had the heart of Napoleon, the tongue of Burke and the pen of Macaulay."

Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar was a firm believer of Two-Nation Theory. He argued that Hindu Muslim problem was international in nature rather than national one but he was agreeable to the formation of a concord of the two like that of Canada: "We have no faith in the cry that India is united. The problems of India are almost international. . . . But a concord like that of Canada is not beyond the bound of practicability. It may not be a love marriage

born of romance and poetry. But a 'Merreage de Convenance' contracted and honourably maintained is not to be despised."<sup>12</sup>

Maulana Johar advocated Two-Nation theory through his speeches too. In 1924 in one of his speeches at Aligarh he said: "If the Hindu Muslim problem is not settled, India will be divided into Hindu India and Muslim India."<sup>13</sup>

In January, 1931 Maulana Muhammad Ali said on Two-Nation Theory :

Unless in these few provinces Muslim majorities are established by the new Constitution, I submit, there will be a civil war in India. Let there be no mistake about that there are four or five provinces where the Mussalmans should have precisely the same power as the Hindus have everywhere else and the Hindus should have the same protection as the Mussalmans demand where they are in minorities.<sup>14</sup>

Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar through *Comrade* advocated the Two-Nation Theory. Wilayat Ali used to write in *Comrade* under the pen name Bambooque. In May, 1913, Bambooque wrote an imaginary interview in *Comrade*. In reply to the question how would you solve the Hindu Muhammadan problem Bambooque said : "The Hindus and Mohammadans should be segregated--Northern India to be assigned to the Muslims and the rest to the Hindus, when it was pointed out to the gentleman that unenlightened opinion, deriving support from the vulgarity of Census records did not consider his classification of the Indian population to be exhaustive he added readily but without apparent compunction, the Sikhs and Jains and other castes and creeds will go with Hindus."<sup>15</sup> This stand of Bambooque showed his clear intention on the two-nation theory.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani was conscious of the existence of Muslim majority provinces as a balancing factor in a bi-national India. In his Presidential address to the All India Muslim League Session at Ahmadabad he said : "The Mussalmans as a whole are in a minority in all the provinces. In some provinces such as Kashmir, Punjab, Sind, Bengal and Asam, the Mussalmans are more numerous than the Hindus. In the united states of India the Hindu majority in Madras, Bombay and the U. P. will not be allowed to over step the limits of moderation against the Mussalmans."<sup>16</sup>

Maulana Hasrat Mohani in 1922 and again in 1924 had put forward a scheme for the independence of India. In his proposal he asked the Hindus :

1. To recognise the bi-communal (Hindu-Muslim) basis of future independent state.
2. To convert the Muslim majority provinces into Muslim state and Hindu majority provinces into Hindu state.
3. To create an Indian federation of these states and place it under a Supreme National Government composed of Hindus and Muslims.<sup>17</sup>

Maulana Murtaza Ahmad Khan Maikash wrote a series of articles in the late twenties in daily *Inqilab*. The first article has titled "Collective Political Life of Indian Muslims : painful demonstration of the anarchy of thought and action."<sup>18</sup> In this article he deplored the disunity among Muslims of sub-continent and said this disunity was due to lack of a common goal. In the second article titled. "Political Objective of the Indian Muslims" Maulana urged the Muslims to adopt the establishment of a Muslim national homeland based on the right of self-determination as their goal. Maulana Maikash made an appeal to the All Parties Muslim Conference to give serious consideration to that proposal.<sup>19</sup> The third series of articles published under the head : "Indian Muslims need for a Homeland: the only solution of Indian's political Tangles. In this article he pleaded that the contiguous territory comprising the Punjab, N. W. F. P., Sind and Baluchistan could serve as a ready made homeland for the Indian Muslims where they could mould and develop their civilization, their thought, their culture and their society."<sup>20</sup>

These articles Dr. A. S. Khurshid holds were written on the advice of Dr. Muhammad Iqbal : "The author learned from his father, the late Maulana Abdul Majid Salik, who was the editor of the *Inqilab*, that the articles were published at the behest of Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, who wanted to gauge Hindu reaction to his plan for the establishment of Muslim National State in the North-West of India."<sup>21</sup>

The journalists pioneered the campaign to guide and instruct the public and the politicians. They launched a well-orchestrated publicity in favour of recognition and acceptance of the two-nation theory by the British. This fierce struggle in the press produced climate in favour of creating a separate homeland for the Muslims, which became a reality in 1947.

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# Kashmiri Uprisings (1990) and Human Rights Violations by India in Occupied Kashmir

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LUBNA ABID ALI

## I INTRODUCTION

The basic purpose of this paper is to highlight the Indian atrocities in the held Kashmir which according to our findings is itself the major cause of uprisings in the Occupied Kashmir. The paper is not written in the context of Kashmir as issue in Indo-Pakistan relations. Though, India and Pakistan have thrice fought over Kashmir : 1948, 1965 and 1971, yet the issue remains unsettled and a source of continuous tension between the two states. Jawahar Lal Nehru's thesis that the loss of Kashmir would threaten India's concept of a secular state had been widely accepted. Pakistan, likewise maintains that India has forcibly occupied a large chunk of Kashmir's territory that was strategically contiguous to Pakistan and refuses to apply the principle that determined the division of the Indian sub-continent in 1947. The census in 1941, estimated the population of Kashmir to be 4 million in which 3 millions were Muslims and when India and Pakistan achieved freedom from British rulers under the Independence Act of India, 1947, the Maharaja of Kashmir violated the basic plan of Muslim majority states to join Pakistan. The Hindu rule established in Kashmir when the British sold the state to Raja Gulab Singh in 1846 under the treaty of Amritsar for seven and a half million rupees. The Dogras proved to be oppressive and the population had to bear the tyrannical

rule. All this was compounded by the Indian wilful delay in holding a plebiscite in Kashmir to determine the wishes of the people of Kashmir that whether they would like to accede to Pakistan or not amounts to a denial of justice. The Tashkent Declaration and the Simla Accord are in accord with the position of the Kashmir in the United Nations.

Chapter II of the paper discusses at length the basic principles of human rights as outlined in the Charter of the United Nations.

Any social reality, however minute it may be must be viewed in its proper perspective and thereby Chapter III of our study provides a background to the Kashmiri uprisings of January, 1990. Thus, the long simmering Kashmiri valley erupted in 1990, with unprecedented fury as thousands of Kashmiri Muslims defying curfew restrictions poured into the streets of Srinagar and other towns. The heavily armed Indian troops raged throughout the valley for the whole of the year. The held state turned into a virtual army camp, and all democratic rights were suspended. Thereby Chapter IV of the study is an account of the human rights violations by India in Occupied Kashmir and it is interesting to note that our findings are based mostly on Indian or a few foreign sources, on account of complete ban being imposed on news media and the newsmen by the Indian authorities.

Herein lies a very pertinent question that for how long would India be able to crush the freedom movement with the resort to arms, ammunitions and a policy of harassment of the local population. Finally, Chapter V of the study provides a conclusion and future prospects for the Kashmir's movement. Since, viewed from a broader perspective of International relations the emergence of newer forces on the international scene point to the contrary. The unification of Germany, the rise of people in Palestine and the emancipatory movements in various East European states against the Soviet Central control as well as the success of the resistance movement of the Afghan Mujahideens against Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, are a few examples.

## II

### THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS

The foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world is the fundamental recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and

inalienable rights of all members of the human society. In this context it ought to be recognised that the disregard and contempt for human rights has resulted in barbarous acts that outraged the conscious of mankind. It is therefore written in the preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that, freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people. Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law.<sup>1</sup> Thereby the General Assembly, proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations.

### **International Bill of Human Rights<sup>2</sup>**

It consists of 30 articles outlining the basic human rights. The text of the relevant articles is reproduced here :

- Article 1 :* All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.
- Article 2 :* Every one is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration without distinction of any kind, such as colour, language, religion, political.
- Article 3 :* Every one has the right to life, liberty and the security of person.
- Article 5 :* No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.
- Article 6 :* Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.
- Article 8 :* Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.
- Article 9 :* No one shall be subject to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.
- Article 12 :* No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attack upon his

honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

*Article 17 :* No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

*Article 18 :* Everyone has the right to freedom of thought conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom either alone or in community with others and in public or private to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

*Article 21 :* 1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government, this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

*Article 26 :* 1. Everyone has the right to education.

In Compliance with Articles 1 and 55 of the Charter of the United Nations the basic purpose of the United Nations is the promotion of universal respect for human rights. Having considered since its ninth session the draft, International Covenants on Human Rights, prepared by the Commission on Human Rights and transmitted to it by Economic and Social Council Resolution of 545 B (XVIII) of 29 July 1954 and having completed the elaboration of the Covenants at its twenty-first session, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the following international instruments :

(a) The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

(b) The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

- (c) The Optional Protocol to the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights.

1496th Plenary Meeting, December 16, 1966.

### **International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights Preamble**

Recognising that, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the ideal of free human beings enjoying civil and political freedom and freedom from fear and want can only be achieved if conditions are created whereby everyone may enjoy his civil and political rights as well as his economic, social and cultural rights.

Considering the obligation of States under the Charter of the United Nations to promote universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and freedoms, agree upon the following article :

*Part I -- Article 1* : 1. All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.<sup>3</sup>

2. The details of these rights are divided into 4 parts consisting of 53 articles.

For our purposes the relevant articles have been expressed above. The findings of our study explicitly maintain the violations of all these fundamental human rights by India.

### **III**

### **BRIEF BACKGROUND OF UPRISINGS IN OCCUPIED KASHMIR: THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE**

The main plank of Indian false propaganda against the present freedom movement has been that it is only a secessionist movement engineered by Pakistan and the use of brute force and the consequent loss of precious lives is India's internal affair and no one from outside, including the United Nation<sup>4</sup> has any right to raise a voice of protest against the massacre of innocent people, arrests, torture, murder of Kashmiri Youth and large scale molesting

of Kashmiri Muslim women. Moreover the people of the occupied territory, are being persistently denied the opportunity to project their view point or to show the world crimes being committed against human honour and dignity. The regular Indian soldiers are indulging in a wholesale slaughter of ill-clad, ill-fed, ill-armed civilian Muslims--the Freedom Fighters. From 1846 to 1947, Jammu and Kashmir was one of the largest princely states occupying the northern-most region of the sub-continent. It covers approximately 86,000 sq. miles of strategic largely mountainous territory. On the South it borders the Indian provinces of Himachel Pradesh and East Punjab, on the South and West the Pakistan's Provinces of Punjab and the North West Frontier on the North the Chinese Region of Sinkiang and Tibet. The geopolitical location of Kashmir is its unique precious asset.<sup>5</sup> Except, in Ladakh which is predominantly Buddhist and Jammu where there is a substantial number of Dogras, Christians and Sikhs, the overwhelming majority of people in the State is that of Muslims.

The correct historical perspective is that the State of Jammu and Kashmir has neither been nor is a part of India. It is a disputed territory whose future shall be decided by the people of the state through a free and fair plebiscite. The constitutional position is that under the Government of India Act of 1935, the Federal system of rule was established in British India. In addition, the Princely States, numbering 562, were to establish individually their constitutional arrangements with British India through treaties. Section-6 of the Government of India Act dealt specifically with this issue. Seen in the proper historical perspective there was deep conspiracy at the time of partition. The terms of the Radcliffe Award were startling.<sup>6</sup> The Muslim majority districts of Gurdaspur and Ferozepur were accordingly handed over to India. Pathankot situated in Gurdaspur district housed the entire network of all electricity in West Punjab. Similarly, Ferozepur Zira; Mukhtoser and Fazilka Tehsil which included the headworks of the main rivers flowing into Pakistan except River Sindh were most unjustly awarded to India which otherwise had no physical link to Kashmir. And as such placed the entire West Punjab at the mercy of India for most of its riparian rights.

Even then, the state did not become a part of India. Its future was still to be decided by its own people. This was not advanced by Pakistan but given in black and white by those constitutionally representing India, i.e., the Governor-General and the then Prime Minister of India. Lord Mountbatten in his letter, dated October 27, 1947, stated that "any state where the issue of accession has been the subject of dispute, the question of accession should be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people of the state, it is my Government's wish that as soon as law and order has been restored in Kashmir. . .the question of the state's accession should be settled by a reference to the people."<sup>7</sup>

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, reacting, to the protest of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, over the sending of Indian forces to Kashmir, sent the following telegramme the same day, i.e., October. 27, 1947 -- which makes the basic legal implications absolutely clear :

I would like to make it clear that the question of aiding Kashmir in this emergency is not designed in any way to force the State to accede to India. Our view which we have repeatedly made clear is that the question of accession in any disputed territory or state must be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people and we adhere to this view.<sup>8</sup> In a broadcast from All India Radio, the then Prime Minister of India once again reiterated :

We have declared that the fate of Kashmir is ultimately to be decided by the people of Kashmir. That pledge we have given not only to the people of Kashmir but to the world. We will not and cannot back out of it.<sup>9</sup>

In early, 1948, the Government of India took the matter to the United Nations Security Council, and a year later in January, 1948, the Security Council, with the support of both the Indian and Pakistani Governments adopted a proposal for a plebiscite in Kashmir in order to allow its inhabitants the right of self-determination. However, U.S. Admiral Chester Nimitz, chosen as the Plebiscite Administrator, was unable to make any progress on the plebiscite, despite his best efforts. For forty years through two wars and

continuous unrest in Kashmir, the Government of India prevented a plebiscite for bringing freedom of choice to Kashmiries and peace to the region.<sup>10</sup>

Since then the status of Jammu and Kashmir was in fact reduced to that of a colony. To gain an insight into this we need to see how exactly power is exercised by the President.

Under Article 370(1) the President promulgated, the Constitution Order 1954, Article 19 was made applicable to the state in a modified form. Article 19 deals with freedom of speech and expression, freedom of association, freedom to assemble peacefully, freedom of movement: freedom to reside and settle in any part of the country, freedom to carry on business, trade, profession or vocation. These rights are not absolute and are subject to reasonable restrictions, as set out in sub-clauses 1 to 5 of that article. In its application to Jammu and Kashmir, all these except freedom of speech and expression are subjected to an additional ground of restraint, viz, reasons of security of state. This means courts cannot inquire into complaints of violation of these rights. The departure made in the application of Article 19 to the state of Jammu and Kashmir has thus an important bearing on any discussion regarding the status accorded to the people of Kashmir.

Similarly, Article 22 was not made applicable. This article places limitations on the executive in the matter of detention of citizens. It declares that persons taken into custody shall be produced within 24 hours of the arrest before a magistrate. The limitations imposed on these crucial fundamental rights were in continuous operation for over a period of 25 years from 1954. In the words of noted advocate K.G. Kannabiran : "the manner in which these constitutional provisions have been extended to Kashmir demonstrate that we have not treated them as full-fledged citizens of India . . . Look at the way Article 370 was used. And courts have upheld these practices as valid. . . courts have also upheld the validity of the Maintenance of Internal Security Act and the Emergency. . . . The Supreme Court upheld the validity of a Detention Law which provided for detention where no grounds need be furnished and person can be detained for a period of two years without the case being referred to the advisory board ....What we in India experienced for a

brief period after June 26, 1975 Jammu and Kashmir has suffered for over 25 years. What reason can they have to be with us? Repressive use of a legal system results always in a breakdown of authority. The use of force no longer has any legitimacy."<sup>11</sup>

The next significant Agreement that was reached between the leaders of the two states was concluded at Simla, in the aftermath of war, in 1972.

It is no doubt correct, that it was decided in the said Agreement, that the two countries shall settle the dispute by resort to peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them. The renowned Chief Justice of Pakistan, Justice Nasim Hasan Shah maintains that. . . "even if the problem of the Kashmir is to be resolved between the two governments only through bilateral negotiations the question is what is the basis on which the two governments should proceed?"<sup>12</sup> According to him, both India and Pakistan had given solemn pledge to the people of Kashmir incorporated in the United Nations' Resolution of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949. In this context the insistence of Pakistan on the settlement of the dispute in accordance with the United Nations' Resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949 is merely a repetition of the Chapter VI Article 34 of the Charter of the United Nations that reads: "The Security Council may investigate any dispute or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuation of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security."<sup>13</sup> Now, if we read Article 1 (i) of the Simla Agreement it states, "the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations shall govern relations between the two nations." It is now amply demonstrated that it is incorrect to say that Pakistan by asking the settlement of the Kashmir dispute on the basis of United Nations Resolution of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, is repudiating the Simla Agreement.

The prime cause of concern that is being posed is to the Article IV (ii) of the Simla Accord.

Which reads as follows : "In Jammu and Kashmir the line of control resulting from the cease-fire of 17 December, 1971 shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognised position of either side . . ."

It is understandable, the parties do undertake to refrain from altering the frontiers unilaterally or by force. But the Article does not treat the Line of Control as final, absolute and permanent. It is simply accepted as temporary arrangement pending the final determination of the frontier. Finally, bilateralism does not stop the countries from going to international forums. Neither history, nor the occupation holds the Indian stand to be correct.

The current political unrest in Jammu and Kashmir that has swept this valley for the last eighteen months is not without a background. Many factors have contributed to the revolt in Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir. Kashmiri Muslims have an illustrious background of struggle, against repression, from the preindependence period, when Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah rallied the Kashmiri masses to resist the oppression of Maharaja, to recent times.

In 1953, hundreds of people are believed to have died during the agitation against the dismissal from office and arrest of Sheikh Abdullah. In 1964, there were prolonged riots following the theft of a relic of the Holy Prophet (PBUH). However, what bursts like a flood is pent-up anger over the denial of the basic rights of the Kashmiri Muslims. Following Abdullah's death in 1982, his son Farooq took over as the Chief Minister and was returned to office in 1983. Farooq Abdullah was brazenly toppled in 1984, with the imposition of Governor's rule in March 1986. Mr. Jagmohan was the Governor at the time. Popular opinion rallied around Dr. Farooq Abdullah as fighting for the democratic rights and the defender of Kashmiri's identity. Imagine the shock, therefore, when Farooq Abdullah came to terms with Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in November, 1986, having concluded that no opposition government would be allowed to function in Jammu and Kashmir, and the state's development must therefore suffer unless it bowed to Delhi's will. The public sentiment was further outraged with the rigging of the 1987 poll. The National Conference Congress co-alition that took office in March 1987, was seen to be born in sin. The collapse of the Indian control over the affairs of Occupied Kashmir started with the boycott of election in November, 1989. The Muslim people who constitute about 12 million and are more than 80 per

cent of the population boycotted the elections and less than 2 per cent voters went to the polling stations.<sup>14</sup>

The stage was set for a crack-down in the valley when Chief Minister Dr. Farooq Abdullah was unceremoniously dismissed and Jagmohan an old Kashmir hand was brought in as Governor of the state. The protest rally on January, 20, 1990, finally led to a direct confrontation and soon Srinagar and other major cities were placed under curfew. Neither the curfew restrictions nor the heavily armed troops could dampen the spirit of the Freedom Fighters whose movement has won the mass support. The situation in Kashmir today is far more explosive that it has ever been, with wider regional and long term consequences. The present agitation has a clear demand for independence from India, particularly among the younger generations, belonging to the Muslim United Front (MUF). B. G. Verghese reports : "I met a group of JLKR adherents. They were courteous, not afraid of dying and passionately firm in their insistence on *azadi* (freedom) . . . they said, Nehru's promise to let the people of Jammu and Kashmir freely decide their own future must be fulfilled. Let the people choose between Indian and Pakistan."<sup>15</sup>

The freedom struggle by the Kashmiri Muslim emancipators originates from within the land itself. It is indigenous, spearheaded by such valiant freedom fighters as Maqbool Butt. His struggle could be traced back to late 1960's when the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front was formed. Its aim was to start a guerilla movement in the occupied state to liberate it. Maqbool Butt was eventually caught and sentenced to death in 1984 and was hanged in Delhi jail in 1984. Instead of terrorising the freedom fighters it inspired them to follow his example even more zealously. Other heroes have also emerged, men such as Shabbir Shah (People's League) Azam Inqilabi, (Operation Balakot) and Abdul Hameed Sheikh, who have been subjected to the worst forms of torture but have not bent. These underground groups, voice-ferociously reject accession to India and are committed to liberating the occupied state through an armed political struggle. Shahid Nadeem a Pakistani writer who managed to visit the state reports : "I was taken aback at the strength and unanimity of the anti-Indian sentiment of Kashmiri Muslims who constitute 80 per cent of the population of the valley. I did not meet a single Kashmiri Muslim who was in favour of staying with India. . . . During my ten day stay in Kashmir, several Congress and National Conference leaders resigned from their party and some from politics altogether."<sup>16</sup>

In the same vein, the Indian prestigious fortnightly *India Today*, writes : "The movement is now largely conducted from the mosques from where thousands of loudspeakers preach *jehad* (Holy Struggle). . . . People must support beards and wear the traditional Kashmiri garb. Wristwatches, as in Pakistan, must be worn on the right hand and the time set back a half hour to correspond with that of Pakistan. Cinema Halls, beauty and video parlours, symbols of Indian decadence have remained closed for six months. Friday, not Sunday is now observed as the day of rest. In Kupwara, street dogs were affixed with discs around their necks with the inscription 'Indian dogs' and in Khak, nearby effigies of Indian soldiers are hung from trees."<sup>17</sup>

Certainly, within the state of Jammu and Kashmir, preparations to combat the freedom fighters were being made on a war like footing. The army was called out in Srinagar on January 2, 1990 and shoot-at-sight orders were issued, and 35 people were killed, and doctors at the Sher-i-Kashmir Hospital showed journalists bullet wounds on children barely out of their-teens.<sup>18</sup>

The reports of Indian atrocities in Kashmir, bring us to the fourth part of our study, i.e., the human rights violations by India in Occupied Kashmir. An interesting and important aspect of this account is the fact that the reports of Indian violations of human rights are emanating from the Indian human rights activists reporting on the situation. The government has imposed a virtual censorship on the journalists in Occupied Kashmir.<sup>19</sup> "Initial efforts at ensuring arrangements for the journalists to function was abandoned and there is no gain saying that the authorities have severely assaulted the right of pressmen to function in the Valley. . . . With its extreme obsession about the efficacy of the gun in taking the Kashmir crisis. . . it is a matter of shame that the television station in Srinagar has virtually been closed down on the plea that it had been infiltrated by the Secessionists."<sup>20</sup>

#### IV

#### HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BY INDIA IN OCCUPIED KASHMIR

After appointing Jagmohan as Governor of Kashmir, India took a number of steps to see that reports of what he was going to do to the Kashmiri Muslims did not reach the outside world. Among these was the expulsion of

all foreign mediamen from the valley, closing down of certain Srinagar newspapers. *The Times*, London, reported that the government has closed the valley's three local newspapers: *Aftab*, *Alsafa*, and *Wadi ki Awaz* all of them Urdu-language publications. All items filed by a local Indian news agency reporter begin with a reminder to his editors, "Subject to official clearance at Jammu." All people killed by security forces have to be described as militants. The reporter said: "I know many innocent people are killed, but I cannot say so. Nor can I write that the independence movement is supported by every single Muslim in the Valley, which it is."<sup>21</sup>

However, the hair-raising accounts of atrocities on Kashmiri Muslims, that have now been revealed come from accounts of either those Hindu journalists who, though pro-India, feel that it would be against their professional ethics to cover up the truth or by Hindu human right activists who believe that by shedding Muslim blood India is undermining its own case in Kashmir, or by a stray foreigner who might have managed to reach the Valley somehow and is shocked to see what is happening there. Foreign journalists are not allowed access. Many Indian papers and news agencies are now based in Jammu to the south where they rely on government hand-outs from Srinagar.

The International Committee of the Red Cross and the Delhi-based Civil Liberties Centre are not allowed to enter the Valley. Prime Minister V. P. Singh categorically stated that Amnesty International will not be allowed to visit East Punjab or any other part of the country.<sup>22</sup> On another occasion, the Indian External Affairs Minister, Mr. Gujral categorically stated, that even the "U.N. observers in Kashmir have no role in maintaining the line of actual control. We take no notice of them."<sup>23</sup> He was asked why were the U.N. observers allowed to stay on the Kashmir if they had no role to play. He said that the U.N. observers were posted to supervise the post 1965 War cease-fire. But after the 1971 War the line of actual control was agreed upon by India and Pakistan and the U.N. observers had no role to play thereafter.<sup>24</sup>

Ironically, to India's credit, human-rights groups based in New Delhi and Bombay sent investigating teams to Kashmir in March and April 1990, to look into Jagmohan's style of governance.

Although details vary, the abuses cited in reports by the Committee of Initiative on Kashmir (CIK) and by the People's Union for Civil Liberties

(PUCL) show a common thread. In addition to these four Indian organisations concerned with human rights represented by non-Muslims and headed by a retired judge of the Bombay High Court, Mr. V. M. Tarkunde is sharply critical of the Indian Government's handling of the Kashmiri Muslims.

Kashmir Affairs Minister George Fernandes told *The Far Eastern Economic Review*, "The (CIK) report is honest. It was written by people who have studied atrocities elsewhere in the country."<sup>25</sup> Tens of thousand of army and paramilitary forces now operate in the Srinagar environs alone with more troops deployed in the other six districts of Kashmir. They comprise notably the Border Security Force (BSF) and the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) as well as regular army soldiers. The Valley is now a fortress; factories, schools, banks, and post offices were mostly closed.<sup>26</sup> The reaction of the Indian media and establishment to the publication of the reports on the human rights violation in Kashmir is extremely critical. One of the first to react was Governor Jagmohan of Kashmir. There was a deliberate attempt by him to insinuate that the team which went to Kashmir and prepared the report 'Indian's Kashmir War' was in league with the terrorists. Describing the report as 'totally incorrect' at a news conference in Delhi on April 2, he alleged that the team had interviewed only those 'carrying Klashnikov rifles'. It is interesting to note that Subasini Mulay, Executive Secretary of the Committee for Initiative on Kashmir stated, "In our report (released at a press conference on March 23), we had interviewed senior government officers, doctors of the Sher-e-Kashmir Institute of Medical Sciences and the Bones and Joints Hospital, Hindu migrants in Jammu and Hindu residents of Srinagar as well as a cross-section of citizens of the Valley. Mr. Jagmohan will be disappointed to hear that we did not find any one of them carrying Klashnikov rifles. But as against, Mr. Jagmohan's figures of 43 "innocent victims of at least 94 have been killed by security forces in different types of action. The much circulated allegation of an attack on an army bus carrying school children referred to by Mr. Jagmohan as a reason for firing by army guards (at Tēngpora on March 1) turned out to be false. Our inquiries revealed that there was no question of any school bus playing on that day since all schools in the Valley remained closed till March 15, under a Government order. Instead of maligning us, Mr. Jagmohan should have the courage to agree to the institution of a judicial inquiry into the incidents of atrocities against women that we have mentioned in our report."<sup>27</sup>

The PUCL team's report headed by luminaries like Rajinder Sachar and V.M. Tarkunde, who got advertised as spokesman of the Indian liberal establishment, met the same fate. *The Times of India* editorial of May 14, 1990 held that the Kashmir problem was compounded by the infantile interventions of the so-called human rights groups. In a regular column called 'Sunday Musings' carried by the same news paper on May 13, N. J. Nanporia suspected that the civil liberties groups were "going through the motions adopted second-hand from the civil rights, people in the west, or were angling for attention." It is no one's case that a situation of the kind in Kashmir can be controlled without toes being stepped on or people being hurt or inconvenienced." It is interesting to note that as a response to this, Sumanta Banerjee : states "Journalist like Nanporia have been trained in the vocabulary of obfuscation, to the use of terms to obscure the reality."<sup>28</sup>

After critically evaluating the sources of our study we would like to highlight Indian gross violations of human rights in Occupied Kashmir in specific categories, since there is no aspect of life which has not been affected by the presence of security forces.

### Mass Killings, Tortures and Detentions

Our investigations show that the security forces in Occupied Kashmir had been given vast powers under notifications which had ben kept secret. Enormous sums are being diverted for the militarisation of the Kashmir Valley. Since the imposition of Governor's Rule in Kashmir January, 1990, the security forces have been given vast powers to search, seize and arrest. Those powers have been given under a notification issued by the Home Department of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. A senior bureaucrat in the Home Department told the members of the team, "Committe for Initiative on Kashmir, that it was a secret document." It was with great difficulty that the team procured a copy of the notification.<sup>29</sup> This secret notification gives all the powers enjoyed by the police under Chapter Five of the Kashmir Criminal Procedure Code to junior officers of the Border Security Force and the Army.

"India's Kashmir War", the report by four Indian organisations gives the lie to the Indian claims to secularism, democracy and even to a civilised status. The Peoples Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL), the Citizens for Democracy, the Radical Humanist Association, and the Manav Ekta Abhiya (of India) appointed a joint team to visit Kashmir and make a first hand assessment of the

situation there. It comprised Justice V. M. Tarkunde, Rajinder Sachhar, Amrik Singh, Balraj Puri, Inder Mohan, Ranjan Dwivedi, N.D. Pancholi and T.S. Ahuja. Its first visit was from 9th to 13th March and the second from 28th March to 3rd April, 1990. Both Srinagar and Jammu were visited as also a few outlying towns. The team members were able to meet individuals from all walks of life such as lawyers, businessmen, government employees, journalists, intellectual and other well-known citizens who met them on their own initiative. The report is extremely critical of the indiscriminate killings of the innocent Kashmiris by the Indian armed forces in the Occupied Kashmir. "In events of indiscriminate firings by para-military forces, got killed a pregnant woman, her 8-year old son and the driver of the three-wheeler in which they were travelling on the morning of 29th March, 1990."<sup>30</sup>

Similarly, on April 1, 1990, near Navpura, the report says that members of the 77-Battalion of the Central Reserve Police Force, a para-military group, opened fire from an ambulance injuring five people. "Subsequently one woman died. Members of the committee reached the scene soon afterwards. They allege that people who tried to take the injured to hospital were beaten and arrested.

Their report comes at a time when little first hand information is available on events in Kashmir.

The report of the committee says that it was not possible to list all the cases brought to their attention. However, it adds, "The broad pattern is clear... large numbers of innocent people get manhandled, beaten up, molested and killed. In some cases the victims were caught in the cross-fire and in many cases they were totally uninvolved and there was no crossfiring."<sup>31</sup>

Similarly, "Kashmir Imprisoned", is a Report written by a team of four Indian women--three of them were Hindu, all members of the "Committee for Initiative on Kashmir." It was published from New Delhi in July, 1990 and is a sequel to an earlier report by men members of the same Committee. The present Report from which extensive excerpts are being reproduced gives an even more detailed account of what India is doing in Kashmir. We would have liked to quote the entire Report (90 pages) but constraints of space have prevented that. The team consisted of Premila Lewis, Journalist, Nandita Haksar, Advocate, Subasini Mulay, Film Maker, and Sakina Hasan, former Principal of the Nawakadal Women's College, Srinagar. This report has been

prepared on the basis of findings during their tour of Jammu and Kashmir from June 8 to 15, 1990.

According to the report a survey of about 20 daily newspapers in English, Urdu and Hindi revealed that 118 people had been killed in April 1990 and in May, the figure was 200 plus the number of persons killed during the Mirwaiz's funeral when the security forces fired on an unarmed funeral procession. Many more persons have died in the Valley since, June 1990.<sup>32</sup> According to a report in the magazine, *The New Horizon*,<sup>33</sup> upto March, 1990, over 1,000 Kashmiris had been killed by the Indian troops. The report states that the dead include old men, women and 8 to 10 year old children. The Indian authorities usually dump bodies of Kashmiris shot down by their troops in government go downs and hand them over to the relatives only after dark with express orders to have the dead buried during the night hours. The report said over 10,000 Kashmiris, mostly young men and women have been arrested by Indian occupation forces since the uprising of them, 1,000 have been kept in torture cells where their skins are scourged by burning cigarettes, hot potatoes are put in their mouths and their backs are scourged by hot iron.<sup>34</sup>

According to the report, "Kashmir Imprisoned" due to the "killings in Govakadal, Zakura, Tangpora, Hawal, Lal Chowk, Mandwara, Baderwah, Bandipura and Anantnag are no longer names (of places) but knells that remind one of the firing exercise by the para-military force that have taken a collective toll of many people."<sup>35</sup> On June 9, 1990 a cordon and search operation was again mounted on Rainwari. One family panicked and locked themselves into one room. The CRPF knocked and opened fire through the door killing one child. The family went to the police station to file an FIR. The local police station was under instructions not to file any FIR or register any case, against the security forces. The SHO, however, noted the event in the Daily Diary kept at the station. During the course of investigations the team members spoke to many ordinary people such as farmers, artisans, clerks, etc. What was very disturbing was the casualness with which the security forces could perpetrate violence. According to the report :

"Razak Malik, a farmer in Trehgam, Kupara District went to cultivate his field on May 5, 1990. The army soldiers put his head under water and held it down. They kicked him saying that he should not be wandering outside his home.

We met Mr. Mohammad Shafi Fala at the office of a journalist. His head was bandaged and arm in a sling. He had come there hoping for a lift home as the journalist and he lived in the same area. Mohammad Shafi was going by bicycle to attend his duty in the morning at 8 a.m. on June 12, 1990. He is a switch-board operator in the Power Development Department, posted at Rawalpura. He was stopped at the CRPF Gojwara check post near the Jamia Masjid Police Station. He showed his Curfew Pass No. 015046 issued on May 10, 1990 and valid for the month of May and June. He also showed his Identity Card with an attached photo. For no reason the CRPF jawans started beating him with sticks and rifle butts. He left his cycle and tiffin box behind and ran into the police station. The local police dropped him off in the city centre at Lal Chowk. He took the auto-rickshaw and went to the government hospital for bone and joint surgery in Burzalle Srinagar for treatment.

Ghulam Hasan Mohju aged 65. He has a shop in Baghe Islam. When a member of our team met him on June 11, 1990, he was still in bandages. He told us about the search of his house and the subsequent torture by the CRPF. The CRPF arrested him, blind folded him, tied his hands behind his back and took him to the Doabagh Interrogation Centre is Sopore about 50 kms. from Srinagar. They demanded that he should give up his weapons and accused him that "Mujahideen come to you." I told them I have nothing. He was then laid on his stomach, spread eagle. One soldier stopped on each hand, shoulders and neck with their boots on. He was hit with their canvas belts that have brass buckles. I told them: "Spare me, I am an old man." He became unconscious. When he came round he was untied and given food and water. The beating started again. Beat my feet with iron rods till the blood ran out. They put chilli powder in my eyes, mouth and nose. On the third day of torture in disperation, I told them I had two sacks of weapons but first they must call me a doctor. The doctor came and some medication was provided. When he was asked about the weapons, he said that he had lied to save his life. Again the beatings started. A three star officer came in and I told him, "If I tell you lies you stop and at the truth you beat me then they hand-cuffed me and threw me in a rubbish heap, thinking that I was dead. Two days later finding me still alive they took me to Sopore Police Station and left me there."<sup>36</sup>

Of all the atrocities committed by the security forces, the treatment of Kashmiri women has embittered the people of the Valley the most. The forces were looked down upon worse than the troops of Chinghiz Khan.

### Treatment Meted out to Women

Historically the position of Kashmiri women was in many ways better than their counterpart in other parts of the country. The Kashmiri women observe *purdah* and are respected in the society enjoying freedom of education, law and employment. There is no exhaustive record of the human rights violations of women but the four case studies mentioned in the report "Kashmir-Imprisoned Part III," that gives an idea of the sadistic impulses as well as of the aggressive Hindu communal and anti-Muslim bias of the security forces which have been deployed in the Valley.

May 28, 1990, some children chalked the words JKLF on the wall of two shops. At around 11 a.m. the J. & K. Light Infantry alongwith an additional 100 men in a one tonner trooped into the village. They beat up severely anyone they came across. Four men were still in the hospital on June 12, 1990, the day we went to the village. They are Abdul Qayyum Butt, aged 14, Mohammad Ameen, aged about 20, whose leg was deliberately broken, Ghulam Mohammad Khande aged about 30, and Ali Mohammad Dar, aged about 18. The security forces broke the wooden doors of the shops, beat up the shopkeepers, searched six houses, mixed rice with kerosene and the milk with *bhoosa*. They asked for a woman school teacher but the villagers hid her.

In the village Pahzgam, Pulwama District, on May 29, 1990, the J & K Light Infantry men came and hung Ghulam Mohammad Dar (50), Abdul Razak Wanbi (55), and two boys Javed Ahmad Dar (12) and Mohammad Ashraf Dar (10), upside down from a tree for three and half hours. Rahmati wife of Abdul Gani Dar, aged 30 years, on the day of the incident, the army men came and asked her to accompany them in the search. They beat away Rahmati, threw the household goods outside.

Muglee, widow of Ghulam Mohammad Dar, said she has four sons and one daughter. The older sons were in the fields at the time and the younger two sons were at home with her daughter who is one year old. Six army men came to search the house. She was caught by the neck and pulled inside the house. The older son who is fourteen, tried to intervene, but he was beaten and tied to the tree. Shameema, was wife of Ali Mohammad Mizgar alias Khan. Two army men came and took Ali Mohammad away and tied him to a tree in front of the village shop. Then four army men came back. Two of them took

the woman into the house to conduct the search. She was knocked down by the army men to open the cup boards and was molested.

Tasneef Dani of Kupwara town, 24 years of age and a B.Sc. final student at the S.P. College, Srinagar, as well as his younger brother Owais, aged 20 years were picked up on April 30, 1990. It was the month of Ramzan and boys were awake for *Sehri*. Both the boys were blindfolded and taken to the old Airport Interrogation Centre.

Tortured and interrogated for three days. Owais was again blindfolded and dropped off at Chashm-e-Shahi on the Dal Lake. Tasneef was then transferred to the Hari Niwar Interrogation Center. Here he was further tortured. He was given electric shocks, cigarette butts were pressed into his fingers. He was released on May 31, 1990. Tasneef has lost his speech, he slurs and usually keeps very quiet.<sup>37</sup>

The concluding part of the report by the "Committee for Initiative on Kashmir" is a summing up of its finding. It states that in Batmaloo "the people complained that every ten days the security forces burst into the houses from the roof, in the dead of the night kick our things around, smash up the doors take away the young boys and then charge them with being terrorists. They take away our money and jewellery. They have branded every body as a Pakistani.

### **The Arrests of Young Boys**

Mr. Mohammad Sultan works in the Food and Civil Supplies Department, Srinagar. His 21 years old son Pervez Sultan was picked up on May 21, 1990, the boy had just finished his high school examination. There are no news of him to date.

Rehmat Jaan of Sheri Village, 5 kms. from Uri, is the mother of Javed an 18 years old bus conductor. He was picked up 34 days before May 20 and since then there was no information about him to date.

Aamawami from Vatra village, 15 kms. from Baramulla on the Handwara Road, is the father of Abdul Majid aged 19 years. The army had conducted combing operations in the village on May 10, 1990. They took away the boy and there was no news of him till the day we interviewed him. Mowgli Begum widow (45), of Sheri village, near Uri said her only son Mohammad Ashraf

Sheikh, aged 16 years was beaten and thrown into the river on April 29, 1990, when an army crackdown had taken place in their village. There is no trace of him. Zahoor Ahmed Mullick, aged 13 years of Kitchema village, Uri, was branded with knives when the army borrowed a stone from his family, heated knives on it and branded him.<sup>38</sup>

India has exceeded the limits of human degradation, "by hauling woman and young children and putting them to most inhuman and despicable tortures. Hot irons are being applied to the bodies of Kashmiri Muslims, finger-nails are being pulled out, dried red chilli powder is applied on their wounds. . . mouths are stuffed with hot potatoes. . . these brutalities being inflicted in the interrogation and concentration camps in India. . . . The security forces have killed and annihilated over two thousand civilian youths. About 350 young men have been tortured to death during the Indian genocide. Over 5000 Kashmiri men, women and children have been injured and maimed during indiscriminate firing on unarmed protesting civilians. . . The death toll in the jails and concentration camps in Jammu and Kashmir, Rajasthan has exceeded 850. . . . There is total ban on the entry of Red Cross or Amnesty International to provide any form of medical or legal aid to Kashmiri People."<sup>39</sup>

A *Los Angeles Times* reporter Mark Fineman quietly toured Kashmir's capital Srinagar by bicycle interviewing dozens of Kashmiri, ranging from truck drivers to doctors. He states "Prof. Mohammad Yusuf watched in disbelief as Indian soldiers beat his only son to a pulp. At least two hundred of them fell on him and started beating him with their fists and sticks . . . they kept beating him until he passed away."<sup>40</sup>

Mark Fineman reports, "from everyone interviewed at length came a personal tale of torture or deprivation. Maulvi Muhammad Hussain Turibi the *Imam* at the Batamaloo Sahib Mosque in Srinagar related how he and his son were beaten, kicked and punched by soldiers for an entire day, while being forced to cover wall slogans with cow manure."

The Chairman of Parliamentary Human Rights Group in the British House of Lords, Lord Avebury has held Indian army responsible for mass killing, atrocities, and dis-honouring of women in the Indian Held Kashmir.

The Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) massacred unarmed demonstrators on at least three separate occasions in 1990, January 21, when at least 60 people were killed at Basannit Bagh in Srinagar, January 22, when about 100 were killed at Alamgari Bazar in Srinagar and March 1, when huge numbers were killed at Srinagar, Zakura, Tengpora.<sup>41</sup>

David Housego, *The Financial Times*, similarly reports, "the traumatised face of Baboo Imtiaz Ahmed, a young man, was suspended from a rotating ceiling fan, during interrogation. In a back yard in the Khawaja Bazar district of old Srinagar, he displayed four cigarette burns on his arms and legs and deep bruising on his back from being trodden on. The painful stammer of a 50-year old villager, Ghulam Mehdadar, released after 18 days of interrogation told at his village of Fatehpur, near Baramula, how he had been hung from a tree and beaten with clubs. "He concludes his report, "At the *Idgah* in Srinagar. . . on one side a rough martyrs grave has been dug for others who have recently been killed. A young man shouts in a characteristic mixture of bravado and desperation, "Everyone here is prepared to die. We have only two choices to die or be liberated."<sup>42</sup>

Similar reports have been coming up in *Guardian*,<sup>43</sup> London, also : "Srinagar, a normally bustling city of 800,000 thronged by tourists, resembles a ghost town. . . . Most important government buildings have sandbag bunkers in front of them, where armed troops stand ready. The worst incident was in Lal Chowk, the commercial heart of the city. Police fired indiscriminately, killing at least 7 people. . . . Chased residents through the narrow streets of the district and conducted house searches.

We have been able to get a report published in *Sunday Magazine*, India. The limits of harassment have been crossed. They make people pick up the dirt from the drains and rub it over the JKLF signs. . . a heavy stone is placed on their backs and they are made to do sit-ups while the forces stand by and use the worst abuses possible. The atmosphere outside the Jamia Masjid on the morning of *Id* is tense. . . . Maulvi Farooq makes an impassioned and inflammatory speech : the thousands who have gathered here to offer *Namaz* hang their heads in mourning as the names of the martyrs of the Valley are announced. "whom do we turn for help?" Shouts a young man in the crowd. His brother, Parvez Ahmad Khan, lost his life fighting the security forces. They chased him into a stream and pushed him in the water with their rifle

butts screaming *azadi chahiye*? "We recovered his body hours later," recalls Ghulam Ahmed, "there was nothing we could do to save him."<sup>44</sup>

### Mir Waiz Maulvi Farooq

Mir Waiz Maulvi Farooq, one of the most prominent Muslim scholars of the Indian occupied state of Jammu and Kashmir, was assassinated by unidentified gunmen at his residence in Srinagar. According to witness, his last words before he died, were that all political parties of the Valley should unite and continue their struggle to throw off the Indian yoke.

The assassination of Mir Waiz was further highlighted the state of anarchy that is prevailing in the Valley in spite of the brutal methods adopted by the Indian forces to control the situation. Indian army men even opened indiscriminate fire on the pall-bearers, and the mourner's procession. According to *Guardian*, London, 53 people were killed and 300 wounded. Several hundred people were reported to be lying in Srinagar's hospitals with bullet injuries. Many of the wounded were in a critical condition and doctors feared that the eventual death toll could exceed 100.<sup>45</sup>

The General Secretary of the Organization of the Islamic Conference strongly condemned this criminal act, as well as the inhuman repressive methods used by the Indian authorities in their futile attempt to block the spontaneous uprising of the people of Kashmir, who are determined to assert their inalienable rights, including their right to self-determination as recognized in the pertinent resolutions and Charter of the United Nation.<sup>46</sup> Similarly the daily *Washington Post*, has published a report of its correspondent Steve Coal from Srinagar, highlighting the violations of human life and property by the Indian forces in Occupied Kashmir.<sup>47</sup>

### Kashmiri Refugees

Camps of the uprooted Kashmiri Muslims speak volumes on the human rights violations in sheer disregard to the civilised norms by the Indian Government--exposing its claims of a secular state and the biggest democracy in the world. Scattering from the AJK capital to the border town of Athmigram, had numerous gloomy stories of death and destruction to tell a group of visiting defence attaches based in Islamabad accompanied by foreign and local Journalists.

"Sajjad holds up his left hand to show the stumps that remain of his fingers. Like thousands of young Kashmiri men and some women, he was ill-equipped when he fled across the snow covered mountains to Pakistan's Azad Kashmir to escape a tough Indian security crack-down at home. Hilal Ahmad Khan a 24 years old graduate made the journey in February after being arrested three times for throwing stones at Indian forces in Srinagar. I trekked for seven days without food and water of the 40 to 50 people in his group, five people died and 15 suffered frostbite. Dr. Raees Anwar stated: "We have received at least 100 people with frostbite." "We all want to go back and fight for freedom," said 17 years old Ishtiaq, who says he was left for dead in the mountains by Indian soldiers.<sup>48</sup>

Similarly, *Pakistan Observer*, has published a comprehensive report of Indian brutalities on Srinagar's freedom fighters and innocent people. It maintains, "according to our survey, more than 15 thousand refugees have already arrived in various parts of Azad Kashmir. The refugees told that members of the Indian army have broken all codes of ethics."<sup>49</sup>

American Congressman, Don Burton has strongly condemned India for the human rights situation and added it was time to lift veil from the so-called world's largest democracy. He reported to the British Parliament after visiting Punjab and Occupied Kashmir that unprecedented and barbaric atrocities were being committed against the Sikh and Kashmiri communities by the Indian regime. Burton has introduced a legislation seeking termination of US Assistance for India unless it permits Amnesty International and other human rights organisations to visit the country.<sup>50</sup> In Srinagar, Kashmiri women have joined the freedom struggle and the organisation, "Dukhtran-i-Millat-i-Kashmir have pledged to drive the Indian soldiers out of the valley."<sup>51</sup>

In the wake of heightened criticism of police massacre of Muslim mourners, of Mir Waiz's funeral procession, Jagmohan, who had taken office of the Governor of Occupied Kashmir, since January 19, 1990, resigned.<sup>52</sup> With promulgation of Armed Forces (J & K) Special Powers Ordinance, 1990, Indian army has acquired control in the areas notified as 'disturbed'. With the expiry of Governor's Rule on July 18, 1990, the state is brought under President's Rule. These latest measures have denied the civilian population in the Valley the last vestiges of legal protection.

In the light of our findings, it seems extremely pertinent that the observance of human rights under the supervision of Amnesty International and the human dignity be restored in Occupied Kashmir. The international media, writers and jurists ought to report and write on the recent movement for self-determination by the people of Indian Occupied Kashmir. The diversion of resources by India on building up arsenals of arms and ammunition and on raising new army divisions including 8 divisions now deployed in Indian Held Kashmir, being the highest number of men in arms used per head of population in peace time is deplorable. It should be abundantly clear and obvious that the people of Kashmir through sacrifices have demonstrated that irrespective of ruthless atrocities they will not accept any other solution except the right of self-determination.

### The Impact of Curfew

With the imposition of curfew since January 1990, virtually all aspects of life have been paralysed. Curfew falls at 6 p.m every day and remains in force for the next 15 hours until there is trouble in which case it is extended. *The Times of London*, reported "a curfew was imposed for 15 consecutive days and nights from April 6 to 21. It was a traumatic experience. Food almost ran out and towards the end only rice and cereals were left in most households; sick and ailing were known to have died for want of medical attention; there was no electricity and the security forces, having shoot at sight orders searched houses and took away unknown numbers of young men."<sup>53</sup> Nothing infuriates the Kashmiri Muslims more than curfew being imposed on them during the hours of *Namaz*, reports *Sunday (Magazine)*, India.<sup>54</sup> Especially in the month of April 1990, when the curfew stretched for twelve days, the Muslims were detained during the holy month of *Ramzan*.

Similarly the report of *PUCL*, i.e., "India's Kashmir War", is also particularly critical of the almost three and a half months of continuous curfew, which it says has resulted in a acute shortage of essential commodities and medicines.<sup>55</sup>

Amit Prakash, who spent some time in Kashmir, has given a special report about the life in Occupied Kashmir, being published by *Illustrated Weekly of India*. He has expressed, "Curfew has become a way of life in the Valley, and even when it is relaxed there is hardly any semblance of normalcy." According to his analysis, which is based on a cross-sectional

interviews and talks to the ordinary folk, security personnel, civilians, both Hindus and Muslims, the people complained that "curfew is being used as a weapon of intimidation through forced economic deprivation aimed at breaking the back of the on going freedom struggle. Your Indian Government thinks it can dampen our spirits by starving us", says Azeem Qureshi a petty shopkeeper from behind a partially open shutter, "but you are wrong. We are willing to strave and get shot, for it will be a dignified death which is better than suffering the humiliation of being slaves of India. Every pang of hunger can only make us braver, the rest is in Allah's hands." Ghulam Rasul, a School Teacher puts it differently. "The prolonged spell of curfew has reduced Kashmir to a prison, we are all in a way under house arrest. We are the prisoners of the Indian para-military forces." Most of the shops do not open at all, especially in Srinagar from Civil Lines to Lal Chowk. Most of these do not sell essential commodities. These are handicrafts, electrical goods, cloth and hardware shops, catering more to tourists, leisure shoppers and businessmen. Secondly, people's purchasing power has dwindled over the months and they prefer to spend almost exclusively on essential commodities. Even during curfew relaxation the para-military forces maintain a strict vigil."<sup>56</sup> The persistent curfew has rendered the daily wage-earners jobless and without any other sources of income to turn to. On account of decline in tourism as well as curtailment of channels of trade, the traditional Kashmiri craftsmen shawi and carpet weavers, wood carvers and paper artists find it difficult to sell their products. The famous twin Lakes Dal and Nagin tell a sad story. Houseboats and Shikaras have a zero occupancy. The tourist activity in Gulmarg, Pahalgam is halted altogether. The cricket bat manufacturing kiosks which line the highway from Srinagar to Anantnag are devoid of any sign of activity. On the other hand the hotels run by the state tourism department have been taken over by the para-military forces and are functioning as makeshift barracks. According to a *Tribune of India* survey, "traders, wholesalers and retailers do not have sufficient funds for making purchases from outside the state, as wholesalers in the Indian plains do not sell goods on credit as they did six months ago. "The Indian newspaper further makes the point that for months teachers, shop assistants, drivers, masons, carpenters and labourers have not worked or received any payments."<sup>57</sup> The report, "India's Kashmir War" maintains, "The member of the team were also told of the grievance that while the non-Muslims were getting the salaries but Muslim employees who

were in the Valley and could not attend their duties because of curfew were not receiving any payment."<sup>58</sup>

### **Hospitals and Schools**

At the hospitals, exhausted staff deal with traumatic injuries. Kashmiri Hindus were numerous in medical and other service jobs. The largest hospital has lost 40 per cent of its staff. The Valley's only Gynecological Hospital operates at 20 per cent of its normal staff. Dr. Mir Ahmed, Superintendent of the Gynecological Hospital explained, "we have no surgical theatre here. On May 9, after the shooting, casualties started coming in here. The para-military forces did not let the ambulance go to the main hospital."<sup>59</sup> Many ambulances have bullet holes and large dents, caused by rifle butts. Physicians claim that two of their colleagues, Dr. Yasin Malik and Dr. Salim, have been detained and beaten.

On account of curfew patients in the diabetic and heart problems died for lack of medicines at hospitals. Children died of acute gastroenteritis. At the SMHS Hospital doctors say that most of the wounded brought in have had to be treated for head, neck and chest injuries--suggesting that para-military forces have fired high.<sup>60</sup>

On May 17, 1990, the doctors and hospital workers went on a strike at eight major hospitals in Srinagar, when one of their colleagues, Dr. Mohammad Rafiq Waidya was arrested by security forces while on duty at SMHS Hospital. On May 18, they discovered that four more of their colleagues and an ambulance driver had been arrested. They were apparently being charged with treating militants. On June 11 about 100 agitating doctors joined the striking lawyers. It was against the medical ethics to provide discriminatory medical treatment. Doctors were ordered out of ambulances, searched, abused and physically beaten.<sup>61</sup> Thus, the doctors have been pushed into strike at the time they were needed most by the society.

As regards the schools, more than 150 schools are being run by a Muslim organisation in Kashmir. Occupied Jammu and Kashmir Governor Jagmohan, outlawed the Falah-i-Aam Trust that manages the schools across the state, saying, "all the 157 schools run by the outlawed Jamiat Islami through Falah-i-Aam Trust would stand closed."<sup>62</sup> Since May, 1990, the government run schools are only considered operative which still remain closed on account

of intermittent curfews. Hindi has been made compulsory and through the secular Indian educational curriculum the identity of Kashmiri Muslims is under attack.<sup>63</sup>

### **Courts and Legal Rights of the Kashmiris**

There is an increase in the number of cases of people arrested under the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Prevention Act. The Sessions Court in Srinagar had been the designated court. On Sunday May 1, 1990, the then Governor Jagmohan decided that the designated court at Srinagar shall be abolished leaving the operative designed court in Jammu, a good 12 hours by bus from Srinagar. It will be difficult for the people to find an acceptable lawyer.

On June 4, 1990, the lawyers of Jammu and Kashmir High Court Bar Association went on an indefinite strike, in protest against the alleged, "violation of human rights by security forces", and denial of legal relief to the people.

## **V**

### **CONCLUSION**

Our report has focussed on the wide spread violation of human rights of the people of Occupied Jammu and Kashmir by the Indian security forces. The manner in which state repression is exercised through searches, interrogation, mass killings and arrest manifest India's planned strategy to break the morale of the people. The Kashmiris on the other hand see their future in *Azadi*. In this complex psychological and political situation the people of the valley have turned to Islam in search for a unifying force. Dr. Hamidal Gabid, Secretary General of the OIC, in a press statement on the situation in Indian Occupied Kashmir, has categorically asked India to allow the Muslim people of Kashmir to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination.<sup>64</sup> Saudi Arabia has also asked India to implement the relevant resolutions of the United Nations on Kashmir. Indonesia's stand as the world's largest Muslim population favours a resolution of the Kashmir problem through the United Nations.<sup>65</sup> Even Soviet Union, has proposed to resolve the Kashmir issue in the light of UN resolutions<sup>66</sup> and more than one hundred members of the British Parliament supported the right of self-determination of the people of Indian Held Kashmir. Meanwhile the then Prime Minister Thatcher also supported the visit

of an all party parliamentary group to Kashmir.<sup>67</sup> The issues of Kashmir, has thus surfaced on the international scene.

At present curfew is imposed in major cities of Kashmir. The freedom fighters, referred to as the fundamentalists and secessionists have transformed the flickering movement into a fullfledge insurgency in an organised manner. Even the local administration is reported to have joined them in large numbers. Where people are fighting a war of liberation in exercise of their right of self-determination, they are to be referred to as freedom-fighters. The right of self-determination is conceptually based on the sacred will of the people. It is only the collective will of the people that ought to direct their choices to be governed in accordance with the philosophy and system that they prefer. The basic thrust of our study is towards the analysis of denial of basic human rights to the Kashmiri Muslims by the Indian authorities. In this context our conclusions is for the humanitarian intervention in Indian Occupied Kashmir by the United Nations. The argument is becoming increasingly popular among the leading jurists and publicists. For instance, Moore, laid down a test for a justified intervention. According to him an intervention may be justified if :

- (a) It is made to check a threat to a very fundamental human right.
- (b) The threat is imminent and fatal.
- (c) Action constituting intervention is proportionate.
- (d) Immediate disengagement after fulfilling the purpose.
- (e) Report to Security Council.

Under the conditions examined in detail in our study, the Kashmir issue provides the needed criteria for humanitarian intervention argument.

There is firstly, a fatal threat to a fundamental human right--the right to the security of life, property and commitments. Secondly, the right to be governed by the authority of one's own choice. Thirdly, the threat to live freely provided by the right of fundamental freedoms of individual. The threat to such a sacred right is substantiated in our study as evidenced by the merciless and indiscriminate killings, arrests and tortures to the Muslims of Kashmir. There is an indigenous, and genuine uprising and an acknowledged liberation movement, initiating an armed struggle against the subjugation of Indian authorities. Moreover as Shrabani Basu has stated that "India was

holding on to a state by force, a state which was never its own to begin with."<sup>68</sup>

In the light of this narrative the need for external intervention is clear. The United Nations should step in to implement the objectives of its creation. The need of the hour is that this action should be taken without any further loss of time. Ever passing moment raises the death-toll. Let the people of Kashmir live as free people.

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## Book Review

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**M. J. Akbar, *India the Siege Within*,**  
Richard Clay, Chaucer Press Ltd.,  
Burgay Sufforlk, Great Britain, 1985, Pages 325.

*India the Siege Within*, was written by an Indian Muslim, M.J. Akbar, in 1985, a graduate of Presidency College Calcutta. He writes articles in the *Times of India*, under the guidance of Khashwant Singh. He has also been the Editor of fortnightly magazine *Onlooker* since 1974. In 1982, he became editor of weekly magazine *Sunday*. He has also been Editor of the English daily *The Telegraph*.

The 325 paged book under review, was published in 1985, by Richard Clay Chaucer Press Ltd., Burgay Sufforlk, Great Britain. The author, divided the book into three parts. In the first part, 11 chapters were included which cover the independence of Pakistan and India. It analysed its socio-economic conditions till 1984 and the survival of India. In the second chapter, the author focussed his research mainly on the East Punjab and discussed the causes of separatist movements in that province. The third chapter dealt with the past and present situation in the Held-Kashmir.

*India the Siege Within*, successfully explains India's secular democracy. The author discussed the stresses and strains in the Indian polity struggling for keeping itself as one State. The year 1974, is taken as a mile-stone and a comprehensive discussion has covered historical, political and cultural survey of the areas causing tensions. The narrative is up-to-date spotlighting the removal of Shaikh Farooq Abdullah in Held-Kashmir; on account of his meeting with the Sikh leader Bhindranwale; the army operation at Golden Temple; the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi and their implications for the future.

The Sikh nationalism, rising fundamentalism, separatism, the consequences of independence and unrest in occupied Kashmir, indicate that India's unity is vulnerable, 1984 was the most hazardous year, when India was striving for keeping itself on the line to develop itself into a modern nation.

The struggle for 'Khalistan', poses the greatest threat to the integrity of the country. The movement in favour of independent state of 'Khalistan', the land of pure people, is backed by a militant group. The evidence is that the federal experiment in India, has been a total fiasco. If this battle to win freedom succeeds in 'Khalistan', this would absolutely affirm this opinion. It would set in action many more movements and more independent states would emerge. Kashmir would quickly follow the Sikh pattern. East Punjab happens to be a Sikh-majority state and, Jammu and Kashmir is a Muslim-majority state. For a while, the close Sikh-Hindu relationship disguised the reality of separate identity of the Sikhs. The Hindus saw Sikhism as a variation of Hinduism, and not as a separate religion. However, the Muslim-Kashmir was reckoned as a potential threat to the unity of India and not the Sikh movement.

The Sikh had never accepted the Hindu version of their faith. The problem touched new dimensions when the Sikhs realized, at the turn of the twentieth century, that they had not only lost control of their holy places to the Non-Sikhs but also the very existence of their faith was threatened. Hindus were attempting to convert the Sikhs to their faith. This fear of extinction was heightened by the sermons of the proselytizers who insisted that the Sikhs were only Hindus under different name. The Sikhs' revolt is a cry of survival of their faith as well.

When the differences between the Sikhs and the Hindus increased, the idea that the survival of Sikhism was not possible except under the umbrella of a separate country, was firmly established. In the forefront of this campaign were the Sikh religious leaders who had to lose everything if Sikhism is blown out of existence. In the creation of the Sikh state, their future is secure.

To Delhi, a hostile Punjab is unacceptable. It is contention of the Indians that if India were to survive as one State, East Punjab had to stay within the Union, by persuasion if possible, and by force, if unavoidable. Delhi is the heart of India. This position of Delhi would be hammered down to a much smaller position in case 'Khalistan' is established as an independent state out of Indian orbit.

Kashmir has been discussed at length. The beauties of the valley of Kashmir and its importance for India are narrated. Its past history has also

been discussed. The author gave an account of the rule of Shaikh Abdullah and, how he stood against Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. The awakening of the people of Kashmir for their rights and demands of the Muslim majority for self-determination is causing real anxiety to the Indians. The efforts of Pakistan governments and its leaders as Quaid-e-Azam, Khan Liaquat Ali Khan and Mohammad Ayub Khan has been discussed. But, Kashmir still remains an unresolved issue.

In the light of analysis, it has been concluded that the situation is becoming grim in Kashmir since 1980s. The people in the East Punjab made sacrifices which would make them to win freedom one day. The Kashmiris are not far behind. The new wave in the world is such that freedom struggles could not be kept under control through the mechanism of force. The foresighted Indian leadership should accept this hard reality. It is also in the best interest of the Indian people as well as for the people who are struggling for freedom, their birth right.

MUSARRAT CHEEMA  
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# Statements

## *SOUTH ASIAN REGIONAL COOPERATION*

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**H.E. MR. K.K. BHARGAVA SECRETARY-GENERAL SAARC  
AT THE INAUGURAL SESSION OF THE  
EXPERT GROUP MEETING OF SAARC MEMBER COUNTRIES  
TO WORK OUT THE MODALITIES FOR THE REALISATION OF  
"SAARC 2000 : A BASIC NEEDS PERSPECTIVE"**

**Kathmandu : 13-15 February, 1990**

Hon'ble Bharat Bahadur Pradan, Minister of Finance and Industry,  
Dr. Durgesh Man Singh, Member, National Planning Commission.

It gives me great pleasure in extending to all the distinguished delegates from SAARC member countries a warm welcome to this picturesque city of Kathmandu for attending the SAARC Expert Group Meeting for working out the modalities for the realisation of "SAARC 2000 : A Basic Needs Perspective". Hon'ble Minister, we are very thankful to you for sparing your valuable time and being with us at the inaugural session. We are looking forward to your learned inaugural address.

The Charter of our Association clearly stipulates as among its basic objectives the promotion of the welfare and the improvement of the quality of life of the peoples of South Asian to be achieved through the acceleration of economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region and to provide all individuals the opportunity to live in dignity and to realise their full potential.

The Dhaka Summit had created the institutional framework of regional cooperation and had given its blessings to the Integrated Programme of Action for cooperation in a number of agreed areas. The Bangalore Summit, besides adding to the agreed areas, had emphasised the importance of activities that would promote people to people contact. The desirability of expanding SAARC activities in concrete areas of cooperation in order to ensure more tangible benefits to the peoples of the region was formally reflected for the first time in the declaration of the Heads of State or Government of SAARC member countries at the Third SAARC Summit held in this very city in November, 1987. The leaders were convinced that SAARC's long-term perspective should focus on measures to expand and strengthen growing regional complementarities and interdependence both through formulation and implementation of more concrete and action-oriented programmes as well as through coordination of national policies and approaches. In his inaugural address on the occasion of the Fifth Session of the SAARC Council of Ministers held in Kathmandu in August, 1988, His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev stated, and I quote, "At this stage of evolution, there is a clear need to ensure that our planning agencies are also brought into the mainstream of our cooperative endeavour. The fulfilment of the basic needs of our peoples has received attention in the plans and programmes of our country. At a time when we are seeking increasing inter-dependence, the experience and expertise gained by individual countries could be shared meaningfully for the benefit of the peoples of the region." Unquote.

A few months later at the Islamabad Summit, the Heads of State or Government expressed their collective determination to give concrete shape to the objectives of SAARC. They emphasised the need to progressively carry out SAARC activities within a broad framework of a long-term perspective and to harmonize their efforts to ensure tangible benefits to the peoples of South Asia as a whole. They were of the view that all member states should identify areas of core interest in their national perspective plans or prepare such plans and consolidate them into a regional plan to be called "SAARC 2000 : A Basic Needs Perspective", with specific targets to be met by the end of the century.

More recently the Seventh Session of the Council of Ministers held in Islamabad from 8-9 November, 1989, directed the Secretary-General to convene an Expert Group meeting to work out the modalities for realisation of "SAARC 2000 : A Basic Needs Perspective" by 31st January, 1990. On

account of various preoccupations of Member States and the time needed for the preparation of a meeting of this importance we could not adhere strictly to the deadline set by the Council of Ministers. It is still a matter of satisfaction that by holding this meeting in mid-February with the active support of His Majesty's Government of Nepal, the Secretariat has been able to discharge the mandate entrusted to it by our leaders. As usual, excellent facilities have been available. We are grateful to His Majesty's Government of Nepal and to the people of Nepal for their warm hospitality.

The importance attached to the question of 'Basic Needs' by our leaders and planners reflect the keenness of the former in bringing the issue of human development to the central stage and the recognition by the latter to use judiciously macro economic policy in conjunction with micro-control system designed to facilitate the meeting of those needs. From now on, this matter acquires a prominence and at the same time a sense of urgency. This meeting is well placed for facilitating some important objectives of SAARC Charter.

South Asia is home to over a billion human beings. We have over 50 per cent of the world's absolute poor living in our region. All member States of SAARC fall in the category of low-income countries characterised by low production, high population growth, illiteracy and unemployment. The scenario for 2000 AD for SAARC evokes on the one hand tremendous human and natural resource potential while on the other a grim realisation of undermining of this potential due to erosion in the resource base. A dilemma before all of us is that our resource potential which could have been used to provide the basic needs is instead being rapidly eroded. All this indeed add up to a common crisis which SAARC region is facing. Collective and determined action is called for. Now is, therefore, the time for painful rethinking, for patient examination of all aspects of the problem, for ensuring that the national environment in all Member States is conducive to meeting Basic Needs and for identifying measures of regional cooperation that could help in working out the modalities for the realisation of "SAARC 2000 : A Basic Needs Perspective". There will be no easy answers and no simple solutions.

At this stage, I would like to share with the Distinguished Delegates some thoughts on the subject. It will be most useful for the representatives of the Member States gathered here to have a comprehensive exchange of views as to how measures for fulfillment of Basic Needs be considered as an important

component of the integrated strategy for development. This meeting should recognise that notwithstanding the fact that the contribution of the Basic Needs to financial and economic rates of return is not yet a fully charted area, the non-economic considerations are in themselves sufficient grounds for gearing our development strategies in favour of satisfying 'Basic Needs'. Wherever the allocation of resources to meet capital expenditure on projects and programmes designed to satisfy basic needs is not sufficient, the deficiency needs to be rectified. Distinguished delegates may wish to identify those special technologies which need to be developed for meeting basic needs. There should be increasing emphasis on sharing and transfer of existing technical know-how and devising jointly new technologies. They may also wish to recommend decentralisation of administrative and economic power so that people at local level can participate in the decisions relating to the meeting of their basic needs. At the same time there will be the inevitable requirement of linking together of micro grass roots organisations with macro bodies at national or regional levels. Measures should be thought out and taken to arrest environmental damage and prevent erosion in existing resource base. As in the ultimate analysis the people of our region are to be the focus of development both as a means and as an end, it is important that the question of Human Resource Development is considered carefully in this context. We must remember that apart from the present fund of knowledge which is relevant for consideration of question of meeting Basic Needs, considerable potential exists for creating new knowledge as also for applying latest advances in frontier areas of science and technology to solve related problems. Increasing importance should be given to involvement of women in development matters, particularly because this would increase effectiveness of efforts and measures that this meeting may wish to recommend for meeting Basic Needs. The movement of goods and services freely in our region is a *sine qua non* for any meaningful regional cooperation which would facilitate the working out of the modalities for the realisation of "SAARC 2000 : A Basic Needs Perspective". In certain circumstances, question of infrastructural development is very crucial for provision of and facilitating access to Basic Needs. Data availability and identification of disadvantaged groups which may have to be specially targetted for action are also important matters that will have to be looked into. Adequate support from public and private sources to bring the issue of Basic Needs more firmly into the consciousness of public opinion needs to be generated. The NGOs and semi-governmental organisations can play a useful role both for raising the consciousness as well as for supportive action at grass root levels for realisation of the Basic Needs. The potential for realisation of our objectives should be enhanced by the exploitation of all possible opportunities -- national, regional and international.

role both for raising the consciousness as well as for supportive action at grass root levels for realisation of the Basic Needs. The potential for realisation of our objectives should be enhanced by the exploitation of all possible opportunities -- national, regional and international.

For three days this Group will be deliberating over a subject matter which is of profound importance to this region. The deliberations of this meeting could be a useful input for finalising the International Development Strategy later this year for the Fourth Development Decade.

I trust that the delegates will approach this complex subject matter with caution, realism and pragmatism. On-going work in regard to important regional Studies on economic cooperation in core areas of trade, manufactures and services and environment will also have relevance to the work of this meeting. The work programmes of the Technical Committees particularly those in the fields of Agriculture, Education, Health, Women in Development, Rural Development and Science and Technology may also be of direct interest to the Expert Group. Comprehensive exchange of views is necessary for identifying appropriate national action that can contribute to the realisation of "SAARC 2000 : A Basic Needs Perspective". On the basis of the SAARC Integrated Programme of Action in twelve agreed areas of cooperation and the possibilities of cooperation in trade, manufactures and services and environment, a priori identification of modalities for regional cooperation for the realisation of "SAARC 2000 : A Basic Needs Perspective" may become possible. A host of ideas and solutions are likely to emerge. Distinguished delegates may consider the desirability of setting up a Working Group at an appropriate stage of this meeting which can draft a consensus document and spell out in a comprehensive manner the modalities of national and regional character for the realisation of Basic Needs.

I wish the meeting all success in its important task and pledge fullest cooperation of the Secretariat for ensuring its fruitful outcome.

**H. E. MR. K.K. BHARGAVE, SECRETARY-GENERAL SAARC  
AT THE INAUGURATION OF SAARC EXPERT GROUP MEETING  
ON  
UNIVERSAL PRIMARY EDUCATION  
Kathmanud, March, 27-29, 1990**

I am happy that his inaugural session is being held in the Secretariat premises. May I extend a warm welcome to all the distinguished delegates and guests. I am sure that they have already experienced the traditional warm hospitality of the people and His Majesty's Government of Nepal. The Secretariat will extend its full cooperation in making this meeting a success.

At the Fourth SAARC Summit held in Islamabad in December 1988, the decision to include Education among the agreed areas of cooperation was taken. The First Meeting of the Technical Committee on Education which took place in Dhaka in August 1989 recommended that Expert Working Groups from among the member countries be organized to formulate specific course of action in major areas including universalization of primary education. It is in this context and thanks to the offer of His Majesty's Government of Nepal to host this particular Expert Group Meeting that we have all assembled here today.

The terms of reference of this meeting have been well defined in Para 4.1 of the Report of the First Meeting of the Technical Committee on Education and which, I hope, is already in your hands.

I am sure that his meeting will base its deliberations on these terms of reference and will take into account the problems that are encountered in the SAARC region emanating from inadequate resources, high rate of illiteracy, endemic poverty and general backwardness. What more, within the region and within each country, the problems get exacerbated in respect of low literacy rate among rural women and lack of motivation for rural girl children to go to school. On the other hand, there is the success story of Sri Lanka and some recent noteworthy progress in the State of Kerala in India.

The urgency of providing universal primary education to underpin and sustain economic growth was amply highlighted at the recent World Conference on "Education For All" held in Bangkok, Thailand. It is heartening to note that the World Bank and UNICEF have agreed to pledge substantial increases in their loan disbursements for education schemes in the

coming years. World Bank studies point out that investments in education yield relatively higher rate of return than investments at other levels.

While agreeing to launch "SAARC 2000 - A Basic Needs Perspective" which calls for a regional plan with specific targets in areas of core interest, our leaders decided to include Education among others. I would also like to recall their decision that 1990 should be observed as the SAARC Year of the Girl Child. Here, it is pertinent to remark that statistical studies reveal that girl children whose mothers had also been to school are more likely to attend schools. I would therefore suggest that this meeting should consider various issues also in the context of Basic Needs Perspective and for removing gender inequities in the field of Education.

Ever since 1960 when universal primary education was first adopted as a goal for the countries of South Asian region in the Karachi Plan, the SAARC countries have been endeavoring to provide a system of universal, compulsory and free primary education of seven years or more. The efforts have no doubt been hindered by a more rapid population growth than foreseen in 1960. At the same time, there have been many innovative attempts by one country which can serve as an example to others. There is ample scope for reducing absenteeism and drop-outs, elimination of wastage in education and increase in the enrollment of girls at the primary level in particular. Experts can usefully exchange views on revision of the primary school curriculum so as to make it more relevant for the needs of our region, for the dictates of our times. The meeting will no doubt consider possible contents of the course that may be followed for primary education and which should include subjects such as environment, parameters of sustainable development, social issues such as struggle against drug abuse and drug trafficking, suppression of terrorism, promotion of women's equality, human ecology, etc. The meeting may also wish to exchange views about possible use of audio-visual methods and may wish to request SAARC Audio-Visual Exchange Committee to consider producing audio-visual material which can be used as a teaching aid for training the teachers for primary schools. Joint production of text books in various regional languages for use in primary schools and the development of special kits suitable for imparting elementary science education could also be considered. The Expert Group Meeting may also undertake the task of compiling a report on the progress made in universalizing primary education in individual SAARC countries. This report can be a useful adjunct to the reports

on Status of Children which are submitted annually at the time SAARC Summit meetings.

The meeting may also wish to address itself to the question of coordination between bodies concerned with universalization of primary education, setting up of primary health care centres, running of agricultural extension centres and rural development activities.

I trust that this Expert Group meeting will make an important beginning in cooperation in the field of education. Cooperation in the field of universalization of primary education is to be viewed both as an end in itself and as a means to facilitate the achievement of SAARC objectives in other agreed areas particularly health, agriculture, science and technology and environment, etc.

I wish this meeting all success.

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# Chronology of Important Events

## SOUTH ASIAN REGION

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January to June, 1991

### BANGLADESH

- January* 2 The Bangladesh Government said that 5.3 million dollars in cash was found among personal belongings at the residence of ousted President Hussain Mohammad Ershad.
- 7 Bangladesh Police said that thousands of rebellious prisoners in Dhaka's maximum security jail had set up their own administration and appointed one convict as "interim deputy inspector-general of the prison."
- 7 Police filed the first formal charge against deposed President Hussain Mohammad Ershad accusing him of possessing illegal firearms.
- 13 Ousted President Hussain Mohammad Ershad refused to meet Criminal Investigation Department. He was sent to the new sub-jail for confinement after two cases were lodged against the toppled ruler.
- 14 It was reported that at least 45 people, including policemen were injured in a clash with the students of City College.
- 14 It was stated that more than 3,500 candidates would contest for seats in next month's 'landmark' parliamentary election in Bangladesh. "It was a largest-ever response for any elections since the birth of this South Asian nation in 1971."
- 25 The Bangladesh authorities had ordered 11 wanted ministers in ousted President Hussain Mohammad Ershad's Cabinet to surrender within seven days to face punishment.

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

- January 27* Two more former ministers were arrested in Bangladesh as the Government continued its search for top aids of deposed President Ershad who had gone into hiding.
- February 6* Bangladesh's Acting president turned down calls for the immediate jailing of his predecessor--Ershad.
- 12 Foreign Minister said that more than 75 foreign observers would monitor the February 27 parliamentary elections in Bangladesh.
- 15 The Dhaka High Court ruled that the ousted President Ershad would stand trial on charges of illegally possessing arms.
- 16 The justice Ministry said that the trial in Dhaka of deposed Bangladesh President Ershad was postponed as the ousted Military ruler became too sick to face a special tribunal.
- 23 Bangladesh goes to polls on February 27 to elect a sovereign parliament and usher in a new era of political and economic stability for the nation haunted by frequent coups and counter coups during its short history.
- March 1* At least three people died and some 50 were hurt in separate overnight clashes that flared after Bangladesh's first free parliamentary polls ended.
- 2 It was sepeculated that though Begum Khaleda Zia's (BNP) party emerged as the largest group in the parliamentary elections, the lack of absolute majority would delay the transfer of power to her by the caretaker President.
- 5 After facing defeat at the hands of Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) the Awami League had announced launching of a campaign for constitutional amendment for increasing the powers of the parliament.
- 6 Begum Khaleda Zia was tipped to be country's next Prime Minister, said that deposed President Ershad and his associates were conspiring to frustrate nation's march to democracy.
- 6 Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) Chief Khaleda Zia said that her party is soon going to form Government and that her Government would fulfil all its promises to the people.
- 9 Bangladesh Jatiya Party General Secretary Mohammad Shah Jahan said that ousted President Hussam Mohammad Ershad would lead his party in parliament.

- March 15* Acting President Shahabuddin Ahmed ordered dissolution of his 17-member council of advisers to clear the way for appointing a new government, reflecting last month elections mandate.
- 19 The leader of the largest Parliamentary group (BNP) Begum Khaleda Zia, is named the new Prime Minister of Bangladesh.
- 20 Begum Khaleda Zia, was sworn as Bangladesh's first women Prime Minister.
- 21 Former Bangladesh President, Hussain Mohammad Ershad told that he would contest in the next Presidential polls, he said "It is my fundamental right."
- April 1* Thirty women, elected unopposed to reserved seats in Bangladesh's Parliament were sworn.
- 3 Bangladesh's deposed President Hussain Mohammad Ershad took oath as a member of Parliament amid tight security.
- 5 Bangladesh parliament opened a stormy maiden session, adjourning twice to resolve problems over the election of new Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the House.
- 12 Former Vice-President of the ousted Ershad Government, Barister Moudud Ahmed MP, was released from the Dhaka central jail.
- 15 A Government agency had filed two more charges against Bangladesh's deposed President Hussain Mohammad Ershad and his wife Raushan.
- 19 Former Bangladesh President, Ershad under house arrest, since he quit in the face of a popular uprising had been moved to jail.
- 22 An epidemic of diarrhoea killed at least 298 people and left more than 14,000 seriously ill in southern Bangladesh.
- 25 Bangladesh land minister Zamir-ud-Din Sircar said that nearly half of Bangladesh's 110 million people would not own any land in a few years because of poverty, unemployment and natural disasters.
- 25 Bangladesh and Indian officials failed to resolve a long standing dispute over sharing water from their common rivers.
- 25 Bangladesh would probably suffer from lingering economic problems after the new Government took some new measures that economists say would delay an expected recovery from past 'mis-rule'.

- April 28* Deposed President Ershad told a court that the charges of illegal arms possession against him were politically motivated.
- May 6* The meteorological Department said that the fresh squalls over much of the Bangladeshi coast had kept relief helicopters and boats from reaching cyclone-devastated areas.
- 6 It was reported that the Bangladesh's major port partially reopened after it was ravaged by a killer cyclone.
- 6 The Bangladesh Government and international relief agencies said that children faced the brunt of last week's cyclone, which killed hundreds of thousands of people and left millions more homeless.
- 7 Bangladesh Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia said that her Government was in control of relief operations in ravaged Bangladesh, adding that it would soon publish a report sought by nations' offering aid.
- 15 The Bangladesh Government said that it urgently needed 1.54 billion dollars for its relief operation for last month's cyclone.
- 16 It was reported that the police has arrested former Prime Minister of Bangladesh Zaki Zafar Ahmed.
- June 6* Prime Minister Begum Khalida Zia said there is a conspiracy to topple her Government and warned that she would fight "all conspiracies against democracy and the elected Government."
- 17 Bangladesh Prime Minister Begum Khalida Zia leaves Dhaka for a three-day visit to China.

## INDIA

- January 1* It was reported that the opposition parties in India had charged Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar with making a 'total surrender' to Sikh militants demand for 'self determination under international law' in the trouble-torn northern state of Punjab.
- 2 The Indian Government had announced two direct tax proposals to net an additional Rs. 8,100 million in the current year in a bid to manage the resources crunch accentuated by the Gulf crisis.
- 3 It was reported that the India's top artists gathered for a day long sit-in to deplore increasing Hindu-Muslim violence in the country, and pledged to step up their campaign for communal amity.

- January 4* It was reported that the International Monetary Fund would give India some two billion dollars in short term loans to help its worsening foreign exchange reserves.
- 4 Indian Justice Minister, Subramanian Swamy tendered an unqualified apology, for his threat to arrest the speaker of the Lok-Sabha (Lower House).
- 4 It was reported that Sikh militants gunned down a Sikh politician in India's northern Punjab state, where 15 other died over-night in the Sikh separatist campaign.
- 5 Indian Minister for External Affairs V.C. Shukla said that there are 25 Indian Nationals still in custody in Iraq and efforts are being made to get these nationals released and repatriated.
- 7 It was reported that twenty-three people were killed overnight in Punjab, including 12 Sikh militants and a police Inspector, pushing the death toll from separatist linked violence in the northern Indian state to 67 this year.
- 7 The United News of India said that India's Scientists hope to complete a home-built airborne early warning radar by 1993 and test flights on the platform has already begun.
- 8 The Scientist had repaired a shut-down fastbreeder test reactor whose regular failures had held up India's plans to boost nuclear power out put to 10,000 megawatts of electricity by the year 2000.
- 10 Indian Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar told a Parliamentary Committee that the Government would introduce a comprehensive action plan for a dialogue with the Sikh militants coupled with administrative measures in East Punjab.
- 13 It was reported that three Sikh parties merged on with a declared goal of working to achieve the right of self-determination for Sikhs in the Separatist-disturbed northern state of Punjab.
- 16 Indian and Britain was to sign an agreement soon on confiscating of property terrorists and some non-terrorist groups, including the drug trafficker.
- 22 The Indian Foreign Minister V. C. Shukla is leaving for Yugoslavia on a diplomatic mission to work out a ceasefire formula to bring an end to Gulf War.
- 23 Suspected Tamil rebels of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) shot and hacked to death 27 people of the majority Sinhala Community in the eastern province of Sri Lanka in a predawn attack.

- February 1* India would continue to provide refuelling facilities to US Air Force Flights as the Government was convinced that these aircraft were not engaged in the Gulf War.
- 3 India and China agreed to restore border trade halted after a war 29 years ago, and pledged to restore bilateral ties.
- 8 It was reported that Former Indian Premier Rajiv Gandhi might soon be ready to attempt a comeback, wresting power from the tiny minority government.
- 11 India tested fire new surface to surface mediumrange missile.
- 17 It was reported that the Indian Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar ordered a halt to the refuelling of U. S. military transport planes on their way to the Gulf.
- 19 Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar stated that he had been misquoted while India had not stopped refuelling US military transport planes on their way to and from the Gulf.
- 6 Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar resigned in wake of 'Obstructionist Tactics adopted by the Congress.'
- 13 President R. Venkataraman of Bharat dissolved Lok Sabha (Lower House).
- 31 Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar met with three groups of Sikh militants to discuss the separatist insurgency which had racked Punjab state for eight years.
- April 13* It was reported that twenty-five people, including six Sikh militants, were killed overnight in the strife-torn northern Indian state of Punjab.
- 25 Indian President Ramaswamy Venkataraman arrived in Hanoi for the first visit to Vietnam by an Indian head of state in more than 30 years.
- 25 Former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi filled his papers to fight election from where constituency he already had represented in parliament for nine years.
- May 5* A group of people threw stones and tires at Indian Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar's motorcade in the northern state of Uttar Pradesh.
- 11 The Press Trust of India said that Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar's motorcade met with an accident that left four officials, including a state police Chief, seriously injured in the northern state of Rajasthan.
- 12 Indian Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar ended his brief Bangladesh visit and said that India would do everything possible for the victims of the April 29 Cyclone that left more than 139,000 people dead.

- May 13* The Press Trust of India reported that the five Sikh candidate had been killed in the Indian state of Punjab, where elections were to be held despite a Sikh militant campaign for an independent homeland.
- 21* Former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and 12 others were killed in a powerful bomb blast in the southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu.
- 25* The first round of polling in the General Election was held on May 20, but following Gandhi's assassination on May 21 the second and third rounds (due to held on May 2 and 26) was postponed until June 12 and 15, 1991.
- June 9* Indian Chief Election Commissioner, T. N. Sechan triggered speculation that elections in the northern state of Punjab, torn by Sikh militancy might be postponed.
- 15* At least 15 people were killed in political violence during the final round of General Elections in India.
- 21* P. V. Narasimha Rao was sworn in as India's ninth Prime Minister by President Venkataraman.
- 25* New Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao said that the economy was in crisis and painful steps must be taken before India could become an internationally competitive power.

#### MALDIVES

- April 22* The Government of the Republic of Maldives Archipelago had invited representatives of small nations to the capital Male', for a conference to reinforce the security of such nations against military aggression.

#### NEPAL

- February 16* Election Commissioner Surya Prasad Shrestha said that forty four parties had been registered for Nepal's first party-based elections for three decades.
- 17* It was reported that the tourism in Nepal had dropped 40 per cent since the start of a Gulf War.
- April 19* It was reported that a former Nepalese Minister was arrested by police in the Southern part of the country for allegedly killed one person and injuring another during a heated election campaign shoot-out.

- May 5* After more than 30 years of partyless politics, Nepal's 10.7 million voters faced a haffling line-up when they went to the polls on May 12, 1991 to elect a democratic government.
- 14* It was reported that the Nepal's interim Prime Minister Krishna Prasad Bhattarai resigned on his general election defeat.
- 14* It was reported that the United Marxist Leninist (UML) Party General Secretary Madan Bhandari appears in Kathmandu after his party appeared and had won the five contested seats in Kathmandu defeated Nepalese Prime Minister Krishna Prasad Bhattarai.
- 15* The Nepali Congress won a clear majority of 110 seats, with the second largest party, the United Nepal Communist Party (UNCP) winning 69 seats.
- 16* The election was contested by 1, 126 candidates representing 20 political parties and 219 independents.
- 25* Man Mohan Adhikari, President of UNCP, was elected as leader of his party's parliamentary group and leader of the opposition.
- 27* Girija Prasad Koirala, the 65 year-old Nepali Congress General Secretary, was appointed as Prime Minister.

#### SRI LANKA

- January 2* The Military source said that, Tamil rebels attacked two army camps in northern Sri Lanka, breaking their unilateral ceasefire.
- 3* It was reported that the leaders of all political parties n Sri Lanka had been invited to discuss the cease fire offer of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eclam (LTTE) with President Ranasinge Premadasa.
- 11* Sri Lanka announced that it was resuming military operations against Tamil rebels in the northeast, ending a seven-day suspension of offensive operations that had accompanied a unilateral ceasefire.
- 20* It was reported that eight persons were shot dead in northwestern Sri Lanka after they put up resistance to soldiers.
- 28* Sri Lankan Security Forces battling Tamil separatist guerillas in the island's northeast killed at least seven more militants in continued military operations.

- February 11* Thirteen persons, including seven suspected Tamil rebels and two security personnel, were killed during fighting between Government troops and rebels in northern and eastern Sri Lanka.
- 15* The Sri Lankan Government announced it had banned all political processions ahead of a planned meeting by a women's organization to protest against disappearances of thousands of their loved ones.
- March 2* It was reported that the Minister Ranjan Wijeratne, who led the Government war against Tamil and Sinhalese rebels, died in a bomb blast which killed 19 people and injured 73.
- 4* It was reported that thirteen people, including nine civilians, were killed as fighting continued in eastern Sri Lanka between Government troops and Tamil rebels of Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).
- 6* Sri Lankan President Ranasinghe Premadasa appointed his Prime Minister, Dingri Wijetunge, as State Minister of Defence.
- 19* The entire opposition returned to parliament in Colombo ending a boycott over a 26-day dispute between Government and opposition members.
- April 14* It was reported that the Sri Lankan Government would not agree to hold a referendum, in the north and east of the country as demanded by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).
- 22* More than 1,000 Tamil Separatist guerillas, Government troops and civilians had been killed in Sri Lanka of ethnic violence.

#### SAARC

- January 5* Nine South Asian airlines would send delegates to Bombay next week to discuss how to develop aviation infrastructure and pool resources strained by the Gulf crisis.
- April 21* Sri Lankan Foreign Minister, Harold Heart said that the sixth summit of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) would be held in Colombo in early November 1991.
- May 9* General Secretary, South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Mr. K. K. Bhargava, had floated the idea of establishing a SAARC Chamber of Commerce and Industry to gear up the economic activities among the states.

## LIST OF PUBLICATIONS 1981 - 1991

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

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**Monographs**

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

**Books**

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

**Siminar Papers**

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| Theodore P. Wright (Jr.) | Seminar 1984<br><i>Methodology of Research on Indian<br/>Muslims.</i>                      |
| Prof. Rchard B. Barnett  | Seminar 1985<br><i>The Late pre-Colonial Background to the<br/>Indian Princely States.</i> |

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**Journal (Bi-annual)**

Rafiq Ahmad (Editor)

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

## **Notes to Contributors**

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

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

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

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

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

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

## **Abstracts**

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

The Editor reserves the right to make editorial revisions.