

**“ Political Geograhy of Pakistan : A
Study of Interaction between Domestic
Environment and External Policy, ”**

**Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the Degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

ASHA SHARMA

**CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL POLITICS
ORGANIZATION AND DISARMAMENT
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067, INDIA**

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जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
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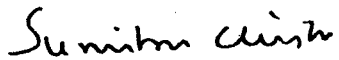
School of International Studies
Centre for International Politics
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C E R T I F I C A T E

Certified that the dissertation entitled,
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fulfilment of nine credits out of the total
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University, is her original work and has not been
submitted for the award of any other degree of this
University or any other Institute.

We recommend that this dissertation should
be placed before the examiner for final evaluation.


PROF. R.C. SHARMA
Supervisor


PROF. SUMITRA CHISHTI
Chairperson
PROFESSOR (Mrs.) SUMITRA CHISHTI
Chairperson
Centre for International Politics
Organization & Disarmament
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi 110067

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A. Sharma

ASHA SHARMA

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POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY : A STUDY OF INTERACTION
BETWEEN DOMESTIC ENVIRONMENT AND EXTERNAL POLICY

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Political Geography is a varied and wide ranging field of learning and research. Essentially political geographers concern themselves with the ways in which man's political behaviour and systems find spatial expression. All are familiar with one kind of political system as it is spatially expressed: the State. Most of the people on this earth are inhabitants of one of its many states. All state systems also have a territorial or areal component: to exist, they must occupy a part of the surface of the earth. Political geographers study nations and states. Political Geography have been discussed in many ways. According to Hartshorne that political geography is "the study of the areal differences and similarities in political character as an inter-related part of the total complex of areal differences and similarities." The main strength of this definition lies in the fact that it sets political geography not just regional geography.¹

It follows, therefore, that the state does not consist of the territory and people alone, but is a much more complex organisation in which the territory, the people and their inter-relationships are welded together to form an entity which possesses an individuality and uniqueness, which may be analysed, described and mapped

aspects of cultural, economic, political and geographical patterns.

Linkage between Domestic Environment and External Policy:

The domestic environment of a state is closely linked with the foreign policy process of a state. The policy influence system of any state consists of the relationship between foreign policy decision-makers and policy influencers because the latter provide support for and make demands upon the former. In the early post-feudal era the relationship was dominated by the policy influencers. In the classical state system, the relationship was dominated by the decision makers and in the contemporary period, the relationship was pluralized with increased interaction and influence between decision-makers and policy influencers.

If the domestic structures are by and large stable then the attitude of the policy-makers would be difficult. They would not mind in adopting adventurous foreign policy and would like to ignore the domestic cohesion. But when the domestic structure is based on fundamentally different conception of what is just then it complicates the conduct of international affairs. The main problem that emerges from the phenomena is that then it becomes very difficult even to "define the nature of disagreement between what

to the other. When domestic structures and the concept of legitimacy on which they are based differ widely, the statesman can still meet, but their ability to persuade would be reduced and they would not be in a position to speak the same language.

There is close link between foreign policy and international politics. It will be out of place to study the external behaviour of nation states independently of the larger international context in which it occurs and towards which it is directed.² The focus on the processes of world politics is must in order to develop balanced estimates of the comparative strength of domestic and international factors. It is not possible to study separately the foreign policy of a country without taking into consideration the domestic environment.³

It is also believed that foreign and domestic policy issues are in fact produced by a single political system and their aims and objectives are the same, to define and implement overall national purposes. But one should mutually support each other if the political elites of a state are keen to achieve the national policy aspirations in an atmosphere of political stability. Both sets of policies, foreign and domestic are conditioned by the ideologies, popular attitudes and balance of political powers

As Pakistan's foreign policy over the years is considered to be quite successful, it has been quite fascinating to find out which factor contributed a lot. The strategic location of Pakistan is another point of importance because both the super powers and the Chinese have tried to woo her in some form or the other in the hope of achieving their foreign policy objectives and goals. The uneasy relationship between India and Pakistan since both achieved independence, is a matter of great concern for the foreign policy planners of both the countries. It is usually observed that the "India factor" has greatly influenced the minds of Pakistan's policy-makers. The foreign policy of Pakistan has been analysed in this study.

In recent decades the political geography of Pakistan has taken an interesting turn. Transition from military to democratic government and the interplay of factors such as status of military commanders, regional leader's, ethnic identity and changing political economy of Pakistan is considered with a geopolitical perspective. Also the new regional configuration which has evolved in recent past due to new government in Iran, the Chinese orientation in Afghanistan with Russian interferences, Arab and Islamic world interaction and changing scenario in India as well as the super power strategic considerations have a long term impact on the geopolitics of Pakistan.

Review of the Existing Literature:

A large number of studies are available on the political geography of Pakistan, foreign policy issues and related matters, such as physical geography, economic development, administration, history of Pakistan emergence of Bangladesh, boundaries, population etc. A Tayyab's book, Political Geography of Pakistan, discusses the meaning of the concept and explains the boundaries, physical features of Pakistan and foreign policy. K.U. Kureshy's, A Geography of Pakistan, deals with the geography of Pakistan such as the physical features, population, agriculture, mineral resources, industries etc. Kazi S. Ahmed in Geography of Pakistan also deals with the concept and related concepts of geography in a very well mannered way. Sher Muhammad Garewal in Pakistan's way of Life and Culture, explains the culture and geography of Pakistan. It deals with the constitutions and other concerning things. R Gopal Kirhsnan's book, The Geography and Politics of Afghanistan, studies the geography of Pakistan and the evolution of Afghanistan, its foreign policy, geographical aspects of Administrative Reorganisation etc. J.R.V. Prescott in his book, The Content of Political Geography, explains all political issues. R.D. Dixit also emphasises his attitude towards the political geography. He discusses about the state, core areas, capitals, boundaries

Saul, Bernard Cohen explains the Geography and Politics in a divided world, he also discusses the political geography: concept and application. Syed Serajul Islam in his article explains the Pakistan's decision-making process in the Bangladesh crisis (1971). He explains the crisis in 1971 in Pakistan. Sareen Rajendra in his book Pakistan: The India factor, explains the overview on Partition and Simla Agreement and other concerning matters to the concept.

Parmatma Sharan explains the main things about politics in his book Political System of Pakistan. The main focus has been given to the politics of Pakistan, the constitution, basic democracies, fundamental rights and principles of policy, the central executive, the central legislature. The Europe world book and Pakistan's yearbook consists of the statistical data. These books are very useful in collecting the datas. The datas are analysed in a very well mannered way. Collier's Encyclopaedia includes Pakistan as a part of it. This Encyclopaedia explains almost everything about Pakistan, such as government and politics, economy, history ethnicity and emergence of Bangladesh etc. Sukhwal's book, India: A Political Geography, deals with the all political aspects of India, boundary relations of India to the other countries in the world physical setting etc. S.S. Bindra in the book, Determinants of Pakistan's Foreign Policy, explains the physical features of Pakistan and its foreign policy.

Tom Rogers explains the population growth in Pakistan and movement of the people from one place to the other. His article is 'Population growth and Movement in Pakistan'. Charles H. Kennedy in his article, 'Policies of Ethnic Preference in Pakistan', explains in his article about the ethnicity and problems in Pakistan. Abha Dixit also explains 'Ethnic and Regional Tensions in Pakistan'. Ahmad Faruqi and I. Robert Malko explains the economic development of Pakistan in the article 'Pakistan's economic development in a Global Perspective: A profile of the first four decades, 1947-87. He emphasised the economic development from 1947 to 1987 and also on the changes etc.' Shahid Javed Burki's book, The Nation in the Making, explains about the history of Pakistan and its external relations, economic development and constitution etc. Kalim Bahadur et. al (ed.) in the book, Pakistan Transition to Democracy, explains the democracy and economic development.

Muhammad Hussain Syed deals with the administration of Pakistan and also the administrative divisions in the article, 'The Administrative System of Pakistan'. Pandav Nayak in the book (ed.), Pakistan: Society and Politics, deals with the politics and relations with other countries in his article 'Dimensions of Insecurity'. His main focus is on the politics of Pakistan. Abedin also gives his attention to the district administration in his article,

No doubt, a large number of studies are available covering the various aspects. They include D.C. Jha, Indo-Pak Relations (1960-65); S.S. Bindra, Indo-Pak Relations: From Tashkent to Simla Agreement; and India and Her Neighbours; Sangat Singh, Pakistan's Foreign Policy; R.G. Sawhney, Indo-Pak Relations: Road to Rapprochement, Douglas C. Makeing, War, No War And the India-Pakistan Negotiating Process; Anthony Hyman, Pakistan: Towards a Modern Muslim State? ; M. Abdul Hafiz, Bangladesh-Pakistan Relations: Still Developing; John Kaniyalil, The Pak-Lanka Connection; M.A. Choudhry, Pakistan's Foreign Policy: A Quarterly Survey; Urmila Phadnies et. al Maldives: Winds of Change in an Atoll State; Iftikhar H. Malik, The Pakistan-U.S. Security Relationship; Lawrence Lifschultz, U.S. Pakistan Strategic Relationship; Dr. D.C. Jha, U.S. Interest in Pakistan And the Pakistani Perception; Safdar Mahmood, Pakistan's uneasy relations with Russia; Raghunath Ram, Soviet Policy towards Pakistan: From Taskhent to Bangladesh War; Abha Dixit, Focus on Pakistan: Pak-Afghan Relations; Naqvi Hassan Mehdi, Development Problems of Pakistan; Roy Chowdhury, External props of Pakistan's Economy; J. Bandyopadhyaya, The making of India's Foreign Policy: Determinants, Institutions, Processes and Personalities.

These are some important books and articles which are used in the present study.

Sources of Information and Methodology:

The study has been made on the basis of secondary sources which are providing necessary information and data. Both quantitative and cartographic methods of analysis have been used. The information about the history, boundaries of Pakistan, administration and other aspects has been gathered by studying the various books and articles pertaining to the subject and the relevant documents. In addition the information from newspaper clippings have been used to highlight the contemporary political development in Pakistan.

Objectives:

The objectives of the present study are:-

- (i) To understand the relationship between the domestic environment and the external behaviour of the nation-state in the context of Pakistan, from a geographical perspective.
- (ii) To examine the natural endowments and resource pattern, population and ethnic imbalances and the impact of ethnicity on politics in Pakistan.
- (iii) To account historical process of evolution of Pakistan as a nation state and to focus on the war of liberation and emergence of Bangladesh and its aftermath on Pakistan.

(iv) To analyse various boundary issues involved in Pakistan with its neighbours;

(v) To assess economic and political development in Pakistan and to identify problems of economic development in the country;

(vi) To examine the various administrative issues in Pakistan from a geographical perspective with a focus on administrative organisation set up and administrative evolutionary processes; and

(vii) To identify geographical determinants of Pakistan's foreign policy and to focus on the external relations of Pakistan particularly with its neighbours.

Arrangement of the Subject Matter:

The first chapter deals with the Introduction of Political Geography of Pakistan. A study of interaction between domestic environment and external policy. It comprises review of literature, objectives, data base and methodology.

The second chapter examines the geographical framework of the state. Analysing the implications of the location, the description of the facts of physical geography. At the same time, it attempts to examine the natural endowments and resource pattern, population and ethnic

The third chapter deals with the evolution of Pakistan as a nation state. An attempt has been made to examine the role of the historical processes of integration and disintegration of the state, and it identifies the impact of regional core areas upon the political stability of the state. It has also examined the emergence of Bangladesh and aftermath of the war of liberation on Pakistan. The boundaries of Pakistan are also analysed in this chapter.

The fourth chapter examines the extent to which environmental opportunities are realized and utilized and to assess the success and stability of the economic and political forms of Pakistan. It also examines the problems faced in the economic development of Pakistan.

The fifth chapter deals with the geography of administration. It has dealt with hierarchy of administrative organisation in the country, administrative set up, its evolution and constitutional provisions are also examined in this chapter.

The sixth chapter includes the analysis of the nature of external relations and formulation of its foreign policy. The focus has been given to identify the extent to which the geographical compulsions are responsible for shaping the nature of foreign relations and formulation

References:

1. J.R.V. Prescott, Political Geography, (London: Methuen Publications, 1972), pp.3-4.
 - (a) Ramesh Dutta Dixit, Political Geography: A Contemporary Perspective (New Delhi: Tata McGraw Hill Publishing Company Limited, 1987).
 - (b) Peter Taylor and John Bouse, (ed.), Political Geography: Recent advances and Future Directions (London: Groom Helm Publishers, 1984).
 - (c) B.L. Sukhwai, India: A Political Geography, (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1971).
 - (d) S.B. Cohen, Geography and Politics in a divided World, (London: 1964).
 2. S.S. Bindra, Determinants of Pakistan's Foreign Policy, (New Delhi; Deep and Deep Publications, 1988), pp. 47-48.
 3. James Rosenau, The Scientific study of Foreign Policy, (New York, 1981), pp. 368-72.
 4. Joseph Frankel, Contemporary International Theory and Behaviour of States, (London: 1983), pp. 42-43.
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CHAPTER II

GEOGRAPHICAL FRAMEWORK

Pakistan covers an area of 796,095 sq. kilometres stretches over 1,600 kilometres north to south and about 885 kilometres broad east to west. It is lying between the latitudes of 23°30' and 36°45' north and between the longitudes of 61° and 75°31' east.¹ Its location is in the meeting points of Central Asia, West Asia and South Asia. Pakistan's geographical position is more striking and interesting. It stands at the cross-roads of the world where the cultures of the Asia meets and become one. It is situated in the most sensitive and strategic position in the world. On the north, Pakistan is bordered by People's Republic of China and Soviet Union--two big nations of the world, while in the south, it is confined by the Arabian sea and the Indian ocean, constituting one of the sensitive situations of the cold war among big powers. On the west and north west of Pakistan are located two muslim countries i.e. Iran and Afghanistan linking Pakistan with the muslim middle-east, while to the east, north-east and south-east of Pakistan lie the vast territories of hostile India.²

Pakistan is located between two hostile ideologies ratherism i.e. Russian Communism and Hindu imperialism. Pakistan stands determined to frustrate the seditious

Geography has put it into the lap of strategy. The geo-strategic location surely makes it vital to super powers and gives it politically a decisive role in keeping power-balance in Asia and peace in the world.³ Doubtless it stands as a bulwork against Russian Communism creeping towards South-Asia, posing a serious danger to the oil producing West Asia. The position of the country gives it an internationally important position among the Islamic nations. Pakistan is linked with the Muslim countries of South-West Asia, which are often grouped together under the title of the Middle-East countries. These countries are all rich in oil. Further, West lie the Arab countries of North Africa, so that there is one continuous bloc of Muslim countries from the Indus basin to the Atlantic. Thus, Pakistan, besides being in many ways geographically unique, is also of vital importance in the Islamic world. It is gaining to share the advantage of direct contact with the sea routes which brought benefit from the increased mobility and technological advances, thereby increasing the growth of organization and power of the state.⁴

Pakistan's geostrategic location has played an important role in determining the nature of interaction of the Pakistanis with those of the surrounding regions. There are so many routes which connects Pakistan to the surrounding countries. From the geographical point of view

these routes are also used for commercial and military purposes. But here, few land routes are discussed which connects Pakistan to the neighbouring countries.

(1) Karakoram highway is the most important route which connects Havelian in Pakistan and Sian in China. The Khunjerab pass is lies on it.⁵

(2) Delhi to Lahore, the route connects India and Pakistan.

(3) Regional cooperation for Development⁶ highway is also going to play a very significant role in strengthening Pakistan's relations with sister countries of R.C.D. i.e. Iran and Turkey.

(4) The route from the Khyber pass to the Dakhan in Afghanistan is the most important route; and

(5) The other routes which connects Pakistan to the Afghanistan are, Tochi pass connects Ghazni, in Afghanistan, Gomal pass, Bolan pass connects Kacchi Sibi plain with Quetta from Quetta a route goes to Chaman on Pak-Afghanistan border and then to Qandhar in Afghanistan.

These are the main routes of transportation from Pakistan to the neighbouring countries which helps in around economic development and good foreign relations with the neighbouring countries.

Regional Diversities:

Topography:

Pakistan has a diversified topography. In the north it is bounded by lofty mountains and rugged highlands, the Himalayan ranges, the Karakoram range and the Hindukush beyond it. In Pakistan, the Indus River forms the core of the area. The whole land, excluding most of Baluchistan, falls into the hydrological unit drained by the Indus system of rivers. The unit includes the north-western hills, northern and north-western submontane, upper and lower Indus plain and parts of Baluchistan, which is a region of small rivers. On the east side of the river is low, rolling desert; in some places sand dunes stretch for miles. To the west of Indus the upland surface of Baluchistan rises in places to more than five thousand feet above sea level. This plateau is separated from the wide Indus valley by the Kirthar range in the south and the Sulaiman Range in the central portion.⁷

Physical Features:

Pakistan is a land of contrasts. It is made up of high mountains and low plains, green valleys and arid hills, large basins and vast deserts, fertile regions and barren tracts, overcrowded areas and under-populated districts. The whole country can be divided into a number of distinctive regions, namely -

- (2) The western bordering mountains;
- (3) The Baluchistan Plateau;
- (4) The Potwar Plateau and the Salt Range;
- (5) The Upper and Lower Indus plain; and
- (6) South-Eastern Desert.

(1) The Northern Mountains: The northern mountains consist of the two major parts:

- (a) The Himalayas; and
- (b) The Trans Himalayan ranges.

(a) The Himalayas: The Himalayas stretch like a bow in the north of the subcontinent. Particularly they extend over a large area of Kashmir and the northern part of Pakistan.⁸ The Himalayas comprises a series of ranges:

(i) The Sub-Himalayas, 2000-3000 feet; (ii) The lesser Himalayas, 12000-15000 feet; (iii) The central or great Himalayas, average altitude, 20,000 feet; (iv) The inner Himalayas or Ladakh range;⁹

(i) The Sub-Himalayas or the outermost Himalayas are a line of low hills called Siwaliks. They extend over the southern part of Hazara and Murree and include the hills of Rawalpindi and the Pabbi hills of Gujrat.

(ii) The lesser Himalayas or the outer Himalayas lie further to the north and parallel to the Siwaliks. The Pir Panjal is one of these ranges with an average altitude of 14,000 to 15,000 feet. Its beautiful snow-clad peaks

can be seen from the plains at some places.

(iii) The central or great Himalayas lie behind Pir Panjal range, covered permanently with snow. Here are found some of the highest peaks of the world. Nanga parbat in Kashmir is 26,660 feet high and is the fourth highest peak in the world. The Zaskar mountain to the north is a branch of this range. Between the Pir Panjal and the great Himalayas lies the famous valley of Kashmir.

(iv) Beyond the great Himalayas lies the Ladakh range also called the Inner Himalayas.

(b) Trans Himalayan Ranges: The Trans Himalayan Ranges comprise two major ranges: (i) The Karakoram Range; and (ii) The Hindukush Range.

The Karakoram lies to the north of Himalayas in northern Kashmir and Gilgit. It is about 20,000 ft. high, having thirty three highest peaks. Godwin Austin, which is popularly known as K2, is 28,250 ft high and is the second highest peak in the world. It was first attempted in 1903 but was finally conquered in July 1954.

The Hindukush range springs off Himalayas at high plateau of Pamir, the fabulous roof of the world, stretching over the Chitral region of Pakistan. It runs southwest into Afghanistan. In this very region meet the borders of

Pakistan, China, U.S.S.R. by a narrow strip of Afghanistan territory called Wakhan. Its highest peak is called Tirich Mir, 25,263 ft. high.

Passes: There are only a few passes across these high, northern mountains and communication is difficult. The more important of these are:

- (i) The Babusar Pass (14931 ft.) which connects Abbottabad and Gilgit.
- (ii) The Lawarai Pass (10,230 ft.) which connects Peshōwar and Chitral.
- (iii) The Shandūr Pass (12,205 ft) which connects Chitral and Gilgit.
- (iv) The Muztagh Pass (19,030 ft.) which connects Gilgit and Yarkand.
- (v) The Zozila Pass (11,580 ft.) which connects Sri Nagar and Leh.
- (vi) The Karakoram Pass (18,290 ft.) which connects Leh and Yarkand.

2. The Western Bordering Mountains:

The Western bordering mountains are stretched in the west of Indus plain, forming the Western border of Pakistan. The Hindukush constitutes the main range of the western bordering mountains in the north. It sends off a number

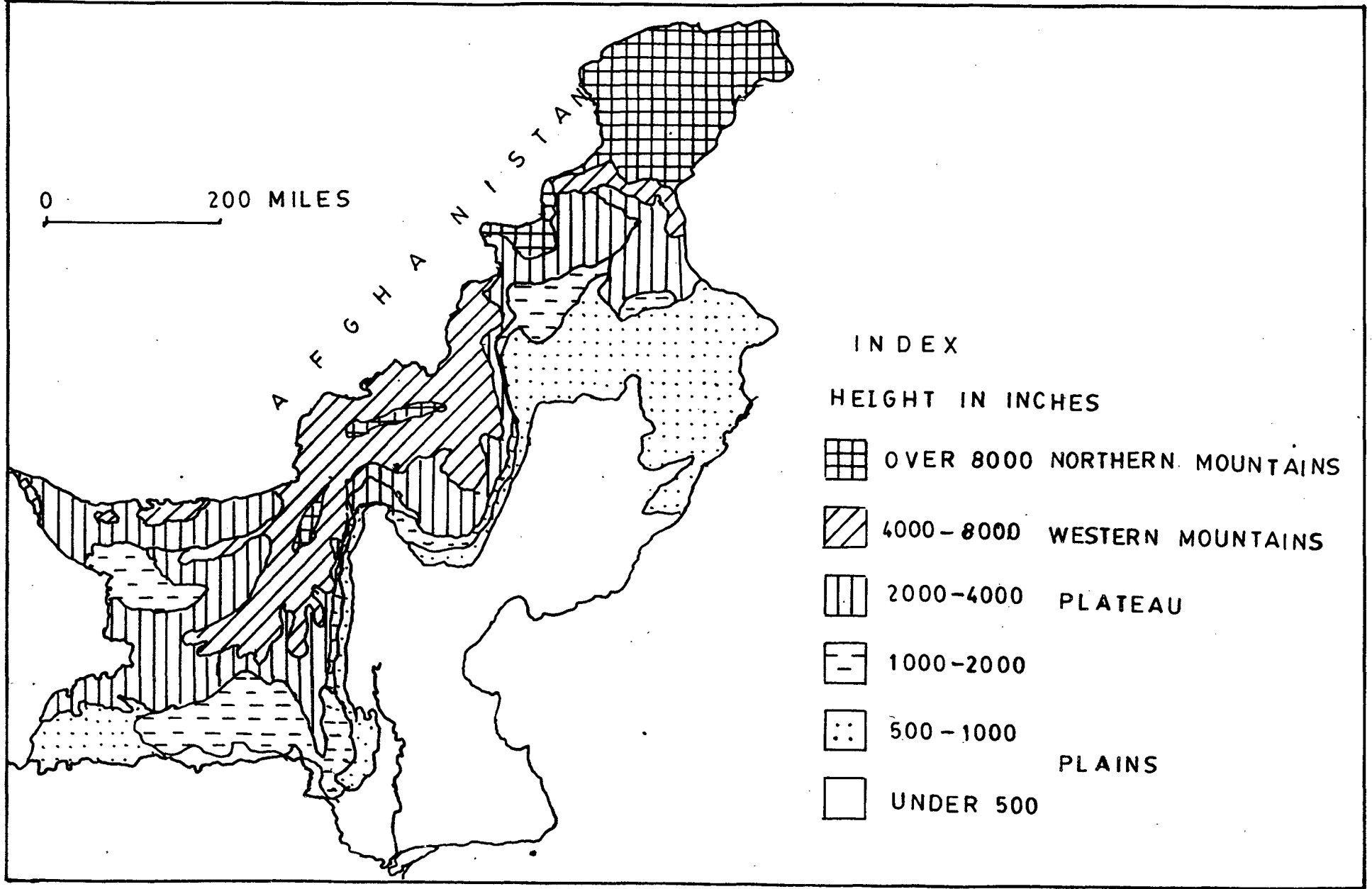
They run south towards Chitral, Swat and Dir with deep and narrow valleys and high peaks capped with perpetual snow and ice. Most of the north-western region consists of mountains having an average elevation of 8,000 feet but reaching above 10,000 feet at places. These mountains are really the spurs of the Afghanistan mountains. They almost surround and separate from each other three basins, namely, Peshawar in the north, Bannu in the middle and Dera Ismail Khan in the south.

South of the Kabul river is the Safel Koh range, 12,000 ft, runs east and west. In the south, the mountains of this region continue as the Sulaiman range, which has a north-south trend in the north. This Sulaiman range consists of several parallel ridges and valleys often traversed by streams. The average height of Sulaiman range is 6,000 ft. Its main peak is Takht-e-Sulaiman, which is 11,000 ft high. South of Quetta-Pashin region and Bugti and Marri hills extends in the Kirthar range. The western mountains consist of several parallel ranges and are much lower than the Himalayas. They consist of sand-stones and lime-stones and show a simple structure.

Passes:

- (i) Khyber Pass - which connects Peshawar with Kabul.
- (ii) Kurram Pass - in which lie Parachinar, Thal and Kohat, provides an easy route into Afghanistan.

PHYSIOGRAPHY OF PAKISTAN









0 200 MILES

A F G H A N I S T A N

INDEX

HEIGHT IN INCHES

-  OVER 8000 NORTHERN MOUNTAINS
-  4000-8000 WESTERN MOUNTAINS
-  2000-4000 PLATEAU
-  1000-2000
-  500-1000 PLAINS
-  UNDER 500

- (iii) The Tochi Pass - it provides a route to Ghazni.
The chief town on this route is Bannu.
- (iv) The Gomal Pass - connects Afghanistan to Pakistan.
- (v) Bolan Pass - connects Kacchi-sibi plain with Quetta.

3. The Baluchistan Plateau:

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The Baluchistan Plateau consists of dry valleys, saline lakes and a vast area of desert with dry hills, generally running from north-east to south-west. The Toba Kakar and Chagai ranges run along the Pak-Afghan border.¹⁰ The western extension of which is known as the Khwaja Amran Range.

Southern Baluchistan includes the Sarawan area in the north and a vast wilderness of ranges in the south. The backbone of the mountain system of Baluchistan is the central Brahwi Range, which runs in a north-east - southwest direction. The central and coastal Makran ranges lie to the south. Along the coast are larger areas of level mud-flats forming the coastal plain or enclosed plains bordered by sand stones ridges. It consists of large barren mountains, deserts and stony plains.¹¹

4. The Potwar Plateau and the Salt Range:

The Potwar Plateau has an area of about 7,000 sq. miles with an elevation of 1000-2000 feet. It is bounded



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on the east by the Jhelum, on the west by the Indus, on the north by the Kala Chitta Range and the Margalla hills, and on the south by the salt range.¹² Its surface is greatly cut by deep ravines in the soft Siwalik beds of which the area is composed. During the rains, the streams cut down into the land and wash away the fertile soil. The Plateau is mostly dry and rocky. Ridges, troughs, basins and plains are prominent features of the plateau's landscape. The valleys of Haro and Soan rivers cross the plateau from the eastern foot hills to the Indus. Agriculture is almost totally dependent on rainfall. And the chief crops of plateau are wheat, barley, onion and tobacco. The plateau has a geological structure which is favourable for oil. The important oil fields found so far in Pakistan are mostly located in the Potwar Plateau.¹³

Salt Range: The salt range lies in the south of Potwar plateau. It is series of hills and low mountains. It begins in the east in the Jogi Tilla and Bakrala ridges near Jhelum and runs south-west to the north of the river Jhelum before turning north-west to cross the Indus river near Kalabagh. West of the Indus, the salt range continues south into the districts of Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan. The average height of the range is about 2,200 ft but near Sakasar, it rises to about 5,000 ft. above the sea level. It consists of parallel in between which lies an elevated, fertile plateau.

passes. There are number of salt lakes. Two of larger salt lakes are Khabeki and Kallar Kahar. Large quantities of rock salt and other minerals like gypsum and coal are found in this range. It derives its name from large deposits of rock salt.¹⁴

5. The Upper and Lower Indus Plains:

The Indus plains forms the western part of the Indo-Gangetic plain. It lies in the south of the Himalayas and the salt range. It is mainly a flat plain. The plain is featureless, but elements of microrelief assume great importance because of their relationship to flooding and irrigation. Five distinctive micro-relief landforms have been recognised. (fig.)

- (i) Active Flood Plain;
- (ii) Meander Flood Plain;
- (iii) Cover flood Plain;
- (iv) Scalloped interfluves or bars; and
- (v) Tidal Delta or Deltaic Plain.

The whole plain is the gift of rivers. The Indus plain can be divided into two quite distinctive parts:

- (a) The Upper Indus Plain; and
- (b) The Lower Indus Plain.

(a) The Upper Indus Plain: It includes most of the area of Punjab region. It is exclusively drained by the Indus and its five tributaries.¹⁵ The Upper Indus Plain is subdivided into four large doabs, plus the Bahawalpur Plain and the Derajat or Sulaiman Piedmont.

(i) The Sind Sagar Doab¹⁶ or Thal Desert: It lies between the Indus and the Jhelum-Chenab, south of the salt range. About 80 per cent of the area is gently undulating sand plain, with some Tibbas or sand dunes. Here and there are narrow belts of level land between the sand hills.

(ii) The Chaj Doab: It has as its central part the Kirana bar¹⁷, above which rise some low bedrock hills known as the Kirana hills. These are composed of old rocks. Narrow plains along the Chenab and Jhelum constitute 25 per cent of the area.

(iii) Rechna Doab: This occurs only in the south in the Sandal bar.

(iv) Bari Doab: has extensive areas of cover flood plain and scalloped interfluve. The interfluve between the Ravi and the old course of the Beas is called Ganji Bar, while the highland between the old course of the Beas and the Sutlej is known as Nili Bar. These bars are long and narrow and have some highly impermeable alkaline soils,

The Bahwalpur Plain: is grouped with the doabs because the riverine tract, known locally as Sind, is followed by an upland identical with the bars of the doabs. The north-eastern part is a cover and meander flood plain, the central part is a sand hill plain which has been largely levelled and irrigated, and the south-western portion is the cover flood plain of Dera Nawab.

The Derajat or Sulaiman Piedment: is seamed with numerous streams and torrents as is also the Himalayan Piedment on the northern border of the Indus plain. The land here varies between flat and gently undulating, and the rivers have a comparatively steep gradient.

(b) The Lower Indus Plain: The lower Indus Plain begins from below Mithankot. These plains have been formed due to the changing course of the river. Excluding the deltaic area, the predominant landforms are meander and cover flood plains. Meander flood plain is more extensive in the north east sector of the upper Sind plain, cover and meander plains are equally extensive in the upper and central Sind plains, and more than two thirds of the lower Sind plain is cover flood plain.

(i) The Kachhi-Sibi Plain: It is bounded on the north by the Marri-Bugti Ranges and on the west by the Kalat Ranges.

desolate area, in which heat and aridity combined with uniformly textured soils, create ideal conditions for mirages. Its southern edge is its contact line with the Indus alluvium.

(ii) The Sind Plain: It forms the major part of the lower Indus Plain. The upper Sind plain is agriculturally less developed and more waterlogged and saline, than areas further south. The central part of the plain has a uniform landscape but one outstanding feature is the Rohri cuesta. The lower Sind Plain, which starts from Hyderabad, is predominantly a cover flood plain. The Gango Takkar ridge, a cuista of Kirthas limestone and an outlier of the Kohistan ranges stretches south ward.

(iii) The Indus Delta: It has its apex some distance north-east of Thaita, where distributaries fan out to form the deltaic plain. The tidal delta is submerged at high tide, and has mangrove swamps and tamarisk groves in its western section. The eastern section is the Rann of Kutch, a saline Marsh land.

(iv) The Karachi Plain: It has a thin mantle of soil over weathered bedrock. A few low hills rise to 50 ft. shallow depressions are known as dhand. Haleji Dhand is used in Karachi.

6. South-Eastern Desert:

The desert spreads over eastern Bahawalpur, the eastern half of Khairpur, and the greater part of Tharparkar districts. In Bahawalpur it is known as Cholistan or Rohi, with little rainfall and a low watertable, the desert is a barren land of scattered, stunted, thorny bushes mostly acacia.

The physical make-up is important in arising the cultural disparities and problems of regional overtones. The northern mountains and the western bordering mountains are the dividing line between Pakistan and the other Asian countries. The mountain system have tended to prevent any sort of cultural exchanges between the various diverse social groups inhabiting Pakistan and people can not change their ideas to a greater extent. Pakistan's geography and physical infrastructure did very little to integrate the Punjabis, Sindhis, Pathans and Baluchis into one nation. Even the independence and the integration of the four provinces into a single administrative unit of West Pakistan in 1955 failed to bridge the social, cultural and economic gaps among the different provinces. Ethnic imbalances have been emerged. The deserts, plateau rivers also play an important role in the cultural disparities. Due to these physical conditions people can not interact so much and cultural disparities developed.

Drainage System: Pakistan is a land of rivers. Most of its plains are the gift of perennial river waters. Actually Pakistan has a particular system of rivers, which is popularly known as the Indus system in the world. It comprises the main Indus and its major tributaries: the Shyok, Shigar, Kabul, Kurram, Gomal on the right hand and Astore, Sutlej, Beas, Ravi, Chenab and Jhelum on the left.

The Indus is the longest and mightiest river at least in the south-east Asia. It is a snow-glacier fed river. Its source is in the famous lake Mansarowar in the south-west Tibet. After covering the mountainous area it enters Pakistan. After that it meets the tributary, Shigar from Nanga Parbat it joins the tributary Astore and a little above Attock, a fort built by Akbar the Great, the Indus is joined by an other right bank tributary the Kabul river.

Kabul River: The Kabul is an important river of north-western frontier province (NWFP) of Pakistan. It is also a snow-fed river. Near Jalabad, it is joined by Chitral Kunar river and Swat River near Charsadda. The Swat is formed by the injuction of the Gobrail and the Ushu rivers at Kalam in Swat Kohistan. Panjkora is another tributary of the Kabul river. The Kabul river is about 435 miles long.

South of the Isa Khel, the Indus receives the Kurram river. The Tochi is the main tributary of the Kurram.

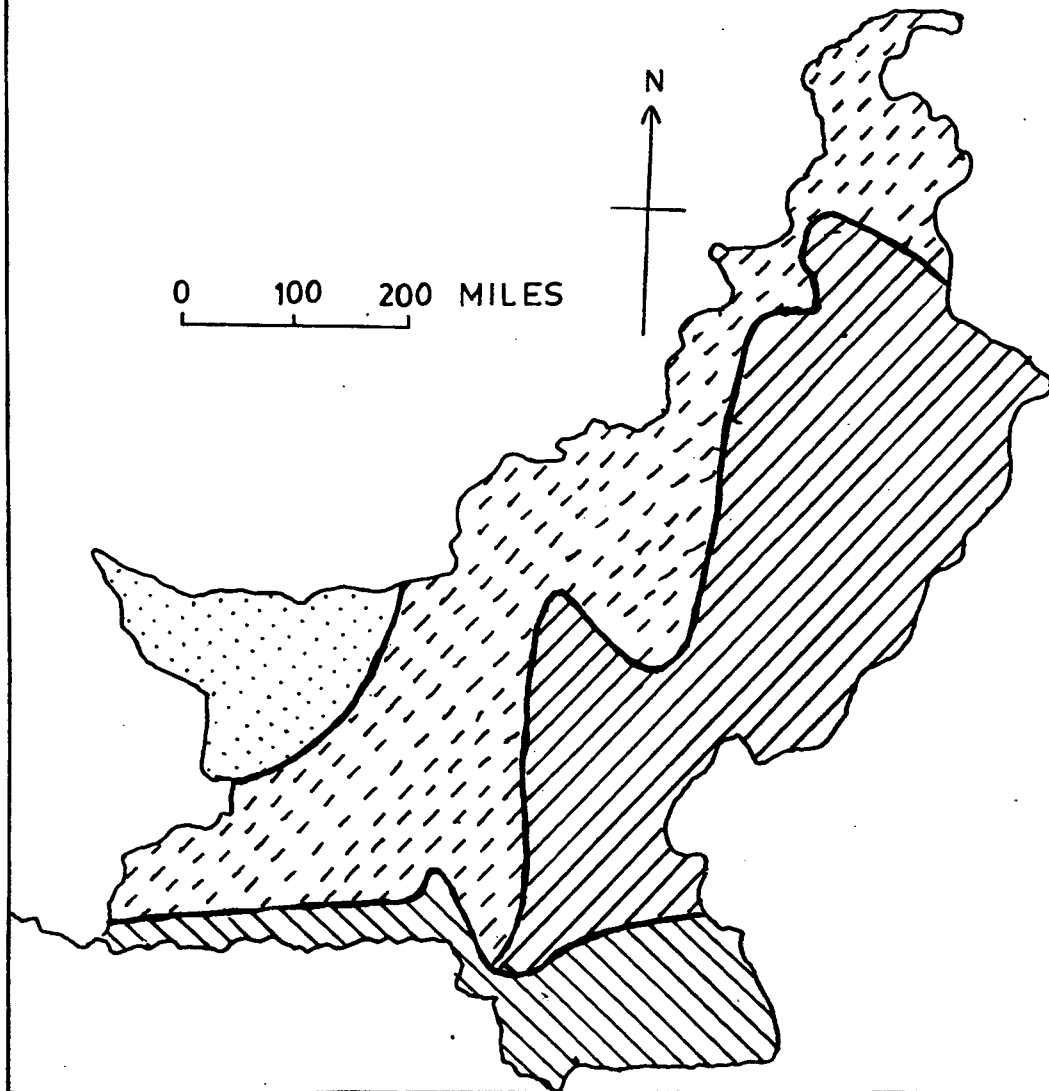
Indus. The greatest confluence of the rivers with the Indus is that of famous Panjnad - the combined waters of eastern tributaries - the Sutlej, Beas, Ravi, Chenab and Jhelum at Mithankot in Sind. And from Mithankot onward, the Indus receives no important tributary, except the Baran which drains Sind Kohistan. Near Thatta, the Indus begins its deltaic stage and breaks into distributaries to join the Arabian sea in the south, south east of Karachi.

Climate:

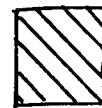
Pakistan is a sub-Tropical country, located on a great land mass. Its climate is generally arid, hot or continental with extreme variation of temperature. Climatologically, the year in Pakistan can be generally divided into four seasons: summer, rainy season, winter and spring. Summers are generally hot, while winters are cold. June is the hottest month, while January is the coldest month. A detailed scheme of climatic divisions for Pakistan has been prepared by Kazi S. Ahmed.¹⁸ The whole country can be divided into four climatic regions.¹⁹

- (1) Sub-Tropical Costland;
- (2) Sub-Tropical Continental lowlands;
- (3) Sub-Tropical continental highlands; and
- (4) Sub-Tropical continental plateau.

CLIMATIC REGIONS OF PAKISTAN

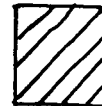


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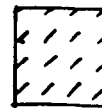
SUB-TROPICAL COASTLAND

(Arid Marine - Moderate Temperature, Low Rainfall.)



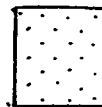
SUB-TROPICAL CONTINENTAL LOWLANDS

(Extreme climate - arid with mainly summer rains)



SUB-TROPICAL CONTINENTAL HIGHLANDS

(Extreme climate - arid with mainly winter and spring)

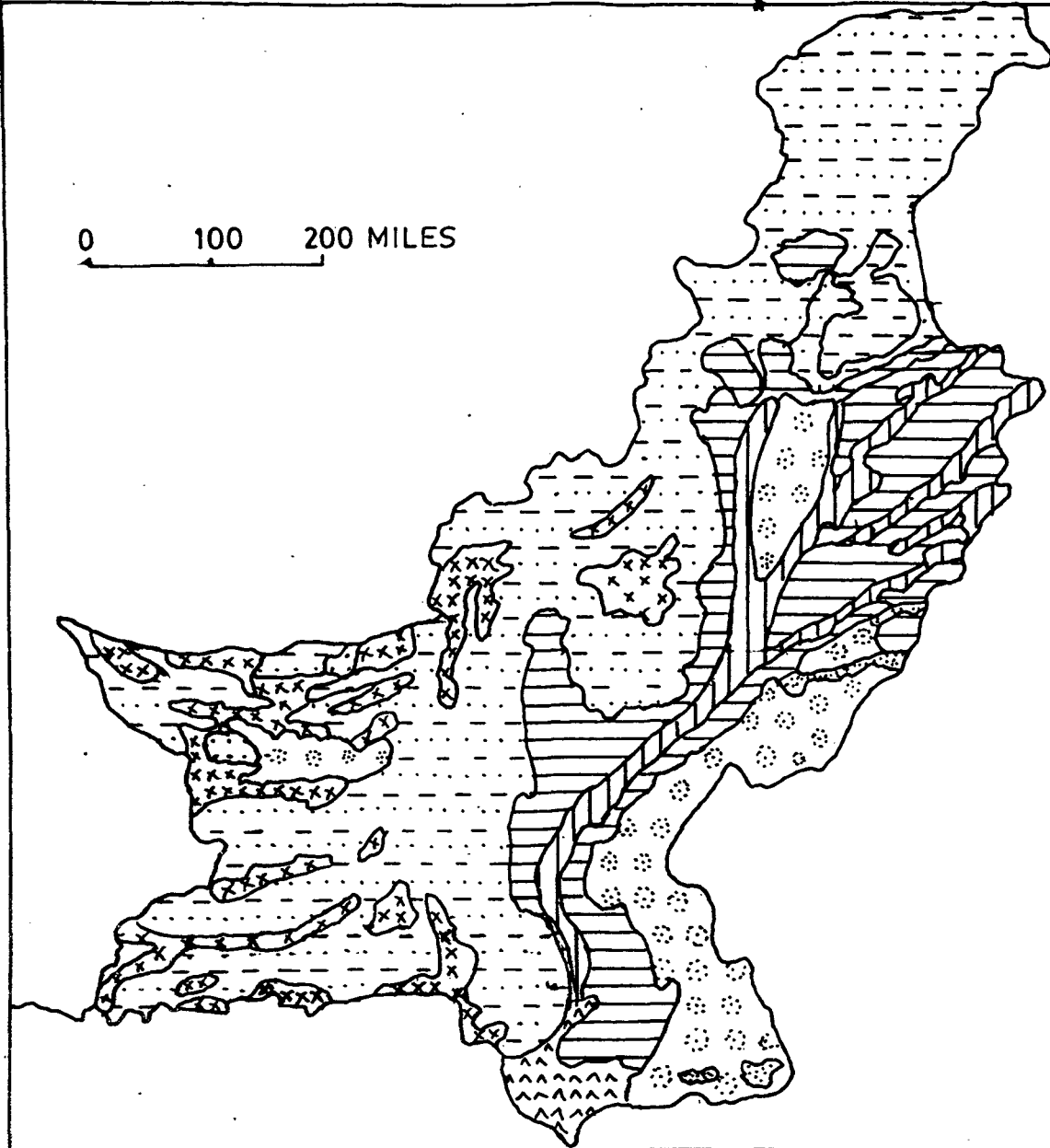


SUB-TROPICAL CONTINENTAL PLATEAU










(Very Arid)

SOILS OF PAKISTAN

0 100 200 MILES



INDEX

-  OLD ALLUVIUM
-  YOUNG ALLUVIUM
-  DELTA SOILS
-  VALLEY SOILS
-  ERODED LOESS AND SHALLOW RESIDUAL SOILS
-  SLOPE SOILS
-  PLAYAS SOILS
-  CLAYEY FLOOD PLAIN
-  HILLY SANDY SOILS

In the western part it has a subtropical monsoon climate. Monsoons are seasonal winds. In the plains the minimum temperature in the month of January varies from 4°C to 15°C and in June/July from 30°C to 39°C . The maximum temperature in January varies from 17°C to 24°C and in June/July from 37°C to 45°C . Jacobabad has been recorded an absolute maximum of 52°C . In the northern and north-western mountains, temperature in January, the coldest month, are low. Chitral has a mean maximum of 47.7°F and a mean minimum of 29.7°F in January. In the coastal areas the summers are milder. Karachi has a June mean maximum of 95°F and a mean monthly minimum of 85°F .

Rainfall:

Pakistan suffers from a general deficiency of rainfall. The rainfall as a whole decreases from the Himalayas towards the south. The average annual rainfall of Pakistan is 40 inches or more in the northern mountainous region. (Murree, 64.6 inches). Local variations, characteristics of highly differentiated terrain, are recorded in this area. Areas in the extreme north-west largely sheltered from the monsoonal effect, receive only 20 - 25 inches. (Chitral 23.1 inches, Drosh 25.9 inches) The Himalayan Piedmont receives 30-40 inches and the 20 inches isohyet (line joining places receiving the same amount of rainfall) lies somewhat

north of Lahore (19.3 inches), veering north-west. It is less than 5 inches in the Indus corridor. The rainfall again increases southward towards the coast. (Hyderabad, 6.1 inches; Karachi 8.2 inches). With the exception of some areas in the north and north-west, rainfall is concentrated in the three months (July to September) of the summer monsoon. Monsoons are seasonal winds. They blow from sea to land in summer and from land to sea in winter. The summer monsoons cause much of rain in the central plains and northern highlands below the central Himalayas. The Mediterranean winds which come through Iran and Iraq also brings rain particularly in winter to the north and south-west areas including the most parts of the Indus plain. The rainfall of Pakistan like that of some other marginal areas of monsoon climate, is markedly variable in the amount and of its incidence, and in its areal distribution.

Effect of climate on people and their society:

Pakistan lies on the western margin of one of the major climatic regions of the earth, the monsoon region. In the northern part of the Pakistan winters are found very cold and in the desert areas summer are very hot. So the population is found scattered in such areas where the climatic conditions are not favourable. Dry winds called low blow during the day. The climatic conditions such as temperature, rainfall also effect the agriculture, industries etc. So most of the people, changes their place according to the climatic conditions.

Natural Endowments and Resource Pattern:

Natural endowments means the natural resources. According to Zimmermann the word resource, "does not refer to a thing or a substance may perform...". The function of course, is a raw material for industry or the commodity for consumption. Natural resources have been defined as "... all the freely given material phenomena of nature within the zone of men's activities..." (by Ginsburg, Norton, S.). A resource is demanded because it has the power to satisfy the human wants.

Each part of the earth is equipped by nature in certain ways that set wide or narrow limits upon its potential human use. It is the number, kind, and association of these items of natural endowment which help to establish the individuality of regions. Unlike climate and landforms, they actually are used by man, and, because they either are obtained from the natural earth or exist in or upon it, they are called natural resources or earth resources.

Natural Resources:

Natural resources comprise the land, mineral deposits, and all other materials and conditions that are originally furnished by nature. The natural resources may be subdivided almost without limit in terms of use relationship of minerals, power resources or other ubiquitous characteristics. Climate determines the location and distribution of agricultural resources. Cost factors, in turn, are influenced by the

Table 1.

Resources

Natural Resources	Mineral Resources	Power Resources	Biotic Resources	Human Resources	Agricultural Resources	Other Eco. Resources
<hr/> 1. Water as a Resource (1) Inland water resources (ii) Oceanic water resources.		1. Coal resources 2. Petroleum resources	1. Forest Resources 2. Fishery Resources 3. Animal resources			
2. Soil as a resource						
3. Land as a resource						

Resource Pattern:

1. Natural Resources:

Natural resources have been discussed earlier.

Mainly the natural resources are three types:

- (i) Land as a resource: Land is the prime resource for man. Since the beginning of the human existence man has directed his activities with reference to earth resources and he knows how to use for his own benefits.
- (ii) Soil as resource: Soil is the necessary earth resource. Soil is a natural body developed by natural forces acting on natural materials. The most valuable national asset in any country is its soil. If soil is well managed, its fertility is not only renewable but improvable. If it is misused, the soil can be permanently damaged or irremediably lost.
- (iii) Water resources: Water is a priceless natural gift but is not an unlimited constant. There are two types of water resources - (a) Inland water resources; (b) Oceanic water resources.

In Pakistan inland water resources such as the water of rivers, lakes and ground water. Ground water is used for domestic agricultural and industrial purposes. The ocean lies in shorelines and tides which affect the development of ports and the ocean currents which influence the climate and fisheries of coastal regions.

2. Agricultural Resources:

Pakistan is basically an agricultural country. About 80 per cent of the people comprise agriculturists and farmers. It is also the foundation of the country's economy. The total cultivated land in Pakistan in 1981 was 20.3 million hectares and in 1987 was 20.8 million hectares. The forest area in 1987 was 3.2 million hectares.²¹ The land use pattern is shown in the table I.I. More detail about agriculture is given in 5th chapter.

3. Biotic Resources:

Biotic resources are forest resources, fishery resources and animal resources.

(i) Forest Resources: Pakistan has a land mass of about 80 million hectares, out of which only about 3.2 per cent is under forests. Fifty per cent of the forests are exploitable, while the rest are maintained for conservation of soil and water. Sericulture, an important component of forestry is a source of additional income to the farming community.

Pakistan Forest Institute, Peshawar, is responsible for research and training directed towards improved field practices in forest management.²²

Table 1.1

Land Use of Pakistan (million hectares)

No.	classification of land	1981	1987
1.	Total area	79.6	79.6
2.	Total area reported	53.9	57.8
3.	Forest area	2.8	3.2
4.	Not available for cultivation	19.9	23.4
5.	Other uncultivated land excluding current fallow	10.9	10.4
6.	Current fallows	4.9	5.3
7.	Net area sown	15.4	15.5
8.	Cultivated area	20.3	20.8
9.	Area not reported	25.7	21.8

Source: United Nations, Statistical Yearbook for Asia and Pacific, 1989.

Types of Forest:

- (1) Northern and North-Western Mountain Forests;
- (2) Shrub Forests of the Foothills and Plains;
- (3) The Baluchistan Hill Forests;
- (4) Riverine Bela Forests and Irrigated Plantations;
- (5) The Rakhs; and
- (6) Tidal Forests.

The main agricultural crops of the Pakistan are wheat, Bajra, Jowar, Gram, Barley, Maize, Sugarcane, cotton, Tobacco, Tea, Jute, fodder crops and fruits etc.

(ii) Fishery resources: Pakistan is endowed with rich fishery resources along the coast in Arabian sea and almost the entire population on the coastal area of Sind and Baluchistan depends on fisheries for their livelihood fisheries also play an important role in the economy of the country. There are two types of fishing which is shown in table 1.2.

(a) Marine and Estuarine fishing²³

(b) Inland or fresh water fishing.

Table 1.2 Fishing (000 metric tons, live weight)

	1981	1985	1986
Inland waters	70.6	75.1	83.2
Indian Ocean	301.7	333.3	331.7
Total Catch	372.3	408.4	414.9

Source: The Europa World Book, 1989, vol. II, 30th ed.

4. Mineral resources and power resources:

The geological history and structure of Pakistan suggest the existence of significant mineral resources, especially oil and gas. At the time of Independence, little was known about the mineral wealth of the country. Minerals are found in abundance in Pakistan. Particularly the regions of salt range Makaswal, Potwar Plateau, Waziristan, north-east Baluchistan and lower Sind are well known for mineral wealth. The agencies such as geological survey of Pakistan, oil and gas development corporation and the provincial directorates of mineral development are working for the development of mineral resources. They mainly include: oil, gas, coal, salt, iron, chromate, gypsum, limestone, marble, antimony and lead.

5. Other economic resources:

There are many other economic resources such as the industrial development, trade and commerce.

6. Human Resources or Demographic Structure:

Pakistan is the tenth most populous country in the world, though areawise it ranks as the thirty-fourth. According to the 1981 census, the population stood at 83.782 million as against 65.309 million in 1972 and merely 32.500 million at the time of independence in 1947. The population has increased by 18.4 million over the eight and a half year period between the 1972 and 1981 censuses. This works out a growth rate of 28.28 per cent or an average of about 2.98 per cent per annum.²⁴ It is shown by the table 1.2.

Table 1.3

Population of PakistanComparative position of 1972 and 1981 census

(in thousands)

	1972	1981
1. Pakistan	65,309	83,782
2. North-west Frontier Province	8,389	10,885
3. Punjab	37,845	47,116
4. Sind	14,156	18,966
5. Baluchistan	2,428	4,205
6. FATA	2,491	2,175
7. Islamabad (FCA)	235	335

FATA: Federally Administered Tribal Areas.

FCA : Federal Capital Area.

Source: Pakistan Yearbook, 1988-89, p.15.

The first doubling of the population in Pakistan took nearly 50 years (1901-51) and the next doubling about 21 years (1951-72). If the same trends continue, the next doubling will occur in less than 25 years, and if the current growth rate continues, the present population will grow from the 1987 estimate of 103 million to 150 million in 2000.²⁵ The density of population per sq. km. increased from 82 persons in 1972 to 105 persons in 1981.

The population migration from the rural to the urban areas is on the increase due to the better availability of socio-economic opportunities. The urban population now comprises 28.3 per cent of the total as against 25.4 per cent in 1972; 25.5 per cent in 1961; and 17.6 per cent in 1951. According to 1981 census a total of 5.92 million persons had migrated within the country, 87.6 per cent from the rural areas and 12.4 per cent from the urban areas. Of the migration of 87.6 per cent from the rural areas, 44.5 per cent settled in the urban areas and 43.1 per cent in the rural areas. Some 1.8 million persons migrated from one province to the other during 1971-81. More detail is given in the sixth chapter.

Ethnic Imbalances:

Pakistan is a multiethnic state. Fredrik Barth shows that "ethnic groups are categories of ascription and identification by the members of the group through which they organize interaction among themselves and with members of other groups, and he emphasizes the "generative viewpoint" in the attempt to explore the different processes that seem to be involved in generating and maintaining ethnic groups". Ethnic groups are intermediate phenomena between kinship groups and the nation. An ethnic group is a minority population within a larger society, recognised as a distinct group by others in the society, whose members claim a common background, real or fictional and speaking the same language in which the common origin and culture are significant.²⁶ Ethno-nationalism remains a formidable danger to Pakistani security. Politicized consciousness may be found today among Muhajirs, Sindhis, Pakhtunes, Baluch, Saraikis, even Punjabis. Pakistan's multi-ethnicity is hardly unique. Yet its leaders have failed markedly to inculcate a collective identity in its desperate peoples. In Pakistan, ethnicity has become an overt and brutal language of public discourse.²⁷

Table 1.4

Major Ethnolinguistic Groups of Pakistan

Sr. No.	Group	Language	Population (1961) millions	%age of total 1961	Population 1981 millions	%age total 1981	Location
1.	Punjabis	Punjabi	28.53	66.39	40.31	48.17	North-east.
2.	Sindhis	Sindhi	5.41	12.59	9.85	11.77	South-east.
3.	Pashtuns	Pashtu	3.64	8.47	10.99	13.14	North-west.
4.	Seraikis	Seraiki	-	-	8.22	9.83	Central Indus valley
5.	Muhajirs	Urdu	3.25	7.58	6.36	7.60	All regions
6.	Baluch	Baluchi & Brahui	1.46	3.42	3.52	4.21	South-west.
7.	Others		.66	1.55	4.38	5.24	All regions

Source: Ali Banuazizi and Myron Weiner (ed.), *The State, religion and ethnic politics: Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan (Pakistan 1987)*, pp. 269.

Pakistan has contained four major ethnic groups. In numbers the largest of these are Punjabis, followed by the Sindhis, the Pathans and the Baluch. There is also a significant "Tribal population", each of these groups is defined by an admixture of linguistic and political attributes - Punjabi in Punjab speak Punjabi as their mother language, Sindhis in Sind speak Sindhi, Pathans in the North-West Frontier Province speak Pushtu, and the Baluch in Baluchistan speak Baluchi or Brahui. Tribal groupings live in all four of the provinces, but the greatest concentrations are in the federally administered tribal areas (FATA) and Azad Kashmir.²⁸

Writing in the daily Dawn, Akbar S. Ahmed, an eminent anthropologist wrote that the birth of Pakistan created four distinct socio-ethnic categories viz. the tribal, peasant agriculturist, city urban and the refugess had distinct characteristics.²⁹ However, loose the definition of ethnic groupings in Pakistan may be, indisputable gaps exist in the respective levels of development of the four provinces. Generally speaking the provinces of Punjab and Sind are the most highly developed, while the other provinces are relatively less developed. Indicators of such gaps include differentials in per capita income, life expectancy, and levels of industrialization. Such gaps are widely perceived and politicized in Pakistan, and have resulted in the perception of the actual or potential spectar of Punjabi, or to

a lesser extent Sindhi, domination. Indeed, the most traumatic event in the history of Pakistan, its dismemberment in 1971, was occasioned by the perception of widening inequality between East and West Pakistan. Pakistan faced several prospective Bangladeshes. The most serious is the demand for greater provincial autonomy in Baluchistan, but there are also significant separatist sentiments in the Sind, and intermittent through recently dormant-demands for an independent Pathan state, Pakhtunistan. So, Pakistan has ethnic imbalances to a greater extent.

Impact of ethnicity on Politics:

The ethnic imbalance has its impact on politics also. According to 1955 plan, under which the whole of West Pakistan was made one unit, both the Pathans and Baluch leadership opposed it. According to one study during 1947-77 only four of the 179 persons who were named in central cabinets were ethnic Baluch and only one of them (Akbar Bugti) was named prior to the 1970s. As against this a much larger number of Pathans were represented in the central cabinets. Ayub Khan himself was a Tarin Pathan.³⁰ In 1977, a meeting of President Zia told that "we are all Muslims and we should not say that we are Baluch or Pushtuns. The Baluch leader Ghaus Bux Bizenjo angrily replied that "we are Baluch and Pushtuns. The 1970 elections held by Bhutto were "based on emotional grounds, on ethnic appeals". The ethnic conflicts in Karachi have taken place in phases. The first being in 1985-87 accompanied by

violence between the Muhazir Quami Mahaj (MQM) and the Sindhi nationalists. The second phase was in 1989 between the Muhazirs and the Pathans. The latest clash in February 1990 was the result of the breakdown of the post-election alliances between the MQM and Pakistan People's Party (PPP) reducing the ruling party into a slender majority.³¹

The ethnicity may lead to serious political consequences such as the growth of ethnically inspired secessionist and irredentist movements in Sind and Baluchistan.³²

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CHAPTER III

EVOLUTION OF PAKISTAN AS A NATION STATE

Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Muslim League campaigned hard but not very long for the establishment of Pakistan as an independent state for the Muslims of British India. On March 23, 1940, at a crowded open meeting held in Lahore, Jinnah moved that the "Lahore Resolution" be adopted. The resolution demanded the creation of a country in which the Muslims of British India would be permitted to lead their lives according to their political, social and religious culture. Jinnah who came to be called Quaid-e-Azam (the great leader) by his large and devout following, was now convinced that India was inhabited not by one nation of Indians but by two nations - one Hindu and the other Muslim. The idea of Pakistan did not originate with him, however, Mohammad Iqbal, the "poet philosopher", had suggested it earlier as an objective towards which the Indian Muslim community should begin to work.¹ Having campaigned for Hindu-Muslim unity for more than two decades, Jinnah reached the same conclusion reluctantly and much later than Iqbal.

The partition of a nation by religious conflict was not new in the contemporary world. But the conflict of Hindus and Muslims ran to far greater depths than, say, the Catholic and Protestant conflict in Ireland. Not only

the religion but also the whole modes of life and attitude separated these two groups of people. Each was a permanent hereditary group exhibiting no intermarriage (except at the highest and lowest social levels, and then only very rarely) or internal absorption. It is therefore not only for the sake of completing the historical record that the story of modern-day Pakistan should begin long before independence on August 14, 1947. Indeed, a historian must go back a number of years in seeking to understand how and why the Indian Muslims converted to the idea of Pakistan.

Early Muslim States of India:

Between 1000 A.D. and 1026 A.D., Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni fought 17 campaigns in India, ranging across the plains from the Indus to the Ganges. Mahmud's empire extended from Samarkand and Isfahan to Lahore, but his successors lost the western parts in the 11th century. Ghaznavid Punjab, including the northwestern frontier area and Sind, might be called the first "Pakistan". The large Muslim community that settled in the Indus valley did not regard it as occupied territory; it became their homeland. Ghaznavid rule in the Indus valley did not endure. Mu'izz-ad-Din Muhammad of Ghur subdued the Indus valley in 1185. Under him, Muslim power spread to all parts of

northwestern India and also to Bengal and Bihar, Mu'izz-ad-Din was assassinated in Punjab in 1206, but the lands he had conquered in India were consolidated under the rule of his successors. The period from Mu'izz-ad-Din's death to the invasion of Babur, who founded the Mogul Empire in 1526, is known as the Delhi Sultanate. During this period, 40 Muslim Sultans ruled the Delhi throne; they were divided into five dynasties: the so-called Slave Kings (1206 A.D. - 1290 A.D.), the Khaljis (1290 A.D.- 1320 A.D.), the Tughluqis (1320 A.D.-1414 A.D.), the Sayyids (1414 A.D. - 1451 A.D.), and the Lodis (1451 A.D. - 1526 A.D.). The political institutions of the Sultanate were elaborately developed. Most administrative positions were held by Muslims but Hindus were increasingly employed in government service. Hindus were allowed religious freedom, and in civil matters, they had their own communal courts (panchayats).

The Mughal Empire:

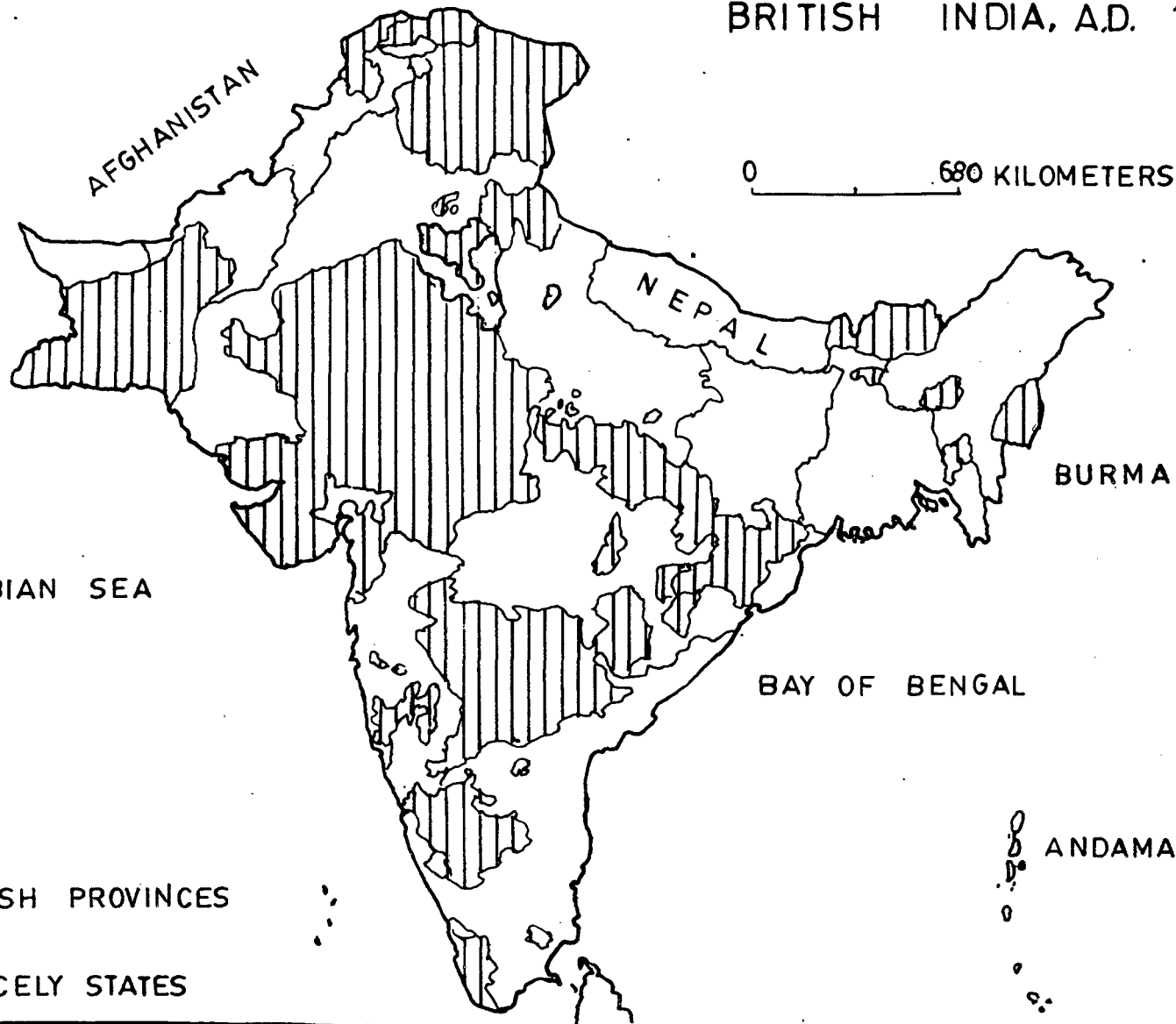
The Mughal empire noted for its cultural, educational and artistic achievements founded by Babur in 1526, and his grand-son Akbar (who reigned from 1556-1605) extended the Mughal empire over the major part of northern and central India. During the reign of Akbar, the relations between the two major communities had improved greatly; and the Emperor even founded a new religion, Din. A. Ilahi,

which could be professed by Hindus and Muslims.³ Akbar's successor Jahangir (1605-1627) continued the "secular state". Under Shah Jahan (1628-1658) the Mughal empire became an overly Muslim state, but it remained rather tolerant. Aurangzeb (1658-1707) was an orthodox Muslim; so his regime was characterised by Hindu-Muslim antagonism. When the Britishers came to India, the Mughal empire was at its zenith; however, after the death of Aurangzeb, the Mughal empire began to disintegrate in the absence of a strong and centralized government.

The British Raj and the Pakistan Demand:

Gradually the East India Company was able to extend its influence and domination. By the middle of the last century, excepting a large number of native states, the whole of India, had come under the direct rule of the East India Company. Thus before the advent of the British in India, the Muslims occupied a predominant position in the governance of India. But during the British period their importance decreased considerably. The attitude of the British rulers towards the Muslims at that time is well illustrated from what Lord Ellenborough wrote in 1848 A.D. It seems to me most unwise when we are sure of the hostility of one-tenth not to secure the enthusiastic support of nine-tenth who are faithful. I cannot close my eyes to the belief

BRITISH INDIA, A.D. 1946



ARABIAN SEA

0 680 KILOMETERS

BURMA

BAY OF BENGAL

INDEX

□ BRITISH PROVINCES

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ANDAMAN

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that the Muhammedans are fundamentally hostile to us and therefore our true policy is to conciliate the Hindus'.

Revolt of 1857:

In the revolt of 1857 the Muslims took a leading part. Subsequently the old policy of suppressing the Muslims was carried out with such thoroughness that the Muslims of India were reduced to the position of illiterate masses with their spirit broken and pride humbled to the dust. According to Sir William Hunter after the Mutiny the 'British turned upon the Mussalmans as their real enemies'. The Muslims in particular were deprived of their traditional army careers. Another reason for antagonism between the British and the Muslims at that time was the influence of 'Wahabi Movement' on the Muslims of India. On account of the anti-British aspect of the Wahabi movement, the supporters of the movement in India were crushed with a strong hand. However, the most significant factor which was responsible for the economic policy of the alien government aimed at promoting British exports to India and ruining the indigenous crafts and industries, which provided employment to the vast majority of Indian Muslims.

The Demand for a Seperate State:

By 1905,^{A.D.} when it was expected that Great Britain would extend the scope of political reforms, the Muslims who were largely backward were convinced that they should receive special protection as a minority. In 1906, they formally asked the British Government for a separate electorate.⁴ The peak-period 1905-1912, opens with Curzon's partition of Bengal, and ends with Harding's annulment of it. After the Bengal partition was annulled, four vague years of embitterment and confusion ensued, to be succeeded by the third peak, covering the years 1916-1922, a unique one, because the Hindus and the Muslims drew closer together, during it, than ever before. And we may think it a striking paradox that, whereas World War I and its aftermath had this effect, World War II and the two communities apart. The complex sentiments stirred up by all the influenced Hindus as well as Muslims, and in 1916 enabled the more liberal, un-theological wing of the Muslim League, represented by a rising young Bombay lawyer Mr. Jinnah, to reach the remarkable accord with the Congress about the country's constitutional future known as the Lucknow Pact.⁵ In this the Congress for the first time in its career persuaded by Tilak, now it seemed transformed from fanatic into statesman, agreed to Muslims having separate electorates.

Essentially, in the pact, there was a compromise between rational, well balanced upper classminds; and parts of it (including separate electorates). This was taken over by the British for their next instalment of reforms, the Montague-Chelmsford plan passed by Parliament in 1919.

The Muslims and the Hindus came more closely together than ever before in 1919, when the Muslims were offended by Britain's share in the break-up of the Turkish empire, and nationalist leaders of both communities were shocked by Britain's Draconian suppression of serious rioting in the Punjab. It was an uncomfortable time for Englishman who, had many Hindu and Muslim friends; it got worse when Gandhi, grasping the opportunity to unite Hindus and Muslims on a common platform, against a government which he deemed 'Satanic', took the lead in launching a non-cooperation movement to oblige the British to concede the Muslim demand that the Khilafat should be maintained intact in Turkey. Mr. Jinnah, while condemning British policy wholeheartedly, refused to countenance this kind of movement, which was characteristically Hindu, rather than nationalist, in ideology.⁶ He felt that only disillusionment awaited the rank and file of the Muslim community; and that Hindu Muslim cooperation in constitutional progress would be made more difficult. The Nehru Report of 1928 produced a highly satisfactory scheme for communal representation. Dr. Zacharias, in *Renaissant India*, describes it as 'a masterly and statesman-

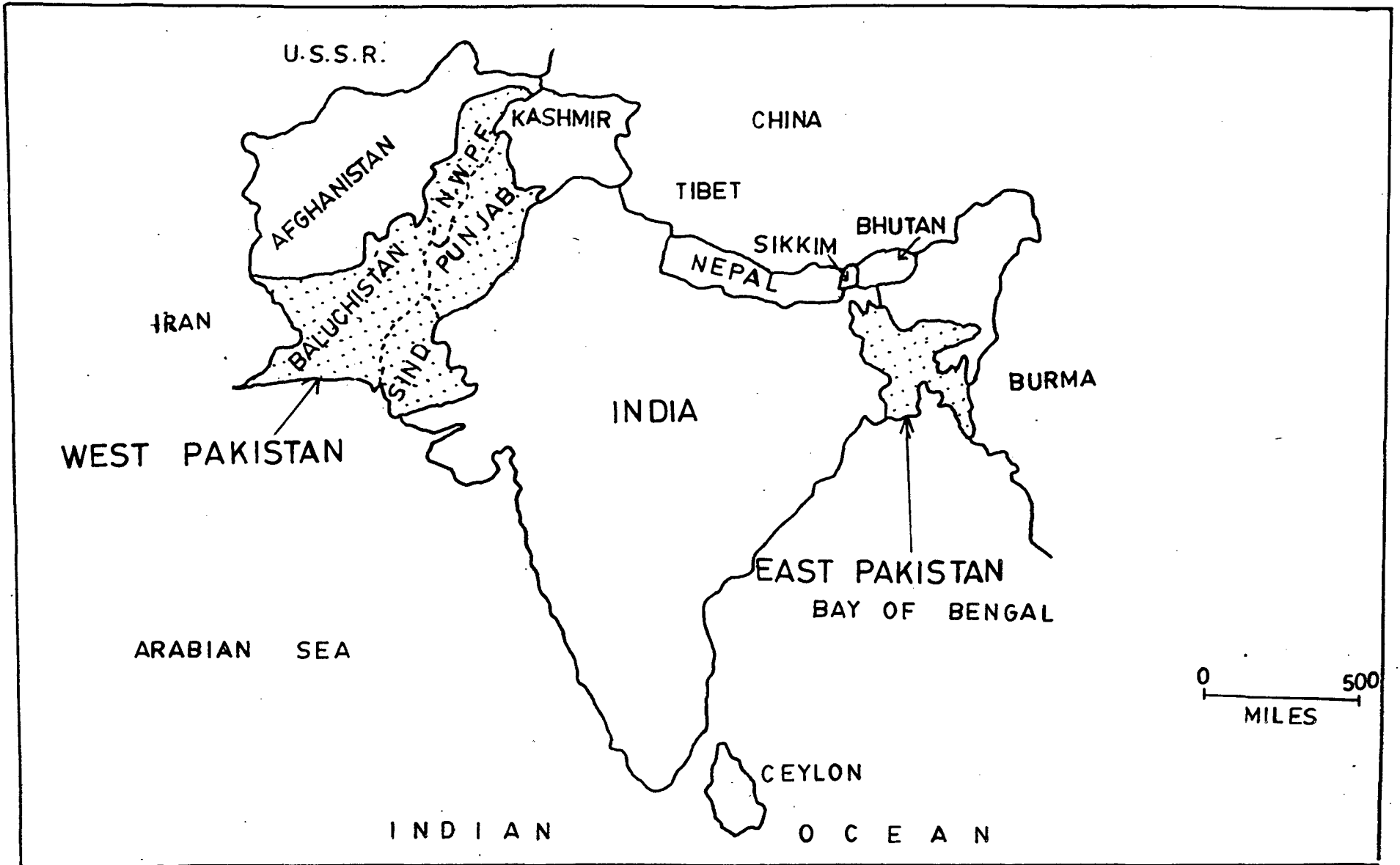
like report'. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan wrote: 'The Nehru Report failed to satisfy the minorities; it aroused serious apprehensions in the minds of Indian rulers; the European capitalists in India were alarmed, and the consolidation of powerful interests which regarded the Report as inimical to their interest went on slowly but steadily. It was one of the most constructive efforts made by any organisation in India, and it placed an ideal before the country which can never be replaced.

The idea of Pakistan was mooted for the first time by Sir Mohammad Iqbal in his address to the Muslim League in 1930. Conditions, however, went on unfortunately changing as the years passed; and both the British and Muslims became supporters of the idea of Pakistan. When in June 1937 the Congress decided to accept offices in the provinces, where they were in majority, the Muslim League leaders demanded inclusion of its members in provincial cabinets as representatives of the Muslim minorities. But the Congress refused to include the nominees of the Muslim League unless they joined the Congress, and bound themselves to congress discipline. When the Muslim League sought intervention of the Governors they also refused to interfere on the ground that they did not want to infringe the principle of joint responsibility. In addition the Congress leaders launched the 'mass contact' programme among the Muslims in particular.⁷

At the annual session of the Muslim League held at Lucknow in 1937, the Raja of Mahmudabad, as Chairman of the Reception Committee, said: 'A delicate situation has been created in our own country. The majority community refused to recognise even the existence of Muslim community as such and it refused to work in cooperation with our leaders for national advancement'. Mr. Jinnah, who presided over the session, criticised the Congress and complained against the tyranny of Congress Raj.

From 1937 onwards, Mr. Jinnah devoted his exceptional talent, unflinching loyalty of purpose, and remarkable gifts of organisation, to the task of uniting the Muslim community in support of its claim to be considered the third party in the country--the British and the Hindus being the other two. The Muslim League, backed with the popular support of a hundred million Muslims passed on the 23rd of March 1940 at Lahore its historic Pakistan resolution. It was a resolution that demanded the partition of the sub-continent into two separate countries - India and Pakistan. Jinnah in this meeting bluntly stated that "no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to Muslims unless ... the areas in which Muslims are numerically in majority as in the north-west and eastern zones... shall be autonomous and sovereign".⁸ With each year that passed the demand for Pakistan became louder and more insistent. The slogan "Pakistan or Perish" had gripped the minds and the imaginations of every Muslim in the subcontinent.

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Both the British Government and the Indian National Congress realised that this was no alternative but to yield to the demand for Pakistan. Finally, the British Government agreed to the partition of the country into two separate nations. And on the 14th of August 1947 this dream of a hundred million people was fulfilled. It was a great personal triumph for Jinnah. Jinnah had become a world figure, as the man who had created a nation.

Emergence of Bangladesh and its Consequences on Pakistan:

The emergence of Bangladesh as a sovereign state is a landmark in contemporary history. The struggle of Bangladesh was not only a struggle for the emancipation of people; it was a struggle for the preservation of democratic and human values which were trampled underfoot by a ruthless military dictatorship. The Muslims who form the bulk of the population of Bangladesh have long been faced with a dilemma regarding their cultural identity. Thus soon after the creation of Pakistan Jinnah and the Muslim League Government tried to make Urdu the state language of Pakistan on the plea that since Urdu was the 'national language of the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent, it only had the claim to be regarded as the state language of Pakistan. But this attempt met with bitter resistance in East Pakistan. Even the Quaid-i-Azam's arguments put forward with great vehemence at public meetings held in Dacca in March 1948 emphasizing the fact that since Pakistan was one state and the Pakistanis

constituted one nation, there could only be one state language and it should be Urdu, were bitterly opposed by the Bengali Muslims particularly the student community.⁹ They demanded that both Bengali and Urdu should be made the state languages of Pakistan on the ground that majority of the people of Pakistan lived in East Bengal and speak Bengali. Attempts were made by the Muslim League Government to depict the students agitation as Hindu or Communist inspired did not succeed. Eventually, the Government was forced to accede to the demand and declare both Urdu and Bengali as the two state languages of Pakistan. But the students agitation gave birth to a strong regional movement for greater autonomy and economic freedom. It swept away the Muslim League from power in the general elections in the East Pakistan held in 1954. The imposition of Martial Law twice between 1958 and 1969 failed to curb the movement. The colonial attitude of the west Pakistani politicians, bureaucrats, capitalists and military leaders, greatly strengthened regionalist feelings in East Pakistan.

There were cultural and linguistic diversities in East and West Pakistan. Apart from cultural and linguistic diversities, geographical, demographical and social diversities also existed between East and West Pakistan. East Pakistan was geographically, culturally, demographically and socially different from the West Pakistan and no common land existed between these two regions except religion.¹⁰ In 1956, new

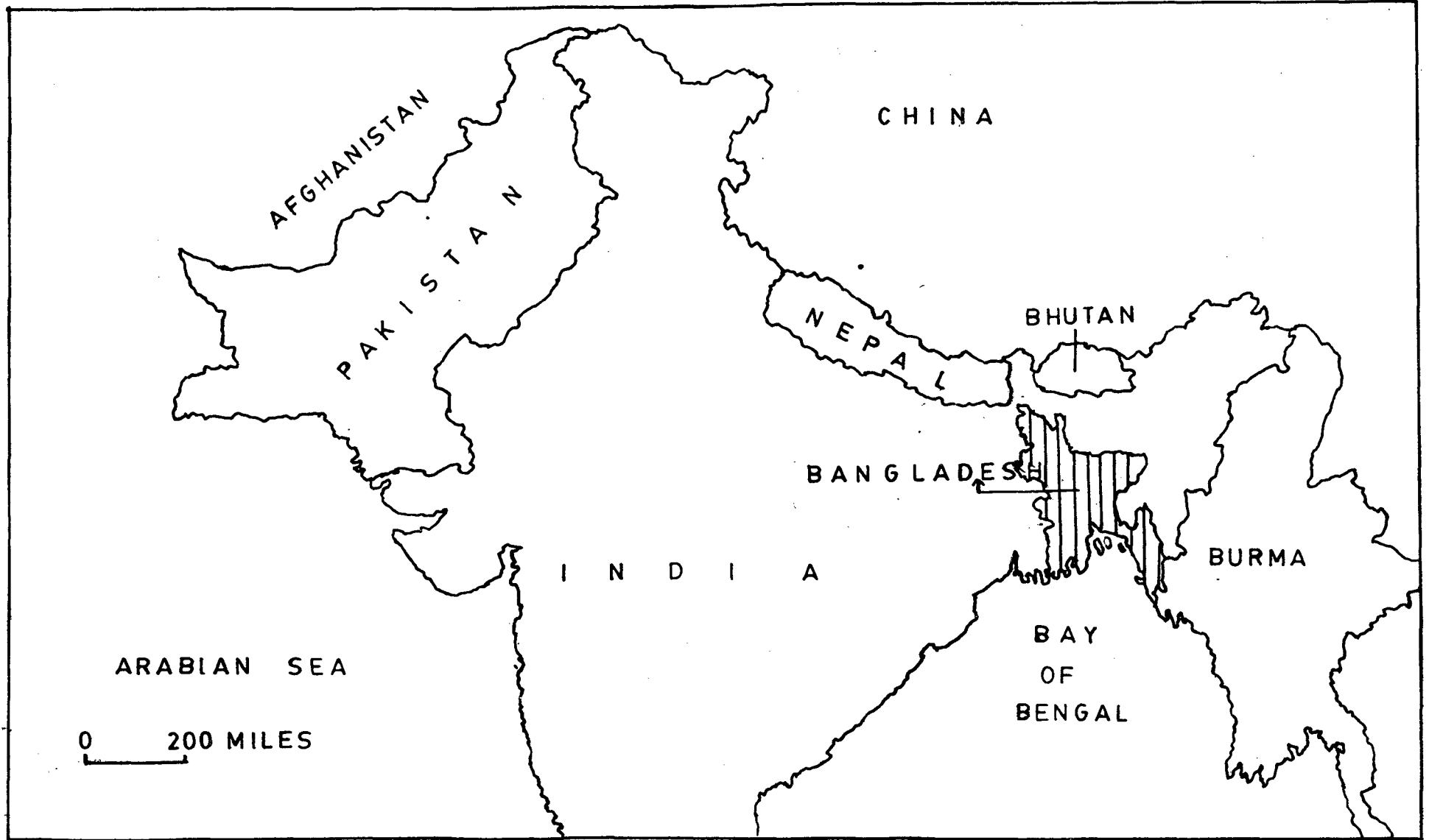
constitution began, but in this constitution the politics of Pakistan was in a new phase of imbalance. On 7 October, 1958, imposed martial law all over the country. General Ayub C-in-C, was appointed as the Chief Martial Law Administrator. The period from October 27, 1958 to June 8, 1962 was a period of ruthless political suppression and military dictatorship in Pakistan under General Ayub Khan. The military take over by Ayub Khan did not bring about any fundamental change in the allocation of values and the distribution of powers. This regime also represented the combined powers of the big industrialists, land-lords, bureaucrats and army, mostly hailed from West Pakistan, particularly from Punjab and was committed to serve their purposes. Ayub Khan took little note to East Pakistan's susceptibilities in the matter. This was, however, not a new experience. Right from Jinnah's time, the central authority had come to ignore East Pakistan and treated it like a colony. On this occasion too, East Pakistan had no special reason to be aggrieved. The recurrent political turmoil had habituated its elite to a permanency of crisis. Sensitiveness has given way to cynicism. Martial law rule was no new threat but only an added experience to the people of East Pakistan.

After the Indo-Pak war in 1965, feelings against India were high in West Pakistan and the Government of Pakistan launched a fresh offensive against Bengali language. In the post-Indo-Pak war period when the whole of Pakistan was heading

towards a crisis, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the leader of the Awami League, provided a concrete shape to the demands of the Bengali Nationalists with his famous six-point formula by early 1966. The six-point formula included the demands such as complete regional autonomy for East Pakistan (except in defence and foreign affairs), a federal, constitution, separate currencies or effective barrier to the movement of capital from East to West Pakistan, taxation and revenue collection to rest with the provinces, foreign exchange earned by East Pakistan to be at the disposal of that province and the setting up of an East Pakistan militia. By articulating and championing these demands, the Awami League, thus, eventually made itself the party of the Bengali nationalists and launched a political movement for the realization of these demands.

Demand was made for two separate currency systems for the two wings, separate banking reserve, and separate fiscal monetary policies for East Bengal. It was further recommended that the power of taxation and revenue collection be vested in the federating units, with the central federal government receiving a fixed share of the state taxes for meeting its expenditure.¹¹ The six-point programme suggested that there should be two separate accounts for foreign exchange earnings for the two wings, under the respective control of each wing;

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the foreign exchange requirements of the federal government should be met by the two wings, either equally or in a ratio to be fixed. It was also suggested that the unit of government should be empowered to establish trade and commercial relations and set up trade missions in, and enter into agreements with, foreign countries. The other three points suggested setting up of a federation "on the basis of the Lahore Resolution", and a parliamentary government based on adult franchise, restricting the powers of the federal government to only two subjects - defence and foreign affairs - and the establishment of "a militia or para-military force" for East Bengal.

The "geographic region of Bangladesh" is basically different from that of dry region of Pakistan, particularly in regard to water availability. The allocation of development expenditure in all three five year plans indicates that the bulk of development expenditure was made in the west, although 55 per cent of the population lived in Bangladesh. Less than one-fourth of the total expenditure went to the eastern wing and it only reached 36 per cent during the third plan period of 1965-66 to 1969-79.¹² It is quite clear that the above inequality, the movement of resources and economic exploitation were undoubtedly a factor in breakaway of Bangladesh from the framework of Pakistan.

In the late 1968 and early 1969, anti-government civil disturbances rocked both wings of Pakistan. In West Pakistan, the movement was simply antiregime. In East Bengal the system was denounced as "a vehicle of West Pakistan domination. The demand for Bengali autonomy raised in 1966 was forcefully reasserted by the Bengali students and urban labourers, and Bengali nationalists sentiments were consciously stirred up. In response to public pressures, Sheikh Mujib's unconditional release was conceded; he was forced in February 1969 and invited to join a Round Table Conference convened by Ayub in a bid to end the agitation.¹³ During the Conference, Sheikh Mujib stuck to his demand that East Bengal be granted regional autonomy on the basis of the Six-Point Programme and that the Bengalis be given proportional representation in the central legislature. Ayub refused to fulfill these demands. He resigned, handing over power to the commander-in-chief of the army, General Yaha Khan, on 25th March of 1969.

After the take over, Yaha Khan allowed a breathing space for consultation and for the resolution of the regional cleavages. He promptly made some popular decisions and promises. One of most important promises he made was that general elections would be held within eithteen months and he would transfer power to the people's representatives.

Accordingly, on 28th November 1969, he announced that the first nation-wide general elections on the basis of 'one-man' 'one-vote' would be held on October 5, 1970 to elect a National Assembly (Parliament) for the purpose of drafting a constitution for the country. Later on March 30, 1970, he announced legal framework order (LFO) which would govern the conduct of elections as well as the role of future National Assembly (NA). The order stipulated that if the President refuses to authenticate the constitution, the National Assembly would stand dissolved and he would be the sole arbiter in interpreting the order. However, the elections, due to be held on October 5, 1970 had to be postponed to December 7, 1970 because of the colossal damage caused by floods and cyclone in East Pakistan.

Bhutto emerged as the leader of West Pakistan while Mujib of East Pakistan. On the night of March 25-26, Yaha ordered the army into action in East Pakistan to restore the central government's authority. He banned the Awami League and arrested Mujib.¹⁴ The President informed Mujib that martial law would continue until the instrument to achieve the transfer of power was ratified by the N.A., but Mujib reiterated his demand for the immediate withdrawal of martial law and asked for fulfilled representative governments responsible to the elected Assemblies to be established both at the centre and the provinces. The President rejected this

demand. On March 22, the President again postponed the inaugural session of the N.A. to an indefinite period. Thus, the negotiation broke down leading to the catastrophic liberation war for the independence of Bangladesh nation. Large scale civil war erupted between the central government and the Mukti Bahini (the forces fighting to make East Pakistan into an independent nation). The feeling against Pakistan ran so high that in many places the Pakistan flag was hauled down and the flag of Bangladesh was flown over hundreds of houses, schools and political party offices. On March 25, Sheikh Mujib called on his people to prepare themselves for "supreme sacrifices" and called for a general strike on March 27.

Meanwhile, March 25 was fixed a day for final showdown of the military regime. By mid-night of 25 March when the army operation began in Dhaka, the whole complexion of the problem of East Pakistan had changed. The army made a brutal attempt at a whole scale slaughter of intellegentsia, Hindus, Awami League leaders, workers and students and thus tried to fill the hearts of East Pakistanis with terror. The army unleashed a reign of terror and its campaign has been described by observers as "genocide".

Ultimately, the occupied army of West Pakistan surrendered to the joint command of Bengalee freedom fighters (i.e. 'Mukti Bahini') and the Indian army (named as 'Mitra Bahini'). Bangladesh was completely freed as an independent sovereign nation from Pakistan's rule on December 16, 1971.¹⁵

Although language was the basis of the Bangladesh nationalism, there were other factors such as cultural conflict, social imbalance, political domination and economic disparity, which altogether played decisive role in the emergence of Bangladesh nation. In the nationalists movement, it was the language which acted as a dominant force that united the East Bengalees together creating a self-consciousness of their own identity as "Bengalees" and then inspired them to relentless struggle for a separate homeland of their own. It was the language which formented the entire nationalist movement in Bangladesh.

Its Consequences on Pakistan:

After partition, there were many consequences on Pakistan: Pakistan reduced access to raw materials, food and industrial products. Bangladesh with a population of 45 million, consisted of an area of 55,000 sq. miles in the Ganges-Brahmaputra deltaic region of Bengal with only 22 million acres of cultivable land. Although its cultivable area looked very limited, its fertility was more than twice that of the

irrigated lands of West Pakistan. Climatically, it lay in the monsoon belt having the world's highest rainfall. Agriculture which was the major economic activity of this region, was dominated by double-crop rice and jute production. West Pakistan with 30 million people, was five times larger in area than the eastern province, but most of her lands were sterile and lying fallow. So Pakistan was depended on Bangladesh for raw materials, hides, skins and other industrial products. After partition Pakistan reduced access of all these materials.

As far as the regional resource endowments and the level of regional total income were concerned, the Bangladesh was slightly better of than Pakistan. In this way Pakistan lost the surplus which it got from Bangladesh.¹⁶

Another most important philosophy implicit in the industrialisation policy of Pakistan was to treat the two zones as constituting one economy. And planning the size of each industry was based on the extent of one market, not two. Thus as a logical consequence, the non-industrialised part of the country was becoming a market for the industrialised part. West Pakistan was the major manufacturing region and East Pakistan was as its captive market. So most of the benefits have accrued to the West Pakistan.

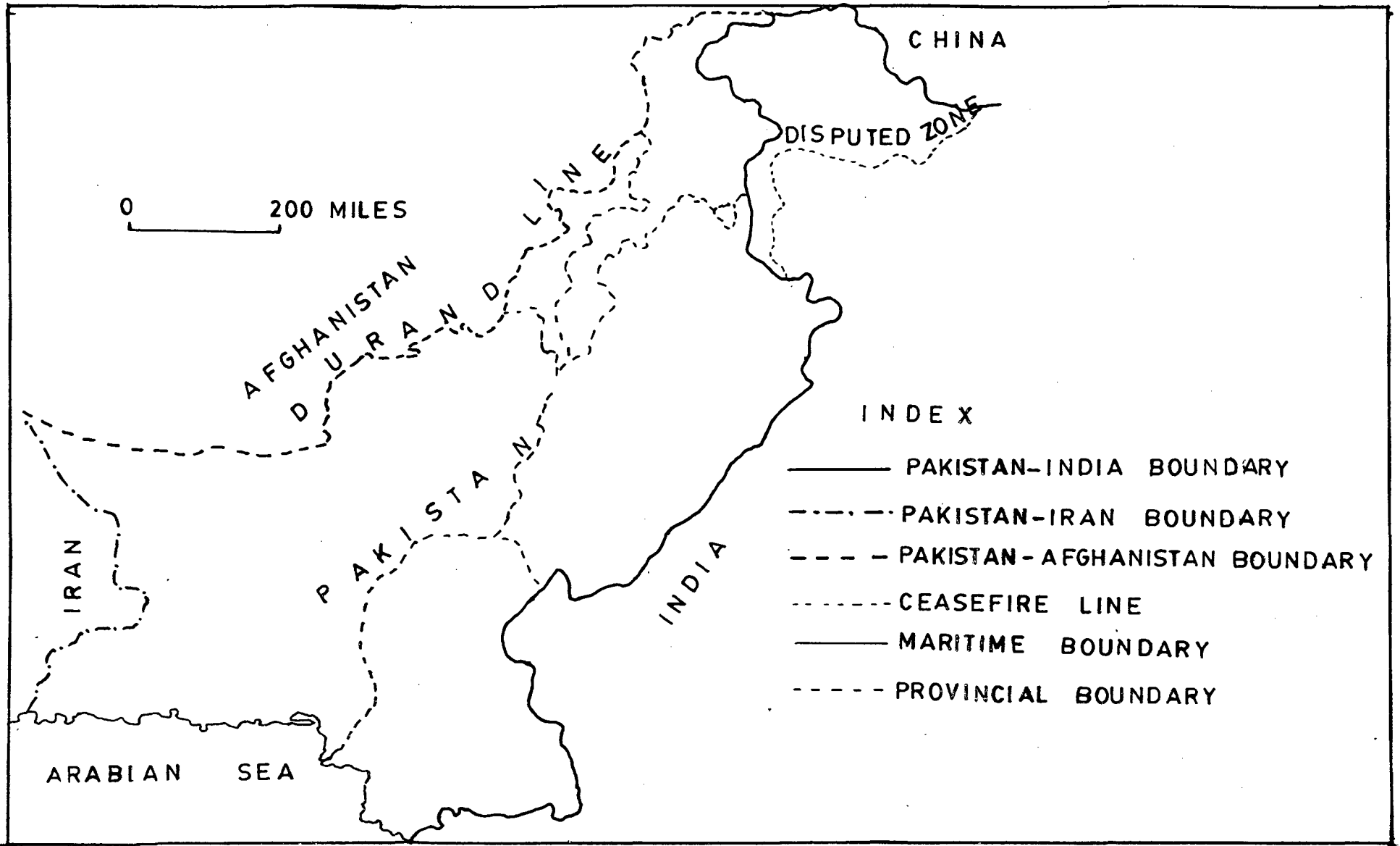
The other main consequence of partition was the change in foreign policy of Pakistan. As Pakistan had seen earlier at the partition Bangladesh 'Mukti Bahini' was joined with the Indian army and Russian support. So to keep integrity and stability, Pakistan being a underdeveloped country has to seek the support and help of foreign countries like U.S.A. and China. Pakistan has to keep amicable relations and good rapport with these countries.

Boundaries of Pakistan and Agreements:

The problem of Pakistan's boundary was essentially a projection of the larger political problem of India, whether one looks at the old boundaries inherited by Pakistan or the new boundaries determined by the Boundary Commission. Pakistan's boundary attached with India, Afghanistan, China, & Iran.

1. The Indo-Pakistan Boundary: The Pakistan's boundary adjoins the Rann of Kutch (Gujarat State), Rajasthan, Punjab and Kashmir. Under the Radcliffe Award the boundary was well defined and partly demarcated on the ground. Pakistan claimed 9,065 sq. kilometres of the Rann of Kutch, and in 1965 its troops invaded the area and reached far inside Indian territory. India produced maps and records published prior to 1947 which showed that the Rann of Kutch belonged to the Kutch State after independence which had become a part of Gujarat. Various documents issued on the authority of the political department of the British Government of India showing political

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political changes in 1937, 1938, 1939 and 1942, clearly depicted the Rann of Kutch within the Western States' agency and never a part of the Sind Province.¹⁷

India and Pakistan fought two out of three wars (1948 and 1965) over the Kashmir issue. Both countries have missed all opportunities of solving the issue either militarily or politically. In 1948, India hinted at trading off Kashmir for Hyderabad Deccan and Junagarh States. In 1965, General Ayub Khan also failed to alter the status quo by sending commandos in the Indian administered part of the valley. The Kashmir problem was kept high on the agenda at the Tashkent Conference in 1966. It was also discussed at Simla in 1972.

In Simla Agreement, in order to initiate the process of the establishment of durable peace, both the Governments agreed that:

- (1) Indian and Pakistani forces shall be withdrawn to their side of the international border;
- (2) In Jammu and Kashmir, the line of control resulting from the cease-fire of December 17, 1971 shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognized position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally, irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from the threat or the use of force in violation of this line.¹⁸

(3) The withdrawals shall commence after bringing into force of this agreement and shall be completed within a period of 30 days thereof.

Since then the Kashmir dispute was played down by the Pakistani authorities. However, the government of General Zia-ul-Haq, once again declared Kashmir as an integral part of Pakistan; and the Kashmir issue was brought at international forums. The President of Azad Kashmir has time and again called for a 'Jihad' to liberate Kashmir from the Indian Yoke. Pakistan's renewed interest in Kashmir annoys the Indians and they consider such a move to be a violation of the Simla Accord.¹⁹ The Simla Agreement while converting the cease-fire line into the line of actual control said: the line ran beyond Thang joining the glaciers. (in other words, the watershed to the West of the glacier became the demarcation line).²⁰

The Indo-Pak controversy over the actual line of control in the Siachen Glacier is a corollary of the Kashmir dispute. Intense cold blurs the demarcation of the line of control in the area. From the Pakistan's point of view, in 1982-83, the Indian troops occupied a part of the Pakistani territory and since then are holding it. There are frequent reports

of clashes on this issue between the armed forces of the two countries and reportedly India has recently taken away a major part of the Glacier. The Siachen issue has been discussed at the official and summit levels but in vein. Clashes at Siachen may not spark off a full-scale war in the Himalayas, but they could become a prelude to a new show-down in the Punjab plains or in the sand of Sindh. Just as the Rann of Kutch skirmishes in 1964 led to the 1965 war, the clashes at the Siachen may perhaps be a part of the fourth round of hostilities between India and Pakistan.

2. The Boundary with Afghanistan: Afghanistan has Pakhtunistan problem which is closely interlinked with the Durand line issue, has been a source of immense bitterness between the two countries. The relations between the two countries were strained when in July 1949 Afghanistan repudiated certain treaties which it had signed with Great Britain particularly concerning the Durand line - the boundary between Pakistan and Afghanistan. It maintained that the 1893 Durand line had demarcated the border between it and British India largely in the later's favour and to rectify this wrong the Durand line should be moved further to the east. Since then the Afghan Government started

giving open support to the Pakhtoonistan movement. The Afghan government rejected the Pakistan contention that the majority of the N.W.F.P. population voted in favour of Pakistan in the referendum held in 1947.²¹ For the sake of simplicity, the boundary with Afghanistan may be divided into a northern and a southern part. The northern part is the same as the Durand line. The Wakhan ridge which contains the Pan-handle was to serve as a buffer strip between the two spheres of influence.

The southern half of the Afghan-Pakistan boundary runs in a barren and uninhabited region which has little attraction for the Afghans. From Chaman it descends to the desert of Lara, climbs the Chagai range and finally descends westwards to the southern margin of the salty wastes of Sistan. The entire belt along the boundary is barren and uninhabited and virtually isolates Baluchistan from Afghanistan except in the eastern part where the strong garrisons of Quetta and Chaman guard this vulnerable corner.

The basis of Afghanistan's claim to the disputed frontier is partly geographical, partly historical. First, it is a landlocked state whose shortest and easiest access to the sea or the outside world lies through Pakistan. It is possible that the boundaries of a friendly or subservient Pakhtoonistan would enable Afghanistan to use the Indus river, but even then the river would be useless as long as Peshawar in the north and Karachi in the south remain in

Pakistan, and can block Afghanistan's foreign trade.

So, the main disputed area lies in Pakistan in the eastern side of Durand line, which is inhabited by those Pathans whose language is Pakhtoo or Pushtu. The struggle of the Pakhtun people began when they were separated from the Afghan state in consequence of the encroachment by the British Government.

Pakistan and China Boundary and Agreement: On 6 October 1959, the New York Times correspondent writing from Pakistan reported that "a frontier dispute" appeared to be building between Pakistan and China and that was said to have been precipitated by the same Chinese maps that India had disputed. The maps showing parts of Pakistan and Pakistan-held Kashmir as part of China were said to have caused "considerable concern" in Pakistan "particularly in view of recent border violations by unidentified foreign military jet air craft. The Chinese were also reported to have sponsored a "Muslim liberation Movement" among the Afghans and Kirghiz tribal people on the Sin Kiang side of the frontier which had links with the Pathan tribe in the Chitral and Swat areas.

The continuous deterioration in relations with India, as a result of the Chinese suppression of the Tibetan autonomy, the assertion of Peking's territorial claims against India and the Kongka pass incident of August 1959 in which a few Indians lost their lives, and the growing

Sino-Soviet rift accounting for Soviet neutrality or rather disapproval of Mao for the Sino-Indian border clashes and later promise to supply MIG-21 jet planes to India led Peking to think about ensuring its security on its periphery by concluding boundary agreements, non-aggression or friendship treaties with as many neighbouring countries as possible. The general feeling about Pakistan taking the initiative in informal soundings on contacts of 1959 does not appear to be convincing for a number of reasons, even though Islamabad was first to formally approach Peking for boundary demarcation in its diplomatic note of 28th March 1961. The President of the "Azad Kashmir" K.H. Khurshid, in a statement on 17 August 1959 viewed with "considerable alarm and concern" the news of the occupation of a part of Ladakh, the eastern province of Jammu and Kashmir state by China, carried by the Manchester Guardian and uncontradicted by New Delhi.

Commenting on the "aggressive activities" of the Chinese on the Ladakh border, the Karachi paper Jang of 27 October 1959 observed that the President of Pakistan had made it clear that Pakistan could not remain indifferent to "the threat to the peace and security of the sub-continent" for a conflict between China and India could endanger the security of Pakistan itself. Realizing the danger implicit

in Chinese encroachments in Ladakh, Pakistan was constrained to strengthen its scout garrisons in Hunza and Baltistan and to completely seal the Gilgit border with China - for the first time since the Chinese communists came to power. Trade with China through the silk route was stopped and a Chinese caravan was turned back by Pakistanis who feared communist infiltration. In the middle of March 1962, more than two years after Pakistan had first proposed negotiations, Peking decided to discuss the border question. A Chinese note on the subject was regarded in Karachi as a step forward. S.K. Dehlavi, the new foreign secretary, described Pakistan's relations with China as "cordial with prospects of closer understanding in fields where such understanding is possible and desirable". On May 3, with a view to "ensuring tranquility on the border" and developing "good neighbouring relations" between them, Pakistan and China announced that they had agreed to negotiate a provisional demarcation line between Sinkiang and "the contiguous area the defense of which is under the actual control of Pakistan".²³

On 2 March 1963, both Pakistan and China signed the border agreement to demarcate their common border (Bindra, 1988). The building of the famous Karakoram Highway, linking Chinese and Pakistani territory across central Asia, symbolised this mutual trust. The strategic importance of the Karakoram highway is very obvious. It links Xinjiang with Tibet through the Aksai Chin.

Iran-Pakistan Boundary: From Koh-Malik Siah, which forms the tri-junction of Iran-Afghanistan-Pakistan boundaries the boundary runs south eastwards along the edge of the Baluchistan range (in Iran), and the Baluchistan salt barrens (in Pak.). It crosses the low saddle between the Baluchistan and the Siachan ranges, turns south-westwards forming a deep salient in a disolate area, and finally reaching Gwater Bay on the Arabian Sea.

A notable event in Pakistan-Iran relations was the border delineation between the two countries. The territory in dispute involved parts of Baluchistan that had been under Iranian sovereignty before the advent of the British Raj. This included Zahadan the railway terminus from Quetta, which came under Pakistan's control after 1947. Minor border clashes occurred between 1947 and 1949 which were however not serious enough to merit press reports. More serious were the clashes that occurred in 1955 when the Baghdad Pact was taking shape. At Pakistan's initiative an Iranian mission visited Pakistan in March 1955 to review the border. In July 1955 the two governments agreed to appoint a boundary commission. On October 30, 1956 complete agreement was reportedly reached on the boundary demarcation between the two countries. The draft agreement was formally approved and signed on 6 February 1958. The transfer of territories was completed in 1963 under the Ayub regime.

The border agreement was never publicised by the Pakistan and Iran Government and there was controversy in Pakistan as to the exact extent of territory ceded by Pakistan to Iran. Apart from the transfer of Zahedan, Pakistan apparently ceded areas in the Chagai, Makran and Karan districts. Mir Abdul Baqi Baluch a member of the Pakistan national assembly, moved a writ petition in the High Court of West Pakistan challenging the Government of Pakistan's decision to transfer 3,000 sq. miles of territory inhabited by 10,000 Pakistanis to Iran. He claimed that it was ultra vires the 1962 constitution and the independence Act of 1947. The foreign minister Z.A. Bhutto later clarified this in the national assembly. He stated that Pakistan had ceded 300 and 3000 sq. miles. In return Pakistan received 95 sq. miles.

The border issue has not however been put to rest. The petition challenging the transfer of territory has been recently revived by Mir Abdul Baqi Baluch.

The Sea Boundary: From Gwatar Bay, the Makran coast extends eastwards almost upto where the Indus drains into the Arabian Sea. It is a rocky coast with many cover and notches which in the past served as excellent hideouts for the pirates - coastal peoples who turned to piracy because other sources of livelihood were very limited. Piracy is no longer practised

but the coast is as unattractive as ever and is reported to have been used for hideouts by smugglers. The need to stop this smuggling was perhaps the main reason behind Pakistan's purchase of the port of Gwatar (Gwadar) which was previously owned by a local chieftain. Few routes join Gwatar or the rest of the coast to the interior.

A few miles east of the point where the rocky coastline ends stands Karachi, the former capital of Pakistan. Eastwards the boundary follows the coast which is either sandy or swampy and which becomes lower and increasingly indeterminate, especially in the vicinity of the Rann of Kutch. The temporarily exposed lands, the Rann of Kutch and mainland sea bottom land are simultaneously claimed by both India and Pakistan and produce continual disputes. The easiest solution of this situation lies in the decline or acceptance of a mutually agreed astronomical line to serve as the boundary here but so far the two countries have failed to solve the issue. This is particularly unfortunate because the disputes involves strips of land which are of little strategic or economic value to either of the two countries.

Pakistan has border agreements with Iran, Afghanistan, China and India. India-Pakistan borders may continue to cause trouble, because the Chinese communist philosophy of expansionism and war is radically different from India's democratic,

secular principle of peaceful coexistence. Pakistan and India also differ in their philosophical and political attitudes. Pakistan's antagonism towards India and its collusion with China perpetuates the dangerous border situation. The demand of Pakhtoonistan along the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan is also causing tension between the two countries.

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CHAPTER IV

PATTERN OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND PROBLEMS

Pakistan was born with a number of serious disadvantages. Since 1947, the year of its birth, it was not only politically, socially, and administratively backward compared to the rest of India but also economically, also the poorest part of the British Indian empire. The economy was basically rural: the bulk of its population lived in the countryside, and three-fourth of its G.N.P. was contributed by the agricultural sector for their livelihood. There was little external trade; the few exchanges of goods and commodities that took place involved the areas in India that were contiguous to Pakistan.¹

Yet Pakistan survived economically, indeed, it was able to see its economic growth at an impressive rate. Now, nearly four decades later, the area that constitutes Pakistan is among the most prosperous areas of south Asia. Most important among the striking characteristics of Pakistan's economy is its high rate of growth since 1947, the year of independence. The G.N.P. has increased at an average annual rate of more than 4 per cent per annum. At an average per capita income of more than \$ 500, Pakistan would be categorized as a middle income country rather than as a member of the group of nearly forty countries that the world Bank classifies as low income.² Economic development

is measured through four categories of development indicators: macroeconomic, microeconomic/technological, socio-demographic and geopolitical.³ All the major indicators are listed in table 1.5.

Table 1.5

List of Development Indicators

Category	Indicator
1. Macroeconomic	(i) Per capita G.N.P.
	(ii) G.D.P.
	(iii) G.D.P.-share of manufacturing
	(iv) Manufacturing output
	(v) Labour Productivity
	(vi) Exports
	(vii) Resource balance
	(viii) Domestic Saving rate.
	(ix) Foreign Debt.
	(x) Government expenditures.
2. Microeconomic & Technology	(i) Industrial Structure Production
	(ii) Industrial Structure employment
	(iii) Industrial Structure exports
	(iv) Energy intensity
	(v) Energy balance
	(vi) Fertilizer consumption
	(vii) Research & Experimental development.

contd....

- | | | |
|----------------------|-------|---------------------------------|
| 3. Socio-demographic | (i) | Population |
| | (ii) | Life expectancy |
| | (iii) | Food consumption |
| | (iv) | Health services |
| | (v) | Enrollment in Primary education |
| | (vi) | Urbanization |
| 4. Geo-political | (i) | Geographical setting |
| | (ii) | Armed forces |
| | (iii) | Military expenditure |
| | (iv) | Political risk ratings. |

The process of development has moved resources out of agriculture and into industry, commerce, and services. The shares of these sectors in comparison to all low income countries were considerably lower. In the area of export diversification, Pakistan has not done well. Agriculture still accounts for over a third of its total exports. But this seems lack of progress is the consequence of the country's economic endowments.

The Role of Politics in Pakistan's Economy:

To a considerable extent, politics was responsible for the wide fluctuations in the performance of the main sectors of the economy. Some reasons for these fluctuations can be discerned if sectoral performance is analysed in the context of political periods. It is shown by the table 1.6

Table 1.6

Economic Performance during major political periods
(average annual growth rates in %)

	Competitive Parliamentary Democracy 1947-58	First Military Dictatorship (Ayub and Yahya) (1958-71)	Civilian dictator- ship(Bhutto) 1971-77	Second Military dictator- ship 1977-84
G.D.P.	2.9	5.3	5.4	6.1
Agriculture	1.6	3.9	2.1	4.6
Manufacturing	8.7	8.1	5.2	9.1
Other sectors	6.1	6.0	7.8	6.1

Source: Shahid, Javed Burki, Pakistan: A Nation in the Making, (Pakistan, 1986), p.113.

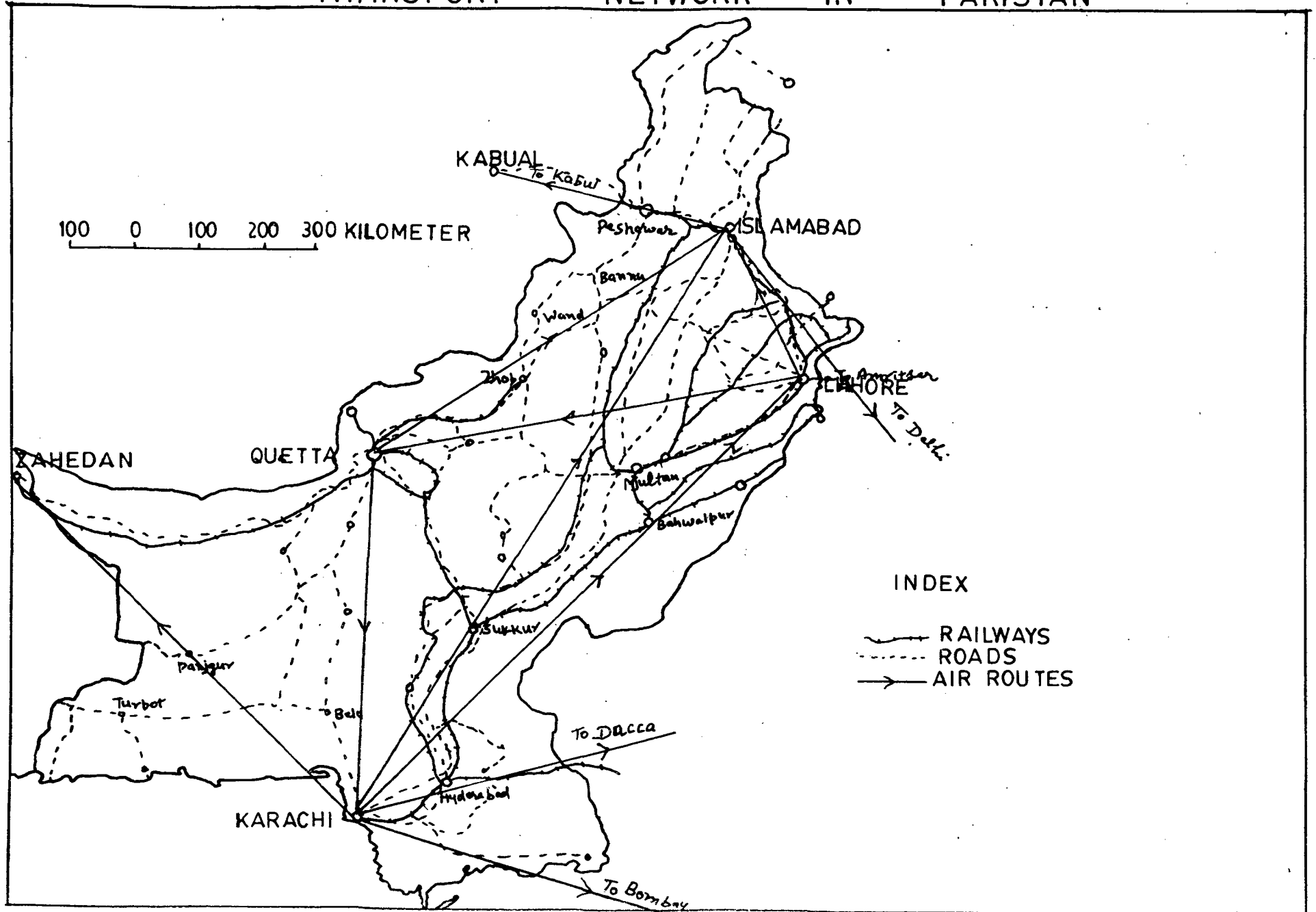
The Government from time to time initiated a number of measures to strengthen its economy. In 1972, Z.A.

Bhutto Government nationalized the industries in the hope of giving a new direction to the Pakistan's economic set up. But later on it was realized that to implement the decision was very difficult and the Government was compelled to change the policy.⁴ The financial policy planners are more or less flexible in their attitude as is evident from the existence of large number of multinationals hopefully enjoying the patronage of the Pakistan Government.

Role of Transport Facilities:

Transportational developments, particularly the construction and improvement of roads, railway lines, have held the key to the regional economic expansion. Transports play a significant role in improving and strengthening the economy of a country. No trade, commerce, agriculture and industry can flourish without a good system of transport. The Governments field of interest was extended to the road transports in 1978 when the National Logistic Cell was established. The roads however dominate the inland transport for both the passengers and freight. Out of an estimated 129.952 billion passengers km. of the total inter-city traffic in 1987-88, roads carried 85.2 per cent, railways 13.1 per cent and air 1.2 per cent. Of an estimated 39.523 billion tonnes

TRANSPORT NETWORK IN PAKISTAN



of km. of freight, excluding bulk transport of coal and oil, roads carried 80 per cent, railways 19.7 per cent and air 1.3 per cent.⁵

The art of road building is as old as human civilization. The ancient peoples of India were adept in the technique of road construction. The medieval India also witnessed a good network of roads. The great road builders medieval Muslim rulers like Muhammad bin Tughluq and Shershah had constructed very good roads. In Pakistan the regional economic roads are connected to the capital. Anyhow, during the last forty years, the road system was considerably improved.

Table 1.7

TransportRailways

	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88
1. Passenger Journeys ('000)	82,927	78,141	83,715
2. Passenger-km (million)	16,848	16,919	18,428
3. Freight ('000 metric tonnes)	11,803	11,645	11,685
4. Net Freight ton-km(million)	8,272	7,819	8,072

CONTD...

Road Traffic (registered motor vehicles)

	1983	1984	1985
1. Passenger cars(including taxis.)	361,994	404,443	452,071
2. Buses and Coaches	53,725	58,489	62,040
3. Goods vehicles	66,922	68,900	75,624
4. Motor Cycles(including rickshaws)	755,276	834,731	925,977
5. Others	246,294	287,791	323,060
6. Total	1,484,211	1,654,354	1,838,772

Shipping (port of Karachi)

	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88
1. Vessels ('000 net reg. tons)			
Entered	13,212	13,518	13,862
Cleared	12,896	13,235	13,798
2. Goods ('000 long tons)			
Loaded	3,310	3,124	3,386
Unloaded	12,509	13,180	14,332

Contd....

Civil Aviation (domestic and international flights,
'000)

	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88
1. Kilometres flown	50,811	51,736	41,816
2. Passenger km.	7,054,057	7,329,477	5,537,132
3. Freight ton km.	309,922	320,689	250,113
4. Mail ton-km.	6,407	7,144	4,888

Source: Europa World Book, 1989, vol.II, 30th edn.,
pp. 2006.

Like roads, railways are also a quick and convenient means of transportation of people's and goods. At present the total route mileage of Pakistan railways, according to an account, is over seventy thousand miles are broad-gauge, while about three hundred miles are narrow gauge. Airways and water way are also the good means of transportation. They link Pakistan with the other countries also. Pakistan since independence, has shown a remarkable progress in aviation and shipping.⁶ So, the economic development of a country is fully depends on the means of transportation.

Population:

According to the 1981 census the population of the country was 83.782 million. The density of population per sq. km. increased from 82 persons in 1972 to 105 persons in 1981 census. Punjab has high density because the land is good for agriculture. The population is mainly concentrated in trade towns and administrative capitals. The population of Pakistan is unevenly distributed. There are several reasons which are suggestive of this uneven distribution of population.

- (1) The existence of wide-range of altitudes and climates;
- (2) Existence of soil;
- (3) Adequate water supply.
- (4) The relative accessibility to the developed peripheral states; and
- (5) Religious, ethical, social and traditional, economic, development. These are the main causes of uneven distribution of population.

The present annual population growth in Pakistan is estimated to be between 2.9 and 3.2 per cent, the highest among the ten most populous countries of the world and higher than the average growth of other developing countries. The rate of population growth needs to be reduced at the same time that the rate of economic development is accelerated. However, the problems in reducing rate of population increases, are far greater than those in stimulating economic development.⁷

Table 1.8

(Urban/Rural population and density of population)

	1972		1981	
	Population (in '000)	Density persons per sq.km.	Population (in '000)	Density persons per sq.km
1. Pakistan	65,309	82	83,782	105
Urban	16,593		23,729	
Rural	48,716		60,053	
2. N.W.F.P.	8,389	113	10,885	146
Urban	1,196		1,658	
Rural	7,193		9,227	
3. Punjab	37,845	183	47,116	229
Urban	9,259		12,971	
Rural	28,586		34,145	
4. Sind	14,156	100	18,966	134
Urban	5,726		8,226	
5. Baluchistan	2,428	7	4,205	12
Urban	390		672	
Rural	2,029		3,633	
6. FATA	2,491	92	2,175	80
Urban	13		-	
Rural	2,478		2,175	
7. Islamabad (F.C.A)	235	259	335	369
Urban	77		202	
Rural	158		133	

FATA: Federally Administered Areas.

FCA: Federal Capital Area.

Source: Pakistan Yearbook, 1988-89, p.15.

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION DENSITY IN PAKISTAN-1981

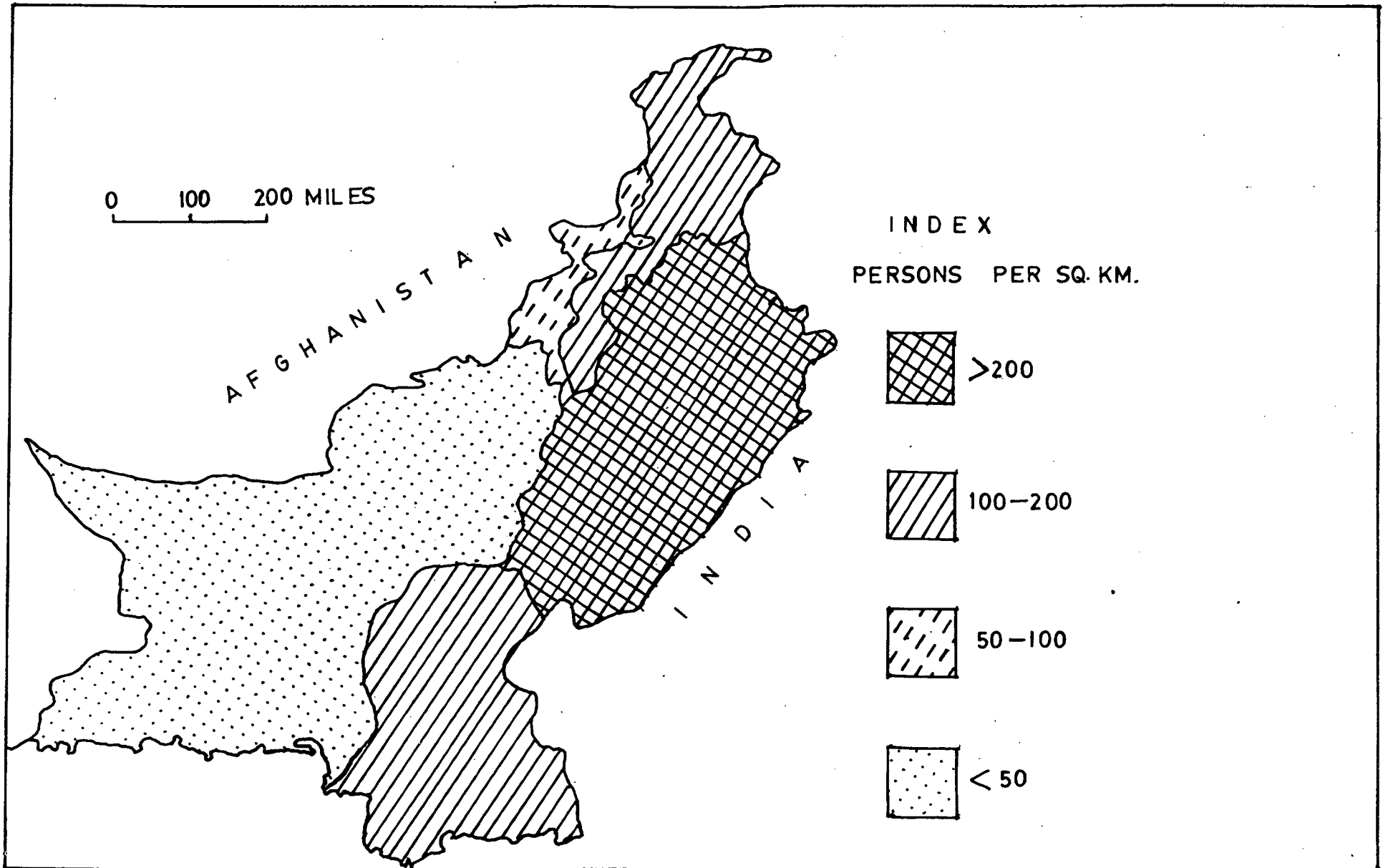


Table 1.9

Male-Female | Population (in '000)

	1972		1981	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1. Pakistan	34,883	30,476	43,960	39,822
2. North-West Frontier Province	4,363	4,026	5,652	5,233
3. Punjab	20,341	17,505	24,783	22,328
4. Sind	7,574	6,582	9,935	9,031
5. Baluchistan	1,289	1,139	2,274	2,031
6. FATA	1,256	1,225	1,129	1,046
7. Islamabad (FCA)	130	105	182	153

FATA: Federally Administered Tribal Areas.

FCA : Federal Capital Area.

Source: Pakistan Yearbook, 1988-89, p.15.

The population growth rate is shown by table 2. The table 1.9 shows the male-female distribution of the population. The urban-rural distribution of population has been one of the most dynamic factors in Pakistan's demographic growth. Over the 1901-81 period, the percentage of urban population increased while the rural percentage decreased. In 1901 about 10 per cent of the people lived in urban areas. During 1951-71 the growth of the urban

population was rapidly increasing nearly 70 per cent. However, in 1971-81 decade, the increase was slightly lower at 44 per cent.⁸

Table 2.0.

Population Growth Rate, 1901-1981

Decade	Percentage increase
1. 1901-1911	7.1
2. 1911-1921	8.9
3. 1921-1931	11.5
4. 1931-1941	20.1
5. 1941-1951	19.3
6. 1951-1961	27.3
7. 1961-1972	51.3
8. 1972-1981	28.28

Source: K.U. Kureshi, A Geography of Pakistan (Karachi, 1977), p.76; and Pakistan Yearbook, 1988-89, p.8.

Table 2.1

Economically Active Population

(000 persons aged 10 years and over, excluding armed forces)

	1984	1985	1986
1. Agriculture, hunting, forestry, and fishing.	14,053	14,490	14,054
2. Mining and quarrying	29	27	47
3. Manufacturing	3,582	3,693	3,800
4. Electricity, gas & water	301	311	192
5. Construction	1,279	1,319	1,556
6. Trade, restaurants & hotels	3,183	3,281	3,207
7. Transport, storage & communications.	1,224	1,261	1,445
8. Financing, insurance, real estate and business services	219	225	245
9. Community, social and personal services	2,715	2,800	3,077
10. Activities not adequately described	74	74	175
11. Total labour force	27,740	28,596	28,872
12. Males	24,533	25,296	26,149
13. Females	3,207	3,300	2,723

Source: Europa World Book, 1989, vol.II, 30th edn, p.2003.

The intensive industrial activities are found in the urban areas. The quality of population is that, Pakistan has the lowest educational level, low standard of health and living,

which imply a poor quality of working force as compared to the developed countries. The economic development depends on the population. If the population growth rate is high, the economy will be less developed if it is low the economy will be more developed.

Agriculture:

Pakistan depends heavily on agriculture for its food supply and for raw materials for industries. Despite some very significant changes in Pakistan's economy, agriculture remains the largest sector. It was proportionately much larger in 1947, when it accounted for 53 per cent of the Gross domestic Product (G.D.P.), than it is today. Since 1947, other sectors of the economy--manufacturing in particular--have grown much more rapidly, with the result that agriculture today contributes only 29 per cent to the domestic products. But for the best agriculture certain geographical conditions are necessary such as temperature, rainfall, terrain, soil etc. these are the main geographical conditions.

In 1981, the total area was 79.6 million hectares and in 1987 it was also 79.6 million hectares. The total cultivated area was 20.3 million hectares in 1981 and it was 20.8 million hectares in 1987. The area under principle crops is shown in the table 2.2. In 1984-85 the total food

Table 2.2
Area Under Principal Crops
 (Thousand hectares)

Crops	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87
1. Wheat	7,259	7,403	7,706
2. Rice	1,999	1,863	2,066
3. Bajra	606	561	509
4. Jowar	395	372	399
5. Maize	809	804	816
6. Barley	190	189	182
7. Gram	1,014	1,033	1,082
8. Other pulses	402	418	440
9. Sugarcane	904	780	762
10. Cotton	2,242	2,364	2,502
11. Tobacco	50	46	39

Source: Pakistan Yearbook, 1988-89, p. 492.

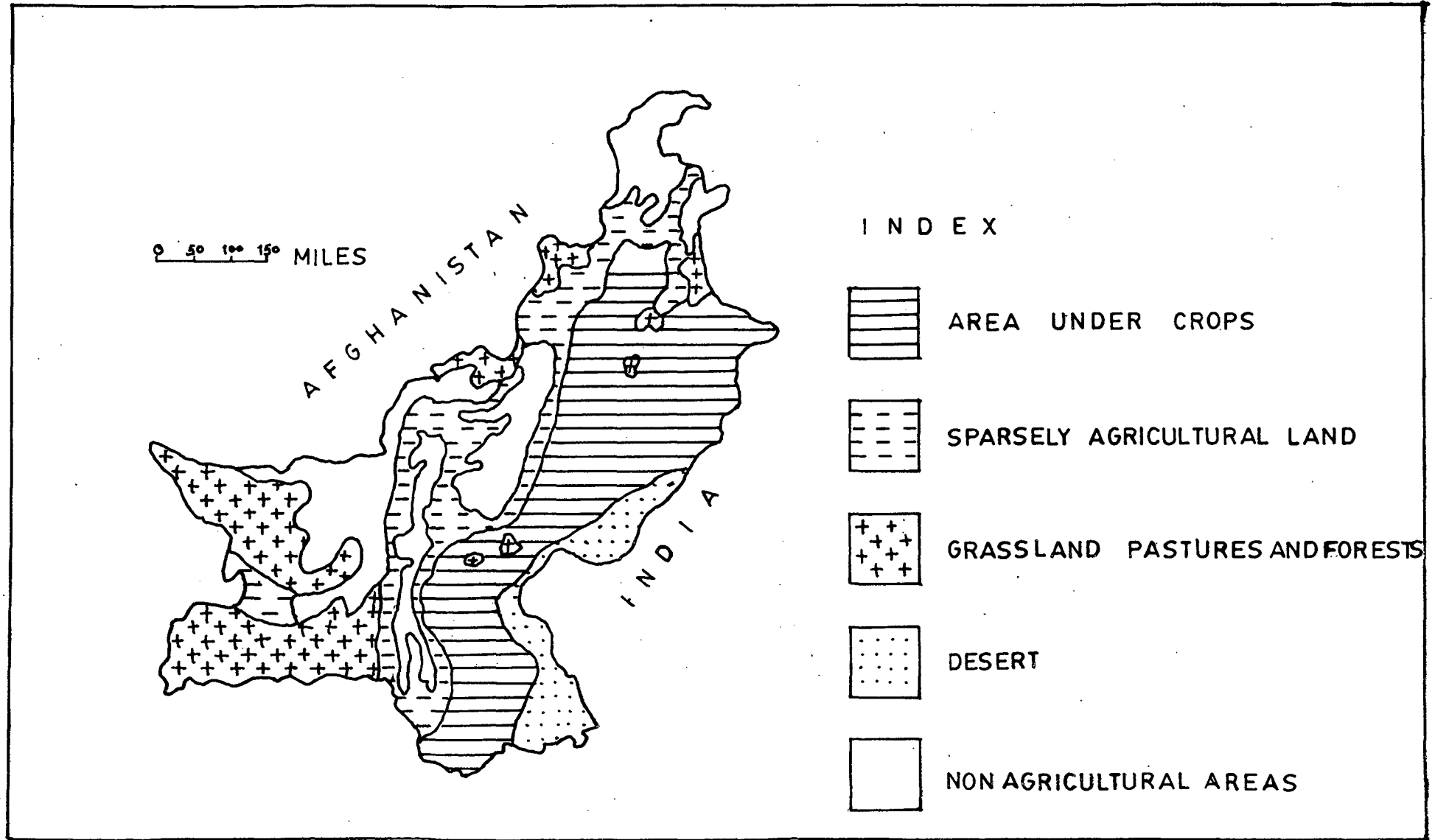
grains area was 11,255 thousand hectares and in 1986-87 it was 11,678 thousand hectares. After a period of stagnation in the fifties, agricultural production in Pakistan rose, subsequently in the sixties because of the increased area under cultivation and higher crop yields made possible through greater availability of controlled water and use of fertilisers.⁹ The agricultural regions in Pakistan are mainly situated near the rivers. There is practically no agriculture in the highlands west of the Indus river, and there nomads make their living by herding sheep.

Table 2.3

Index of Agricultural Production
(Major crops) 1959-60=100

Year	All crops	Food crops	Non-food crops	Fibres
1960-61	100	98	103	103
1970-71	174	164	195	188
1980-81	249	254	236	245
1981-82	258	257	261	257
1982-83	270	277	235	283
1983-84	237	253	248	170
1984-85	275	265	239	346
1985-86	298	290	212	418
1986-87	300	281	219	453

AGRICULTURAL REGIONS OF PAKISTAN



Wheat is the principal food crop. Rice is the most important crop in the Pakistan. Other important crops are the Bajra, Jowar, Maize, Barley, Gram, Pulses, Sugarcane, Rape and Mustard, Cotton and Tobacco. Jute, fodder crops and fruits are also grown in Pakistan.¹⁰

Table 2.4

Production of Principal Crops

(Thousand tonnes)

Crops	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87
1. Wheat	11,703	13,923	12,016
2. Rice	3,315	2,919	3,486
3. Bajra	284	258	233
4. Jowar	230	219	236
5. Maize	1028	1009	1111
6. Barley	132	134	134
7. Gram	524	586	583
8. Pulses	202	211	218
9. Sugarcane	32,140	27,856	29,926
10. Cotton	1008	1208	1309
11. Tobacco	87	78	69

Source: Pakistan Yearbook, 1988-89, p.493.

Pakistan uses the mechanical power also. The use of mechanical power in Pakistan's agriculture first appeared in the early fifties in the form of private tubewells to tap underground water for irrigation purposes, introduction of tractors and tractor-tillage equipment became inevitable in the mid-sixties.¹¹ More detail is seen in table 2.5.

Table 2.5

Number of Machines and Mechanical Equipment used for Agricultural purposes in 1968, 1975, 1980.

Equipment	1968	1975	1980
1. Tubewells and lift pumps	83,702	155,784	205,440
2. Tractors	18,909	34,583	97,373
3. Threshers-shelliers	-	5,970	35,250
4. Tractor-driven Blades	-	12,599	41,199
5. Tractor-driven Drills	-	1,617	17,316
6. Bullock-driven Drills	-	-	199,188
7. Bullock-driven Furrow-turning ploughs	-	2,734	1,162,243
8. Self operated Sprayers	-	473	7,676
9. Hand operated sprayers	-	-	36,223

Source: M. Ghaffar Choudhry, Mechanization and Agricultural Development in Pakistan, Pakistan Development Review, vol.xxv, no.4, Winter 1986 p.432

Table 2.6

Livestock (in million heads)

	1983-84	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88
1. Buffaloes	12.7	13.1	13.4	13.7	14.00
2. Cattle	16.3	16.5	16.7	16.9	17.2
3. Goats	28.7	29.7	30.8	31.9	33.0
4. Sheep	24.2	25.0	25.8	26.6	27.5
5. Poultry	100.6	113.7	128.7	121.7	150.4
6. Camels	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	1.0
7. Donkeys	2.7	2.8	2.9	2.9	3.0
8. Horses	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
9. Mules	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.07	0.07

Source: Pakistan Yearbook, 1988-89, p.486.

Besides being the main source of motive power for land cultivation, levelling, rural transport and farm yard manure for crops, the livestock sector contributes about 8 per cent to the G.D.P. annually and accounts for 31 per cent of value added in the agricultural sector.¹³

Table 2.7

Livestock Products

	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87
1. Milk (in million tonnes)	9.662	10.242	10.856	11.500	12.198
2. Eggs (in million numbers)	3.200	3.619	4.093	4.630	4.954
3. Hides "	5.2	5.3	5.4	5.5	5.5
4. Skins "	28.8	29.8	30.8	31.8	32.91
5. Mutton (in 000 tonnes)	408	436	467	500	534
6. Beef "	464	488	513	539	567
7. Poultry "	75	86	99	114	122
8. Wool "	42.7	45.1	47.7	50.3	53.2

Source: Livestock Division.

Pakistan Yearbook, 1988-89, pp.487-88.

Livestock also play a vital role in agricultural production and economic development of a country. Government is giving all facilities to increase the livestock production. The per capita availability of major livestock products like milk, meat, and eggs from the local sources has been on the increase.

Industrial Development:

Starting with practically no worthwhile industries, by the end of sixties, Pakistan had developed substantial industrial base. The industrialisation for a long time reflected the aspirations of a nation in a great hurry. There has been a willingness to pay a high price for industrial advances which explains the level of incentives provided during different periods.¹⁴

By the later part of the sixties the private sector had grown from the processing of agricultural raw materials into cement, chemicals and fertilizers and hanking. Nevertheless even today Pakistan's industrial structure remains dominated by food processing and textile industries. Pakistan's textile industry is very instructive. Textiles constitute almost half of the export of manufactured goods from Pakistan.¹⁵ In the early seventies the industrial development strategy shifted from private enterprises to public sector investment. The Government of Pakistan paid from the very beginning active attention to industrialization and every effort was made to strengthen the country's industrial base.

INDUSTRIAL REGIONS OF PAKISTAN

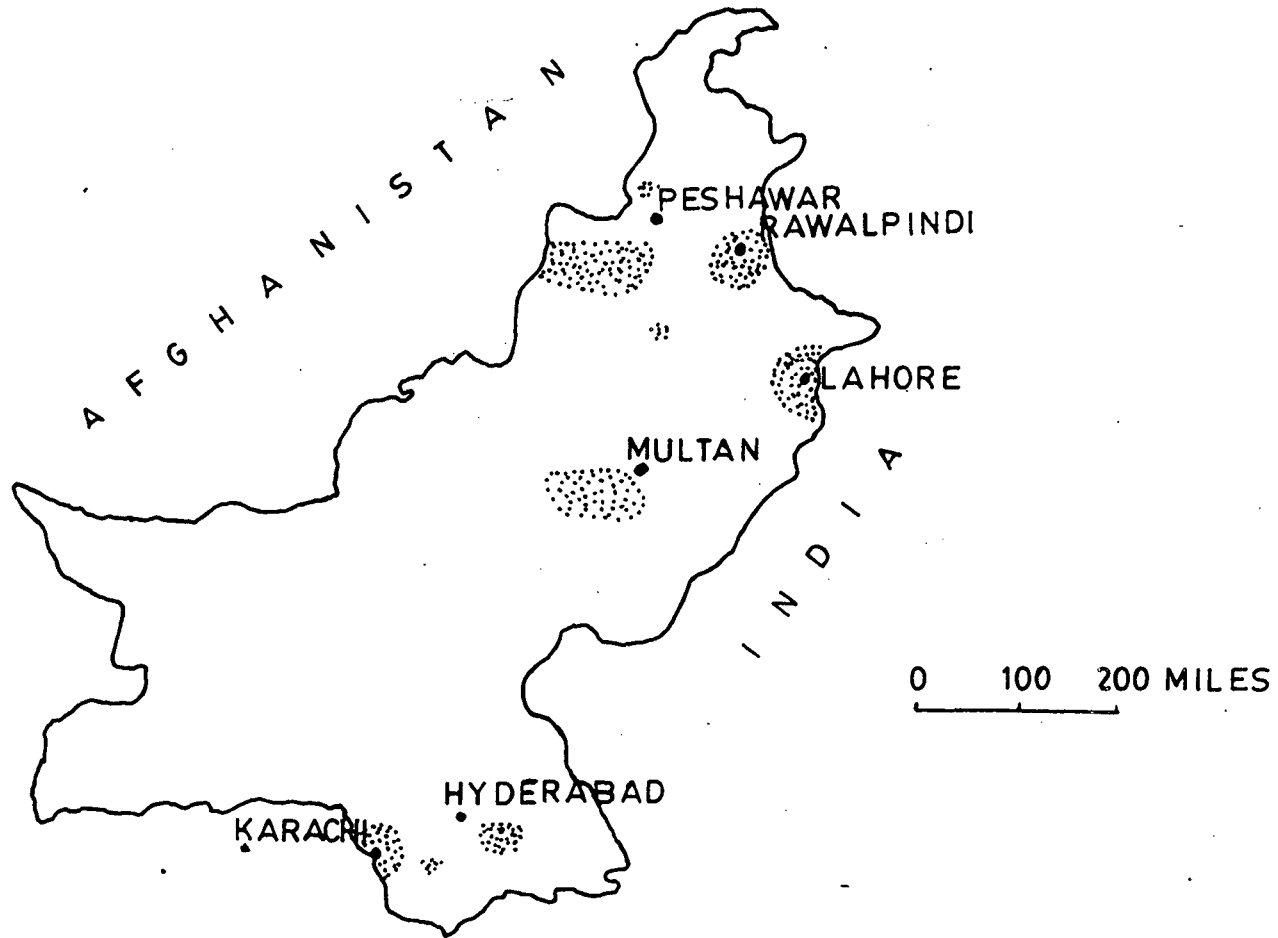


Table 2.8

Large scale manufacturing industries in Pakistan
(in numbers)

	All Industry	
	1970-71	1980-81
1. Pakistan	3549	3815
2. Punjab	1907	2070
3. Karachi	1148	1245
4. Rest of Sind	386	312
5. N.W.F.P.	91	164
6. Baluchistan	17	24

Source: Economic and Political Weekly, Feb. 11, 1989,
p.303.

Table 2.9

Selected Industrial Products
(000tonnes, unless otherwise indicated)

	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88
1. Cotton cloth(000sq mts)	253,480	237,879	280,952
2. Cotton yarn(metric tns)	482,186	586,371	685,539
3. Sugar	1116.0	1,285.9	1,769.4
4. Vegetable Ghee	612.0	608.7	685.5
5. Sea Salt	266.7	251.0	285.1
6. Cement	4,980	6,508	7,072
7. Urea	1820.0	1,992	1,990
8. Superphosphate	105.8	107.6	107.7
9. Ammonium sulphate	92.3	91.6	98.3
10. Sulphuric Acid	80.4	77.6	78.7

11. Soda ash	128.4	130.3	134.1
12. Caustic Soda	44.2	54.9	61.3
13. Cigarettes (million)	39,593	39,929	11,888

Source: Europa world Book, 1989, vol.II, 30th edn., p.2004.

These are some selected industries in Pakistan which are discussed here.

1. **Textiles**: The country's biggest foreign exchange earner is the cotton industry. Exports of raw cotton and cotton textile goods from Pakistan did well through the 1980s, and higher international prices have been paid for record crops of cotton.¹⁶ The textile mills are mostly located at Hyderabad, Bahawalpur, Multan, Bhakkar, Faisalabad, Okara, Lahore and Liaquatabad.

Table 3.0

Small-scale Industries in Urban Areas of Pakistan (1983.84)

Region	No. of industries (percent)	Fixed assets at year end % of total	No. of employers as % of total	Value added as % of total	Per Capita value added Rs.
1. Pakistan	241896	100	100	100	-
2. Punjab	147601	54	63	58	383
3. Sind	75447 (31)	41	29	35	367
4. N.W.F.P.	17653 (7.3)	3.9	6.5	5.5	284
5. Baluchis- tan	1195	1.1	1.5	1.5	128

Source: Economic and Political Weekly, Feb.11,1989,p.305.

Wool Industry:

There are many large and small woollen mills in the country. They are producing excellent woollen cloth and yarn. The woollen mills at Lawrencepur, Harnai, Bannu, Quaidabad, Islamabad, Multan and Karachi manufacture the best quality of woollen cloth, blankets and carpets.¹⁷

Table 3.1
Production Trends (percentage)

	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88 July-March
1. Cotton yarn	11.7	21.6	17.0
2. Cotton cloth	-6.7	-6.2	15.8
3. Vegetable products	-4.4	-0.5	1.6
4. Sugar -14.5	15.2	24.7	
5. Fertilisers	0.3	9.4	-0.2
6. Sulphuric acid	3.2	-3.5	-2.7
7. Caustic Soda	19.9	0.2	2.9
8. Soda Ash	5.2	1.5	3.5
9. Cement	22.0	12.7	9.2
10. Paper Board	1.5	4.5	0.0
11. Jute goods	27.9	13.5	-2.0
12. Cigarettes	1.7	0.8	3.1

Source: Pakistan Yearbook, 1988-89, pp.510-11.

3. Sugar:

The sugar industry has also grown rapidly. There are scores of sugar mills working in the country. The principal mills are situated at Multan, Takhat Bai, Nowshera, Charasadda, Rahwali Jauharabad, Leiah, Sahiwal, Faisalabad, Samundari and Larkana.

4. Paper, wood, leather:

Pakistan makes enough wrapping paper for its own needs, as well as some paper and hardboard from local grasses, rice straw and paper mulbury. Leather imports had to continue until the industry developed.¹⁸

Table 3.2

Average monthly household income by Province

	Punjab	Sind	NWFP	Baluchistan
Urban	1,214	1,476	1,607	1,357
Rural	828	794	936	762

Source: The Pakistan Development Review, vol. xxv, no. 4, Winter 1986, pp. 689.

5. Cement:

Cement industry is based on limestone. A number of cement factories have been established. They are producing sufficient quantity of cement. Main cement factories are at Wah, Dandot, Hyderabad, Rohri, Thatta and Daud Khel.

6. Ship Building:

The Karachi shipyard and engineering works has been established to promote the maritime industry. Upto now it has constructed a number of ships. It is engaged in conducting oil tankers, vessels, ferries, barges of various kinds and launchers.

7. Fertilizers:

Fertilizer factories have been set up in Nowshera, Daud Khej, Faisalabad, Sheikhpura, Multan and Karachi. They produce ammonium sulphate superphosphate, nitrogenous fertilizers, urea, O.P.T., caustic soda, potash, fertilizer etc.

8. Heavy Mechanical Complex:

Pakistan has set up the heavy mechanical complex at Taxila with the help of the people's Republic of China. It is assembling road rollers and producing steel, copper and aluminium castings.

9. Steel:

Pakistan has a big steel mill at Karachi. It has been set up by the Pakistan Steel Mills Corporation with the help of the Government of U.S.S.R. Small-scale mills are primitively in-efficient, although they are gradually being improved.

10. Other industries:

The other important industries mainly includes plastic goods, rubber goods, matches, fruits and vegetable industries, glass, vegetable ghee sports goods, television receivers, flour mills and rice mills. Plastic factories have been set up at Karachi, match factories at Ghari Habibullah and other places.

11. Cottage Industries:

There is a large number of small-scale industrial units, depending on hand or hand driven machines. The Pakistan Small Industries Corporation is playing an important role in encouraging the development of cottage industries. Most of the industries are in private hands. It includes wood work, metal work, leather work, durries, pottery, surgical instruments, box-making glass bangles, embroidery, knitting and needle work.

Requirements such as raw material, water availability, better means of transportation and communication, minerals power resources market, good topography, labour etc. are necessary to set up an industry in any area. The economic development is also depended on industries.

Table 3.3

Sectoral Distribution of Gross Domestic Product

(percentage)

	1960-65	1965-70	1970-75	1975-80	80-85
1. G.D.P. Growth (Factory Cost) 5 years	38.83	38.43	23.48	29.79	37.73
2. Average Annual growth rate	6.78	6.72	4.31	5.35	6.61
3. Agriculture	23.95	36.72	6.60	23.09	13.97
4. Major crops	15.35	29.64	1.28	13.90	6.25
5. Minor crops	3.63	2.58	4.13	3.42	1.48
6. Livestock	4.35	3.56	4.73	5.14	5.88
7. Fishing and Forestry	0.62	0.94	0.98	0.63	0.34
8. Mining & Quarrying	0.77	0.39	0.34	0.64	0.66
9. Manufacturing	22.92	18.63	17.21	19.97	26.88
Large scale	20.91	16.94	10.90	12.99	19.83
Small scale	2.01	1.69	6.31	6.98	7.08
10. Construction	9.07	3.64	5.24	7.49	6.10
11. Electricity and Gas	1.26	4.94	4.13	4.93	4.24
12. Transport & Communi- cation	9.81	4.89	7.33	7.75	8.16
13. Wholesale & Retail Trade	16.22	14.47	17.63	13.49	17.12
14. Public Administration and Defence services	4.92	4.89	8.34	7.60	6.11

Source: The Pakistan Development Review, vol.XXV, no.4,
Winter 1986, p.585.

Minning Resources:

Minerals are the raw materials of a industry. Coal-like mineral oil and natural gas provides power for a industry, and iron is the chief basic material used in the manufacture of machinery, tools and equipments. Since the earliest days of independence, the Government of Pakistan has been alive to the importance of minerals in the development of the country. The Geological Survey of Pakistan has grown steadily and valuable reports and maps are being published.¹⁹ Much of Pakistan's mineral wealth is found in the western part. Mainly the following minerals are found in Pakistan.

1. Salt:

Pakistan is rich in this mineral. There are numerous salt rocks in the country. The largest salt reserves are at Khewara (Jhelum) Warchha (Sargodha) and Kalabagh (Mianwali). The salt is also obtained by drying out the sea-water.

2. Iron:

Iron is very important industrial mineral. But Pakistan has not good quality of iron-ore deposits which may meet the requirements of the country. The quality of iron-ore found in Chitral and Chagai is said to be of high grade, but these reserves are small.

Table 3.4

Mining (000 tons unless otherwise indicated)

Items	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87
1. Antimony (tonnes)	6	24	45
2. Marble	53	122	203
3. Chromite	3	10	7
4. China clay	1	21	33
5. Fire clay	77	73	100
6. Gypsum	400	381	412
7. Limestone	4634	6313	6885
8. Magnestic (tonnes)	3137	3266	2692
9. Rock Salt	573	619	503
10. Silica Sand	111	193	127
11. Ochres (tonnes)	697	563	1237
12. Buxite (tonnes)	2035	21749	15645
13. Sulphur (tonnes)	884	1337	1176
14. Iron-ore	-	4860	5406
15. Coal	2168	2115	2157
16. Crude Oil (Million barrels)	9.53	14.37	15.00
17. Natural Gas (000 mil. cum.)	10.3	10.8	11.2

Source: Pakistan Yearbook, 1988-89, p.652.

3. Chromite:

In Pakistan this ore is mined in Hindubagh, Chagai, Kharan, and Waziristan. A considerable amount of high grade chromite is produced every year, almost all of which is exported.

4. Gypsum:

Gypsum is found in large deposits at Khewra, Dandot, Daudkhel, Kohat, Jhelum Rohri and Loralai.

5. Limestone:

Limestone is found in large quantity in the northern and western mountains of Pakistan.

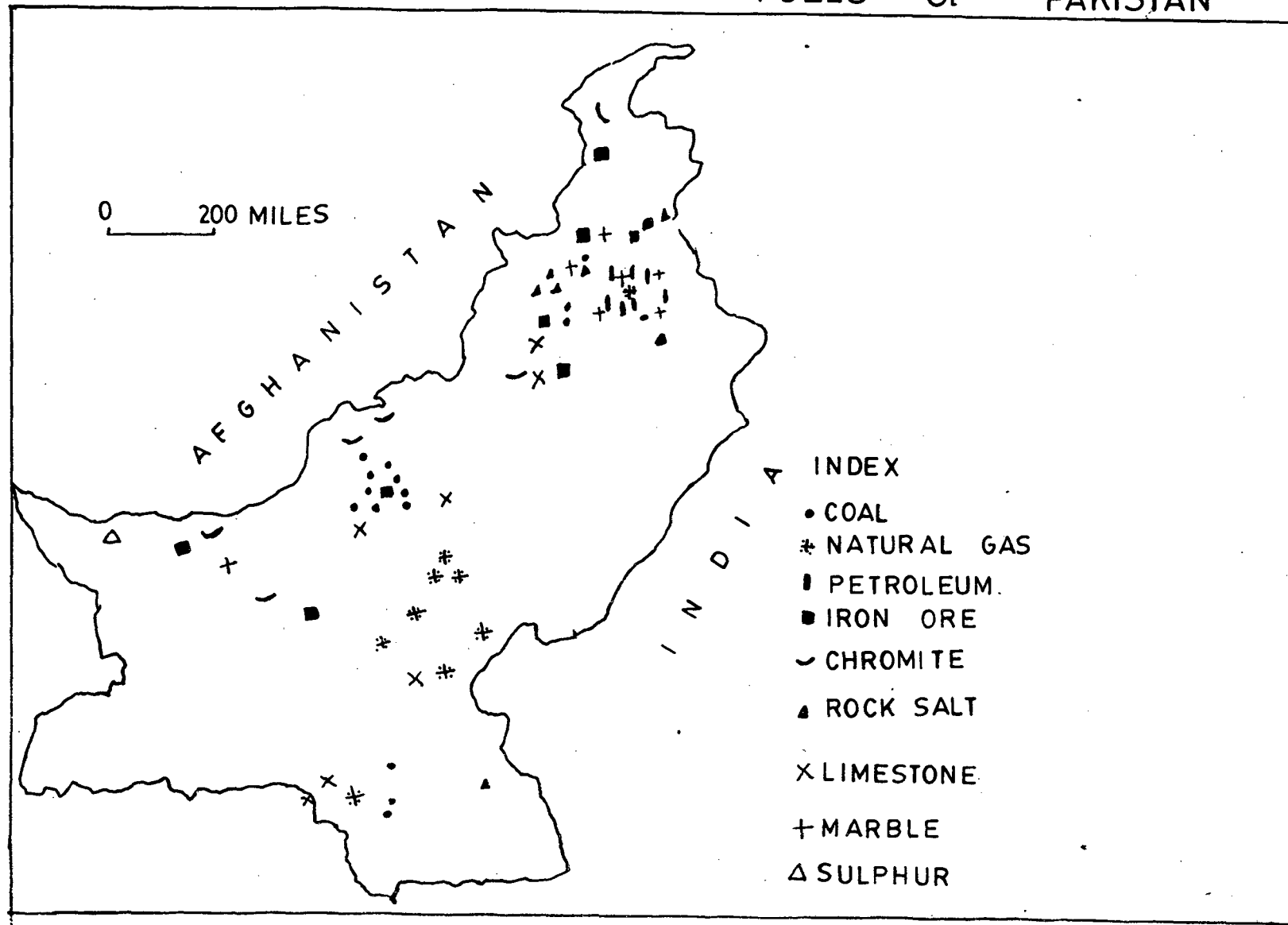
6. Marble:

Marble of very good quality has been found in Mardan, Swat, Chagai and other places. This stone has very wide range of colours. Pakistan's marble is usually considered best in the world.²⁰ In Cambellpur district near Fatehjang is the Kalo-Chitba range, a vast source, as its name implies, of black and white marble.

7. Antimony:

It is a valuable mineral ore, is mined in small quantities at the kamalgol mines in Chitral. Similarly lead ore is found in Hazara, Chitral, Lasbela and Chagai and Phosphate is found in Hazara.

MINERALS AND MINERAL FUELS OF PAKISTAN



8. Radio active Minerals:

It is reported that uranium has been found in Hazara district of the North-West Frontier region, and recently in Dera Ghazi Khan district. Radio-active heavy minerals are present in the sands along the beach of Cox's Bazar as also of some offshore islands.

9. Coal:

Coal is a principal mineral produced in Pakistan. It also provides energy. The Pakistan industrial development corporation (PIDC) has assisted the development of mines in Baluchistan and elsewhere. The coal seams are generally lenticular, vary in thickness from a few inches to a few feet, have a high ash and sulphur contents and are of low heat value.²¹ The main coal mines are at - Dandot, Piah (eastern salt range), Makarwal (near Kalabagh), Khost, Nakus, Zardalu, Sor range, Singidi-Les, Mach Bolan (north east Baluchistan), Jhampir-Meting (lower sind), Cherat hills (near Nowshera) Surgarh range (frontier region), Kotli (Azad Kashmir) and many other places.

Natural Gas and Oil:

Oil and gas are two important sources of fuel and energy Pakistan has so far able to unearth a considerable quantity of oil and gas.

These are the following oil fields in Pakistan -

1. The Khaur oil field (Campbellpur district);
2. The Dhulian oil field (Campbellpur district);
3. The Joyamair oil field (Jhelum district);
4. The Balkassar oil field (Jhelum district);
5. The Karsal oil field (Jhelum district);
6. The Tut oil-field (Campbellpur district); and
7. Kot Sarang and Mial oil fields.

Dakhani oil field has also been discovered.

Natural Gas:

There are about 12 gas fields in Pakistan located at zin, Uch, Khairpur, Mazarani Dhumal, Piskoh, Marri, Sui, Kandhok, Dhulian and Taunsa etc. The gas field at Sui is the largest one in the country. The government is spending huge sums of money in this regard.

Electricity:

The sixth plan has given first priority to the energy sector with a share in public expenditure of 34 per cent, this way, the policy planners have recognized the negative effects of persistent energy shortages and load shedding in industrial production.²²

Table 3.5

Production and Consumption of Electricity

(Million Kilowatt hours)

	1981	1987
Production	16062	33475
Hydro	9043	15250
Thermal	6869	17723
Consumption	16062	23852

Source: United Nations Statistical Yearbook for Asia and Pacific, 1989.

The energy sector's performance in Pakistan is not satisfactory. In the recent years, Pakistan has acquired enough success in the development of nuclear technology. On the whole Pakistan is very poor in those mineral resources which form the important material for industrialization.

The Pattern of Foreign Trade:

It has become an important source for Pakistan's economic development. Pakistan experiences a balance of trade problems. Pakistan's balance of trade continues to be in deficit since 1973-74. The deficit in the first nine months of 1987-88 increased by 4.3 per cent to Rs.22,624 million as against Rs.29,163 million in 1986-87. (Table 3.6)

Table 3.6
Balance of Trade (Million Rs.)

Year	Imports	Exports	Balance
1978-79	36388	16925	-19463
1979-80	46929	23410	-23519
1980-81	53544	29280	-24264
1981-82	59482	26270	-33212
1982-83	68151	34442	-33709
1983-84	76707	37339	-39368
1984-85	89778	37979	-51799
1985-86	90946	49592	-41354
1986-87	92431	63268	-29163
1987-88 (July-March)	78533	55909	-22624

Source: Pakistan Yearbook, 1988-89, p.553.

Table 3.7
Direction of Trade (Million Rs.)

Imports (countries)	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88
1. Australia	2713	1238	1237
2. Belgium & Luxembourg	733	1227	1083
3. Canada	2158	9704	10655
4. China, People's Republic	1954	2703	3137
5. France	1385	1981	4081
6. Germany, Federal Republic	7860	5232	6753

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7. Hongkong	335	244	380
8. India	197	144	255
9. Indonesia	973	335	475
10. Italy	3476	1939	2166
11. Japan	13518	11601	13297
12. Kuwait	6015	5434	6565
13. Malaysia	3498	2195	3144
14. Netherlands	1426	2165	1839
15. Saudi Arabia	6719	3993	4503
16. Sri Lanka	434	519	658
17. United Kingdom	5976	4974	6034
18. U.S.A.	10842	8856	9462
19. Australia	509	577	773

Exports (countries)

1. Australia	509	577	773
2. Belgium & Luxembourg	635	874	930
3. Canada	494	573	893
4. China, People's Rep.	275	267	733
5. France	1382	1778	2059
6. Germany, Fed. Rep.	2984	3564	4398
7. Hong Kong	1294	1298	1677
8. India	465	297	369
9. Indonesia	421	350	423
10. Italy	2175	2910	3782
11. Japan	4746	5599	6627
12. Kuwait	579	460	688

contd....

13. Malaysia	206	92	168
14. Netherlands	911	825	1249
15. Saudi Arabia	3470	3644	3243
16. Sri Lanka	n.a.	630	1098
17. United Kingdom	2730	3667	4144
18. U.S.A.	5139	5155	7032

Source: Europa World Book, vol.II, 30th edn, 1989, p.2006.

In the late fifties the major importers of Pakistani goods and commodities were the U.K., the U.S., Japan, Hongkong, and West Germany. On the other hand, the important exporters to Pakistan were the U.S., the U.K. West Germany, Japan and India.

Imports

Pakistan imports manufactured goods, petroleum and food. In 1979, oil accounted for 17 per cent of the country's import cost, machinery for 13 per cent, vegetable oils and fats for 7 per cent, iron and steel for 7 per cent.²³ The import of petroleum in 1986-87 was of Rs.13,977 million. The import of other goods is shown in the table 3.8.

Table 3.8

Major Imports (Million Rupees)

Items	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87
1. Chemicals	5604	6602	8846
2. Drugs and Medicines	1974	2253	2638
3. Dyes and Colours	682	729	1042
4. Chemical Fertilisers	1790	2679	3247
5. Electrical Goods	2477	3114	3118
6. Machinery non- electrical	13437	14956	15635
7. Transport Equipment	7816	9178	8791
8. Paper, Board & Stationary	1559	1626	1963
9. Tea	3507	2175	2648
10. Sugar Refined	-	0930	2763
11. Art Silk Yarn	1589	1321	1626
12. Iron & Steel & manufactures thereof	3938	4355	4666
13. Non-Ferrous Metals	934	862	1143
14. Petroleum & Products	21763	16775	13977
15. Edible oils	6954	6128	4062
16. Grains, Pulses & Flour	2910	5067	1754
17. Other imports	12844	12797	14512
Grand Total	89778	90946	92431

Source: Pakistan Yearbook, 1988-89, p.563.

Exports:

The exports improved by 26 per cent during 1987-88. The Government is taking special interest in promoting the external trade. A number of measures were initiated to improve the quality of exports and to diversify the exports mix. These included compensatory rebate, custom duty rebates, income tax exemptions, export refinancing scheme, balancing modernization and replacement facilities. These measures succeeded in expanding the export base.

Table 3.9
Major Exports (Million Rupees)

Items	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87
1. Fish & fish preparations	1231	1335	1930
2. Rice	3340	5527	5053
3. Hides & Skins	4	4	3
4. Raw wool	261	274	315
5. Raw Cotton	4368	8291	7676
6. Cotton Waste	137	85	101
7. Leather	2325	2900	4079
8. Cotton yarn	3974	4511	8709
9. Cotton thread	72	61	57
10. Cotton cloth	4638	5083	5931
11. Petroleum & products	525	507	444
12. Synthetic textiles	636	802	2698
13. Footwear	248	248	281
14. Animal Casings	69	99	144
15. Cement & products	-	-	1
16. Paints and varnishes	15	7	11
17. Tobacco Raw and Manufactured	158	195	219
18. Readymade Garments & Hosiery	2662	4214	7759

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19. Drugs and Chemicals	127	84	105
20. Surgical instrument	774	842	956
21. Carpets and Rugs	2031	2693	3439
22. Sports goods	674	787	1000
23. Others	9369	10599	11775

Source: Pakistan yearbook, 1988-89, p.562.



Balance of Payments:

The balance of payments situation in 1987-88 remained satisfactory as a result of significant increase in the unit prices of almost all the exportable items. The most significant increase was in the price of raw cotton. The exports during 1987-88 were projected at 4125 million dollars. The table 4 shows the situation of balance of payments in Pakistan.

Foreign Aid:

Pakistan today is in the midst of a severe crisis. A massive debt burden leading to bankruptcy; increasing regional disparities giving rise to ethnic tensions; a very weak indigenous industrial base along with low productivity and stagnation; declining levels of agricultural output; rising poverty and unemployment; and increasing arms and drug trafficking, are some of the facets of this crisis. Pakistan's overwhelming dependence on foreign borrowings has been recognised by the World Bank which has characterised the economy as "one living on

Table 4.0

Balance of Payments (Million dollars)

Items	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87
1. Merchandise Exports	2457	2942	3498
2. Merchandise Imports	-6009	-5984	-5792
Trade Balance	-3552	-3042	-2294
3. Non-Factor Service (Net)	- 309	- 376	- 287
4. Investment Income (net)	- 506	- 640	- 695
Less: payments	- 661	- 752	- 787
5. Private Transfer (net)	+2687	+2822	+2557
(workers remittances)	(2737)	(2446)	(2478)
Balance of Current Account (Net)	-1,680	-1,236	- 719
6. Private Capital (net)	+ 265	+ 108	320
Direct investment*	100	168	129
Other long term	206	159	93
Short-term	- 198	430	98
7. Public Capital (net)	+ 586	+ 939	+ 656
Disbursements	1006	1296	1317
Long term@			
Less: Payments	- 449	- 515	- 722
Long term			
Others (Short term and long term)#	29	158	61
8. Changes in Reserves (-increases)	1017	- 434	- 264
9. Errors and omissions (net)++	- 31	- 26	7

* includes portfolio investment except foreign Exchange Bearer Certificates.

@ includes official transfers.

includes Foreign Exchange Bearer Certificates introduced in August 1985

++includes non-monetary gold

Table 4.1

Foreign Aid Profile

Period	Gross Aid (Average Annual) US \$ Miln.)	Loan as percent of Gross Aid	Debt Service (Average Annual) US \$ miln)	Debt Service as percent of Export Receipts(%)
1956-60	215	46.2	6.4	4.9
1961-65	582.2	62.0	43.8	24.3
1966-70	587.4	76.0	122.4	39.1
1971-77	859.3	89.0	214.9	24.4
1978-82	1353.2	74.1	551.6	22.6
1983-86	1809.5	72.7	586.3	27.2

Source: Amitabh Roy, Chowdhury, *The External Props of Pakistan's Economy: vol.11(10)*, January 1988, p.1182, Strategic Analysis.

According to the Economic Survey (1986-87) of the Government of Pakistan there has been a "genuine concern" that the country "is heavily dependent on foreign borrowings and it is feared that such heavy dependence is a threat to the country's sovereignty". In terms of foreign exchange earnings too, the rate of growth of external debt is much higher than that of foreign exchange earnings.²⁵ (The consortium includes the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Norway and Sweden).

Table 4.2
Structure of External Assistance by countries groups (Million US dollars)

Year	G R A N T S				L O A N S				Grant Total
	Consortium countries	Islamic Countries	Others*	Sub-total	Consortium countries	Islamic countries	Others**	Sub-total	
1970-71	82.53	-	12.82	95.35	302.09	-	475.44	777.53	872.88
1975-76	56.84	30.48	14.68	102.00	727.75	116.30	11.56	865.61	957.61
1976-77	139.21	30.00	18.00	187.21	703.68	210.15	13.61	927.44	1114.65
1977-78	141.27	10.00	-	151.27	686.91	67.67	72.95	827.53	978.80
1978-79	185.19	11.00	26.03	222.22	850.10	134.34	290.81	1275.25	1497.47
1979-80	140.60	53.00	116.76	310.36	949.27	289.78	165.04	1404.09	1714.45

*includes non-consortium countries, relief assistance for Afghan Refugees, Indus Tarbela Development Fund.

**Includes Non-consortium countries, IMF Trust Fund.

Source: S.S. Bindra, Determinants of Pakistan's Foreign Policy, (New Delhi, 1988), p.131.

Foreign Aid is considered to be one of the most important variable of Pakistan's foreign policy. It has two fold impacts. First, in the case of Pakistan economy which has seen many ups and downs since 1947 and also has been always encircled by a large number of problems, without genuine and solid foreign economic assistance Pakistan's economy might have collapsed. Second, as Pakistan is getting major foreign aid from the U.S., USSR, China, Islamic World, World Bank, Consortium and a large number of international agencies, the impact of her foreign plicy is not completely ruled out. For example, it will be very difficult for Pakistan to openly criticise any policy matter of aid giving countries.

Development Problems of Pakistan:

Pakistan has the following development problems:

1. Rural Development Problem: Pakistan has a vast rural sector spread over 45,000 villages and inhabited by over 60 million people dependent on agriculture and allied occupations for their livelihood.²⁶ For economic development rural development is necessary.
2. Problems of Agriculture Sector: Pakistan is essentially an agricultural country. It has been characterised by these traits: (i) small fragmented land holdings, (ii) low per acre yield; (iii) declining per capita production.

3. Increasing population: Pakistan has been facing the problem of rapid growth of population. Thus more land goes to cultivation of food crops, depriving the economy, from the benefits of cash crops.
4. Social Problems: Pakistan has many social problems, such as the ethnic problem, religious, racial and tribal groups. Social structure is highly formalistic, traditional and rigid.
5. Foreign debt problem.
6. Other socio-economic problems such as (i) Low level of living; (ii) low level of productivity; (iii) massive rural-urban migration; (iv) Unemployment problem.
7. Planning in Pakistan is not satisfactory: The geo-political situation of Pakistan, economic development, population growth, foreign trade, foreign aid, natural resources etc. are the main variables which are one way or the other determines the national capability of Pakistan. The economy of Pakistan is not fully developed mainly it depends upon the other countries. The economic development which one must recognize as the foundation of national capability of Pakistan is also under the influence of number of above mentioned factors.

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CHAPTER V

GEOGRAPHY OF ADMINISTRATION
AND
MANAGEMENT OF ISSUES

Administrative Set-up of Pakistan:

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan is a federal state with the following territories:

- (a) Provinces of Punjab, Sind, NWFP, and Baluchistan;
- (b) The federal capital territory of Islamabad;
- (c) The Federally Administered Tribal Areas.
- (d) Northern areas.

Government:

Pakistan is a Federal State. It is laid down in the Constitution that the executive authority of the Federation shall be exercised in the name of the President by the Federal Government consisting of Prime Minister, who shall be the Chief Executive of the Federation. In the performance of his functions under the Constitution, the Prime Minister may act directly or through the Federal Ministers. The Prime Minister and Federal Ministers are collectively responsible to the National Assembly.¹

It is the function of the Prime Minister to specify how orders shall be made and executed and how the business of the Federal Government shall be allocated and transacted. Under the Constitution, the Prime Minister

is empowered to appoint Ministers to be incharge of the administrative units known as Ministeries and, in all policy matters falling within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government, decisions are made by the Council of Ministers presided over by the Premier. In addition to this President has also sufficient powers to play an active role in the State. President appoints the Governors, and they are subject to his discretion while much the liaison between the Prime Minister and the Provincial Chief Ministers (which is the executive head of the Provinces) is carried on informally, there are certain formalised arrangements in force to help co-ordinate overall national policies. One of these inter-Provincial Conference deals with all policies, while the other, the National Economic Council is concerned with economic policies.²

A Ministry may comprise one or more divisions, each division is headed by a Secretary or an Additional Secretary and is a self contained unit responsible for performing the functions entrusted to it. A division may have one or more attached departments and each department may have a number of subordinate offices spread all over the country. There may be one or more Autonomous/Semi-Autonomous bodies under each division. Each Ministry is headed by a Cabinet Minister and a Secretary or an Additional Secretary incharge of the administration of the Ministry or Division. The administrative heads of some

Ministries are designated as Secretary General.

Cabinet Secretariat:

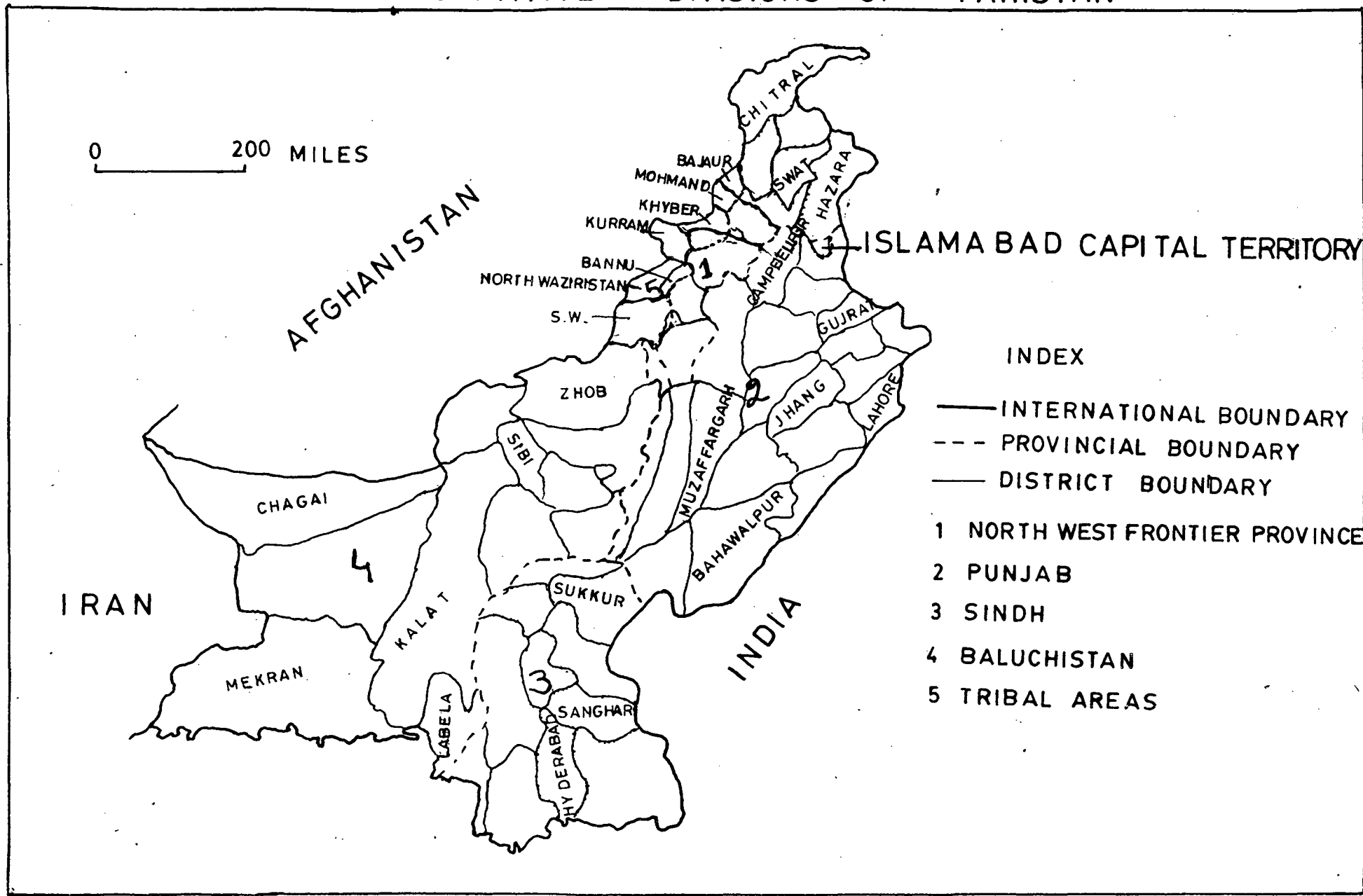
In addition to Prime Minister's Secretariat, the Prime Minister also holds direct charge of the Cabinet Secretariat, which consists of the Cabinet Division, Establishment Division, Women's Division and organisation and methods Division. Now a brief about the Ministries and other Divisions of the Federal Government is as follows:

Ministry of Commerce, communication, culture, sports and tourism, Defence, education, Finance, Planning and Economic Affairs, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs, Local Government and Rural Development, Petroleum and Natural Resources, Production and National Logistic Board, Railway, Religious Affairs and Minorities Affairs, Science and Technology, State and Frontier Regions, Kashmir and Northern Affairs, Water and Power, Food, Agriculture and Cooperatives, Foreign Affairs, Health, Special Education and Social Welfare, Housing and Works, Industries, Interior, Labour Manpower and Overseas Pakistanis, Information and Broadcasting, Population Welfare.

Basic Policy Framework and Constitutional Provisions:

Immediately before Independence the territories now constituting Pakistan were governed as a part of India by the Government of India Act, 1935. On partition, the India Independence Act 1947 was passed whereby the Government

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF PAKISTAN



- INDEX**
- INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY
 - - - PROVINCIAL BOUNDARY
 - DISTRICT BOUNDARY
- 1 NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE
 - 2 PUNJAB
 - 3 SINDH
 - 4 BALUCHISTAN
 - 5 TRIBAL AREAS

of India Act, 1935 continued to be the Constitution of Pakistan.³ The first constituent assembly continued to exist for seven years together i.e. 1947-54. But unfortunately, it could not give any constitution to the country. Its only achievement was the adoption of the objectives resolution which provided guiding principles for the subsequent constitution making. The second constituent assembly worked hard and succeeded in preparing an agreeable constitution in March 1956. This was a parliamentary, federal, democratic constitution. It worked for two and half years. But it was abrogated by General Ayub Khan, when he imposed martial law. Ayub Khan himself gave a new constitution in 1962 to the country which was based on absolute presidential form of government and did not enjoy the consent of the people.⁴ The most controversial aspect of this constitution proved to be the electoral system. The only purpose of Ayub in giving a constitution, many critics pointed out, was to make his authoritarianism appear 'palatable, respectable and legal' to the intelligentsia and to build up a civilian base for his rule as a safeguard against the increasing politicisation of the army.⁵ Towards the end of 1968, a demand for the democratic form of Government was raised and all the political parties grouped together to form a 'Direct action Committee'. A conference of all the political leaders was

called, but it ended in fiasco. Ayub Khan voluntarily stepped down and, instead of the speaker of the National Assembly, handed over power to General Yaha Khan who imposed Martial Law, abrogated the Constitution and dissolved the one unit Yaha Khan established a semi-military state, thus creating a precedent that was to be followed later on by General Zia-ul-Haq. But there was a contradiction in Yaha Khan's approach. At the time that he militarized politics, he also introduced a number of changes that returned the country to its pre-1955 situation, when politicians and parliamentary democracy had reigned supreme. The contradiction was to lead to a serious conflict between the military and the politicians. To facilitate the return to parliamentary democracy, Yaha Khan instituted a number of very significant changes in the political set up.⁶ On 6th December 1971 East Pakistan was declared a sovereign state called Bangladesh. Pressed by the public anger, Yaha Khan, on 20 December 1971 stepped down and handed over power to Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto without consulting other political parties who held half of the seats in National Assembly from West Pakistan. Bhutto assumed office as the fourth President and the first ever civilian chief Martial Law Administrator. A provisional constitution was framed and given effect from 21 April, 1972. when martial law was lifted but the national emergency continued. After a prolonged dialogue with the opposition

a permanent constitution was unanimously framed which became effective from 14th August, 1973.

Bhutto introduced an interim constitution, and in 1973, a permanent constitution was adopted. The head of government was a Prime Minister responsible to the National Assembly. Bhutto became Prime Minister.⁷ The 1973 Constitution names the country the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. It is federal, democratic and parliamentary in character and spirit. Though it is not fully an Islamic Constitution, it embodies the Islamic principles of toleration and justice. It recognises Islam as the state, religion and enjoins upon the state to serve the cause of Islam, establish social justice and equality of opportunity.⁸ The elections for the National Assembly were held on the March 1977. A country-wide agitation started during which several hundred persons lost their lives and numerous injured. The ruling party was not willing to annul the results and to hold fresh elections. Following an unending political crisis and to save the country from the brink of a civil war, the Chief of the Army Staff, General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq took over the administration of the country on 5th July, 1977 through "operation fairplay". Martial Law was imposed, the Federal and Provincial Governments removed; National and Provincial Legislatures and the Senate dissolved; and all political activities totally banned. The Constitution was put in abeyance, but not abrogated.

Zia-ul-Haq was knowing the importance of mixing religion with politics and how islamization would help Pakistan in achieving its foreign policy goals? In the beginning for two years his performance on the islamization process was not up to the mark because he was first to consolidate his political position. Pakistan took the first important step towards the Islamization of the country on 2nd December, 1978 when the President Zia-ul-Haq announced a few of the many principles which would be helpful in taking Pakistan back once again to religious fundamentalism.⁹

The major problem of the federating units in Pakistan was two fold. First, the relations of the units with Centre; Secondly, relation between the two wings with each other, which were seperated by a long alien territory. This was a unique feature and the Pakistani constitution-makers were ill-equipped to deal with it.¹⁰ As an interim measure, the provisional constitution order 1981 was promulgated on 24 March. It provided for the appointment of one or more Vice Presidents and a Federal Council (Majlis-e-Shoora) to be nominated by the President. On 12 August 1983, the President placed his proposal before the nation for handing over power to a civilian government.

The constitutional amendments introduced on 2 March, 1985 did not affect the basic parliamentary structure of the 1973 constitution. The division of powers between the

executive, legislature and judiciary has also been retained. While providing a balance between the powers of the President and the Prime Minister, the status of the Prime Minister as Head of the Government has not been altered in any manner. While the federating units would continue to enjoy the quantum of autonomy as envisaged in the 1973 constitution, the powers of the provinces have been further enhanced involving them in the process of election of the President and constitutional amendments as well. The Constitution revived on 10 March, 1985.¹¹ Inside Pakistan, the long tenure of General Zia-ul-Haq's military regime came to an unexpected end on 17 August, 1988,¹² died in an airplane crash near the city of Bahwalpure in eastern Pakistan. In a notably calm succession, supervised by the new army leadership, the civilian regime of Benazir Bhutto and the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) replaced Zia's regime.¹²

The first half of the year 1988 remained dominated by the military regime whereas the second half witnessed revival of parliamentary democracy under Benazir Bhutto's leadership. Benazir Bhutto was nominated as the Prime Minister of Pakistan on December 1, 1988 by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. On 6 August 1990, the government of Benazir Bhutto was dismissed and the assemblies dissolved by the President Ghulam Ishaq Khan.

Administrative Division of Pakistan:

The state comprises four provinces: North West Frontier, Baluchistan, Sind and Punjab. For administrative purposes, each province is divided into a number of commissioner's divisions, each division into districts and each district into tehsils. For more details see the Table 5.1.

Table 5.1

ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS

	PROVINCE			
		DIVISION		
			DISTRICT	
				SUB DIVISION
	TEHSIL	TALUKA		
POLICE STATION		QANUNGO HALQAS (CIRCLES)**		
POLICE POST		PATWAR CIRCLE**		UNION
				VILLAGE

* In some areas of Pakistan there is no sub-division.

** Land Revenue Administration Units.

In the 19th century the provinces in British India were broadly divided into what were called Regulation and Non-Regulation Provinces (also called settled and unsettled Provinces) where written regulations were introduced, were called Regulation Provinces. But the "expansion of British power during the early nineteenth century led to the annexation of area less amenable to rule by ledger and law book. So, the rules and regulations of the settled provinces were not introduced into the newly annexed areas which were called Non-Regulation Provinces.¹³

In the eastern wing there were 17 districts and 54 subdivisions. But in the western wing, which was divided into 51 districts, there was only 40 subdivisions of which 20 were in Sind, 14 in the West Punjab, 5 in the N.W.F.P. and only one in Baluchistan. In 1978, there were 14 divisions and 55 districts in Pakistan. In 1987, there were four provinces in Pakistan and each province had divisions such as Punjab consisted of 8 divisions and 28 districts, Sind 3 divisions and 14 districts. N.W.F.P. 5 divisions and 13 districts, Baluchistan 4 divisions and 17 districts. In this way there were 20 divisions and 72 districts in Pakistan.

Administration:**Provincial Government:**

Each province is headed by a Governor with a Chief executive of the Province known as Chief Minister, who is assisted by a Council of Ministers like the Federal Secretariat, each Ministry or Department in the province is headed by a Secretary, Additional Secretary, or Additional Chief Secretary. A Chief Secretary coordinates the activities of all the departments of the Provincial Government.

District Administration:

District Officer: At the head of the district administration, which comprises the whole range of governmental functions operating within an area marked out as a district, there is an officer who is appointed by the government, known as district officer.

Divisional Commissioner: For the purpose of convenience of supervision, the districts are grouped into divisions. At the head of the division there is an officer called the Divisional Commissioner "who has certain statutory powers but whose duties are mainly advisory and supervisory. He has no responsibility for the day to day administration of the districts in his division.

Sub-Division: For administrative convenience and decentralization a district is divided into a number of subdistricts called subdivisions. The head of the subdivision is called the sub-Divisional Magistrate.

Tehsil/Taluka: While in some places in Pakistan Tehsils are the component parts of districts, in some other parts they are the component parts of subdivisions. The most important officer is the Chief Revenue Officer who is respectively called Tehsildar and Mukhtiarkar in Tehsil and Taluka.

Below the Thana/Tehsil/Taluka level there are some units each consisting of a number of villages. These units have been separately created by different departments for organising their respective affairs in rural areas. The jurisdiction of one unit usually does not confirm to that of another.

Federally Administered Tribal Areas: These agencies are at par with other settled districts of the country and headed by a political agent for each agency for the purpose of lego-political administration. The Ministry of State and Frontier Regions is responsible for the policy and Administration of the FATA at federal level.

Parliament: The Federal Legislature is consisting of two houses - National Assembly and the Senate. The National Assembly consist of 237 members including twenty women and ten representatives of minorities. The Senate has eighty seven members called senator. There are fourteen general seats and five seats of technocrats/professionals for each of the four provinces. There also three general seats for Islamabad and eight general seats for FATA in the Senate.

The Chief official of the National Assembly is Speaker and of senate is chairman. The assembly is summoned either by President or Prime Minister, from time to time to consider legislative proposals, and a bill passed by it becomes law after the President has given his assent.

Centre - Province Relationship:

Legislative: The central legislature has exclusive power to make laws for the whole or any part of Pakistan with respect to any matter enumerated in the third schedule of the Constitution. Where the national interest of Pakistan is concerned, the central legislature has power to make laws with respect to any matter not enumerated in the third schedule. If (a) it appears to the Assembly of a Province to be desirable that a matter not enumerated in the Third Schedule should be regulated in the Province

by an Act of the Central Legislature; and (b) a resolution to that effect is passed by the Provincial Assembly, the Central Legislature shall have power to make laws having effect in the Province with respect to that matter, but any law made in pursuance of this power may be amended or repealed by an Act of the Provincial Legislature.

A Provincial Legislature shall have power to make laws for the province, or any part of the province, with respect to any matter other than a matter enumerated in the Third Schedule. The responsibility of deciding whether a legislature has power under the Constitution to make a law is that of the legislature itself when a Provincial law is inconsistent with a Central Law, the latter shall prevail, and the former shall, to the extent of the inconsistency, be invalid.¹⁵

Administrative:

The executive authority of a province extends to all matters with respect to which the legislature of the province has power to make laws. The executive authority of a Province does not extend to the execution of a law made by the Central Legislature.

Notwithstanding anything in the Constitution, the President may, with the consent of a Provincial Government, entrust either conditionally or unconditionally to that Government, functions in relation to any matter to which

the executive authority of the Republic extends. An act of the central legislature may notwithstanding that it relates to a matter with respect to which a Provincial Legislature has no power to make laws, confers power and impose duties, or authorise the conferment of powers and the imposition of duties, upon a Provincial Government or officers or authorities of a Provincial Government.

Financial: The Central Legislature may by law make grants in aid of the Revenues of a Provincial Government that may be in need of assistance. The executive authority of the Central Government extends to borrowing upon the security of the Central consolidated Fund within such limits, if any, as may be determined by Act of the Central Legislature, and to the giving of guarantees within such limits, if any, as may be so determined. A Provincial Law may impose taxes, not exceeding such limits as may from time to time be fixed by Act of the Central Legislature, on persons engaged in professions, trades, callings or employments, and no such Provincial Law shall be regarded as imposing a tax on income.

Controversy on the balance of power between the Central Government and local administration has been a feature of Pakistani politics for decades. Previously the debate had focussed on the demands of the minority provinces to be free of what they regarded as Punjabi domination. Under Benazir Bhutto, the most outspoken proponent of

provincial devolution had been Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif who was Punjab's Chief Minister at that time. The Punjab provincial government had never previously been in the hands of an opposition party, and from the beginning Bhutto made it clear that she was not prepared to accept this. Nawaz Sharif has been equally vehement in his denunciations of the Prime Minister.¹⁶

The organisation and the structure of the central and the provincial secretariats are more or less same. Of course, there is one major difference between them. At the head of the provincial Secretariat there is an officer called Chief Secretary, who is not directly responsible to any particular Minister but to the Chief Minister/Governor and to the Cabinet as a whole. It is observed that in the province, but at the central level, there is no such officer as Chief Secretary.

In Pakistan the administrative authorities in the district perform their functions under the control and supervision of the provincial government. Usually, they do not come into direct contact with the central government. Normally they have no need for direct contact with the central government. But if it becomes necessary under exceptional circumstances, they are supposed to contact the Central Government through the provincial government.

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CHAPTER VI

FOREIGN POLICY OF PAKISTAN AND
INTERNATIONAL LINKAGES

In modern times no state can avoid involvement in the international sphere. This involvement must be systematic and based on some well-defined principles. The principles and the purpose of a state is reflected in the foreign policy. The importance of the foreign policy has been highlighted by scholars in various ways. According to one scholar, a state without a foreign policy is like a ship without a rudder which drifts aimlessly without any direction by every storm and sweep of events. According to Prof. Taylor "Foreign Policy of a sort will go on so long as there are sovereign states".

The main focus of the study of foreign policy has long been on the institutions of government that have been assigned the chief responsibility for its formulation and implementation. Because of the complexity of the institutional framework for making foreign policy and the frequency with which the institutions are altered, with formally or through usage, the rational institutional outlook has also focused on inter-agency coordination as a technique for rationalizing the continuously unwieldy processes of foreign policy formulation and agreement with the government.¹

There is no unanimity amongst scholars regarding the meaning of foreign policy and various definitions have been offered. According to Padelford and Lincoln "A state's foreign policy is the totality of its dealings with the external environment. Prof. Joseph Frankel says that "Foreign policy consists of decisions and actions which involves to some appreciable extent relations between one state and others". George Modelski says that foreign policy is "the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behaviour of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment. According to Rodee, "Foreign Policy involves the formulation and implementation of a group of principles which shape the behaviour pattern of a state while negotiating with other states to protect or further its vital interests".

It is generally recognised that states in international relations are bound to be guarded by the concept of a permanent and universal goal, namely, that of national interest. As far as views on the achievement of national interest are concerned, the Realists as well as Idealists, among both statesmen and academicians belonged to one school and there is wide disagreement between them regarding the content of national interest. The content of national interest is widely accepted as a goal of foreign policy

but the actual national interest of every state is always specific clear and dynamic, and that transforms into an extremely plural and complex phenomenon deriving a simple and universally valid definition and which must be understood and analysed in all its implications unless the goal value of national interest is to be treated as a more truism without any operational significance.²

Determinants of Foreign Policy:

To analyse a country's foreign policy one must study the domestic and international environment in which the policy-makers operate and the other relevant variables which are permanent in nature. These variables are the part and parcel of the foreign policy process of a country. They are more responsive to change because human manipulation is involved in them. Some are relatively permanent in nature such as geography and natural resources. There are human factors also which in one way or the other determine the whole process, largely quantitative in the case of population, and qualitative as regards national character, social structure, national morale, political institutions and experience, an effective and sound tradition of diplomacy. From these determinants and the instrumentalities of the policy-making process, the substance of foreign policy derives, and major historic policies and the vital interests of countries emerge

Geography is important in defining a state's international context in areas relating to military logistics, trading patterns, alliances patterns, membership of inter-governmental organisations, and of the various international forums, United Nations and its specialized agencies. It is more or less a permanent variable and in rare and extraordinary cases, the changes occur in country's geo-strategic or geo-political situations. But if at all this happens in the way of dismembering or adding territory, it really has a far reaching impact on a country's foreign policy and behaviour. The important components of geography are location, size, topography, climate and natural resources.

1. Location: The history of international relations shows that location has always been an important determinant of the foreign relations of a state. The strategic location of Britain has helped her to rule over the waves both in terms of trade and naval power. The location of Japan has helped her to become one of the leading trading and ship-building nations of the world.⁴ The mountain range on the north and north-east and ocean on the south make Pakistan one of the examples of the impact of geographical location on foreign relations. The barriers of the high mountains effectively cut off Pakistan from her neighbours militarily, politically and commercially. Pakistan's strategic location in south Asia gives her a central position in Asian politics

and adds to her geopolitical importance. Pakistan is in a sense a connecting link between the geographical areas called west Asia, south-east Asia, east Asia and far East Asia etc.

2. Size: Size is also another significant variable which is closely related with the geopolitical situation of a country. Each state has boundaries common to areas under the political control of other sovereign states or which extend along international waters, and each state asserts control over the air space above its territory. No doubt, it does not determine the national capability of a state but it has an intimate bearing on the foreign policy making process. Sometime even small states which have rich resources also leave a deep impact on world politics. For example, the oil rich countries of Middle East, though small in size, are playing a significant role in the international politics.

The independent Pakistan emerged as a largest Islamic state in the world. The vastness of Pakistan's territory has an important bearing on her external security. The bigness of her territory make Pakistan an important and independent factor in international politics in her own right. It would not be rational for Pakistan, therefore, to behave an international relations like a small state with a small territory, population and resource base.

Jawaharlal Nehru was basically right when he said:

"I can understand some of the smaller countries of Europe or some of the smaller countries of Asia being forced by circumstances to bow down before some of the greater powers, because they can not help it".⁵

3. Climate: As far as the climatic conditions of a state is concerned, there should be sufficient heat a long enough growing season, sufficient rainfall, to feed the population, there needs to be soil of minimum quality in order for a country to produce enough foodgrains. Otherwise the dependence on foreign sources would be increased in order to save the population from starving. Furthermore, there are some areas of states in the world that are so hot or cold, that it is not possible for the population to function optionally with the result that these areas can never be helpful in strengthening the capability factor which is a main plank of a country's foreign policy.

Climate has a direct bearing on a country's economic capability also. If a country is not in a position to produce enough foodgrains and other essential commodities for its people as a result drought, crop failure or climatic patterns, then there is no way outleft. One is to opt for concluding long term or short-term arrangements for the supply of foodgrains and other items. It is an everybody knowledge that a sound economy is needed for the success of a country's foreign policy.

Pakistan possesses a great range of climatic diversity from some of the hottest in world in Jacobabad and Sibi districts to the snowy cold of Ladakh and Baluchistan. Along the coastal belt, the climate is modified by sea breezes. Pakistan is on the margin of the monsoon climate. The rainfall is barely sufficient and thus it possesses a dry climate. All these causes had effect or hinderance to the production of enough foodgrains and other essential commodities. Pakistan has to make arrangements for these commodities from other countries which is again a lost of foreign exchange.

Topography: The topography has had a significant influence in the definition of modern state system. Islands and physical barriers of the continents have defined natural areas for the evaluation of a number of sovereign independent states in the world from time to time. But barriers and surface communication routes are having to own significance in the affairs of states although rivers, mountains jungles and deserts are less significant obstacles in the modern world than in the past. But even today because of their traditional importance, still they influence the international affairs. Moreover, interstate rivers, the seas and the narrow connecting waters of straits and canals are essential highways of an economically independent world.

In Pakistan there are so many passes which linked to the neighbouring countries. The rivers are helpful in strengthening the ports of a country and transportation system throughout a state. The fall of rivers are helpful for the production of energy and for the good irrigation facilities, the lakes and rivers are must. They may foster natural clamity, they may create obstacles in its way also. As a prime determinant of climate and rain fall, the topography has an obvious and significant impact on the economy and cultural values of a state.⁶

5. Economic Development: In a developing state whose actual economic strength is necessarily low, the rate of economic growth largely determines the power potential, defined in material terms, which the Realists regard as the only factor of significance, but it is at any rate one of the major elements, in contemporary international relations. The rate of growth determines how soon and if at all, a developing state can hope to become a major power from the economic point of view; it determines whether and after what period of time the state can develop a military capability adequate for its own security; it indicates, to a considerable extent, the viability or otherwise of the political system over a period of time. The style of development, along with the rate of growth, determines the extent of dependence on foreign aid and the boundary conditions within which such aid is to be

sought and secured. A related and major aspect of economic development is the expansion and diversification of foreign trade. All this has obvious significance for foreign policy.

Economic Development: Pakistan is an underdeveloping country. Its economic position is not sound due to scarcity of natural resources, lack of technical know-how, rapid growth of population etc. To meet with these problems, Pakistan takes aid from foreign countries. That is why Pakistan is in compulsion to make and maintain good relations with foreign countries.

6. Population: Fast and rapidly growing population of Pakistan profoundly affects the foreign policy primarily by slowing down the rate of economic growth and making it heavily dependent on foreign aid. The absolute size of the population determines the per capita availability of land and other natural resources. Other things being equal a state with a large population is at a disadvantage as compared with a state having a relatively small population. From this point of view, Pakistan is at a great disadvantage as compared with the Soviet Union and the U.S.A., the economically usable land and other natural resources of either of the latter being several times more than those of Pakistan, while the population of Pakistan is vast.

The task of economic development in other words is in absolute terms much more difficult in Pakistan than in the Soviet Union or the U.S.A.

7. Natural Resources: Technological progress, it is sometimes argued, has seriously undermined the geopolitical hypothesis that natural resources constitute an important element of national power and hence must be regarded as one of the determinants of foreign policy. The growth of advanced technology itself presupposes a certain level of industrialization, which it would be very hard to attain in the absence of a minimum resource base. The richness and self-sufficiency of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. with regard to natural resources accounts to a large extent for their economic and military power. Moreover, of two states at the same level of technological progress, that which is richer in natural resources will have a greater power potential than the other.

Pakistan has insufficient natural resources. It must be realized, however, that the proper utilization of the natural resources is a time consuming process and is dependent on various other cooperating factors like, capital, labour, organisation, technology and relatively new set of social institution and values. Hence a developing country like Pakistan would take many years to convert national resources into national power. Therefore, shortage of natural resources has negative impact on Pakistan's foreign policy.

8. Technology: There is practically no country in the modern world which did not depend, to a greater or less extent, on borrowed technology in the early stages of its economic growth. The early economic development of the U.S.A. involved heavy dependence on both foreign capital and technology. Japan depended considerably on foreign technology, although not so much on foreign capital. Russia, which before the Revolution was the fifth industrial state in the world, had already borrowed foreign capital and know how on an extensive scale. The borrowing of technology continued for many years after the Revolution. The initial boost to the Chinese economy after the Communist Revolution was given almost entirely by Soviet capital and technology.

This dependence is natural, for even capital formation, which is the first step in economic development, cannot take place without a minimum technological base. Not that technology can not be developed entirely through domestic skill formation, without any dependence on foreign sources, but it would be much more time-consuming and costly to start practically from scratch and slowly develop sophisticated technology than to borrow it.

During the first few decades of development Pakistan would inevitably have to depend to a considerable extent, on foreign technology as on foreign capital, this dependence

would progressively decline with Pakistan's economic development and the corresponding expansion and diversification of the infrastructure of Pakistan's economy. But in this process Pakistan's foreign policy would be inevitably affected by the dependence on the economically advanced states for capital and technology. So Pakistan's foreign policy which is not squarely based on its recognition can not hope to be called rational.

Political Leaders: No doubt, the qualities of political leaders have a deep impact on the country's foreign policy. The good or bad relations to the other countries is fully depend upon the political leaders. Pakistan has good as well as bad relations with the neighbouring and with other countries in the world. Political leadership also affects the foreign policy. So these are the main geographical determinants which affects the foreign policy.

Foreign Aid: Foreign aid is another important aspect of developing economies of developing countries. It is must for the poor countries and is for those countries which are relatively having sound economic capability, it is a tool in their hands by which they exploit the peoples living in the developing countries by directly or indirectly interfering in the internal and external matters. So much so the aid givers are to be pleased at any cost and in return they look after the economic needs and sometimes, even invest millions in establishing a particular type of political system in a region or country. Over the years

the unnecessary interference in the internal affairs of aid receiving countries is becoming a permanent feature of the recent political culture.

Foreign aid is also considered to be one of the most important variable of Pakistan foreign policy. It has two fold impact. First, in the case of Pakistan economy which has seen many ups and downs since 1947 and also has been always encircled by a large number of problems, without genuine and solid foreign economic assistance Pakistan economy might have collapsed.

Second, as Pakistan is getting major foreign aid from the U.S., U.S.S.R., China, Islamic world, World Bank Consortium and a large number of international agencies, the impact on her foreign policy is not completely ruled out. For example, it will be very difficult for Pakistan to openly criticise any policy matter of aid-giving countries. In the garb of Islamization, it has strengthened its relations with the Gulf countries and has also acquired the status of their security adviser.

Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean: The Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean is playing a vital role in Pakistan's external political and economic relations. Politically, the location of Pakistan in the Arabian Sea helps her to play a role of global importance. Connecting as it does the Atlantic Ocean through the red sea and mediterranean sea

and the Pacific Ocean powerfully influences the foreign policy of the U.S.A. and the European States, almost as it affects that of the Asian States and Australia. Political developments and shifts in foreign policy in the land connected by the Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea, especially those which control or influence important transit routes or oceanic highways are vital to Pakistan's national interest.

Pakistan and the South Asian Countries:

Relations with India:

Partition's legacy has been a uniquely bitter brand of inter state politics. Since 1947, Pakistan and India have been unable to agree on the terms of amicable coexistence. India is the dominant factor in Pakistan's foreign policy and intrudes into its domestic politics.

Pakistan's relations with India from the very beginning have been bad. In spite of the fact that the partition plan had been mutually agreed to by the two major parties - the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, which assumed power in their respective countries. According to the Pakistanis the accession of Junagadh and Hyderabad to Indian Union gave them cause for complaint. Among other disputes that arose between the two neighbouring countries, briefly refer to

the border dispute and canal water dispute. While all these disputes have been settled more or less satisfactorily for both the parties, the most complicated and contentious i.e. the Kashmir Dispute still lingers.⁷ The Kashmir problem considered a real issue by both sides, has significant internal political overtones which makes its solution extremely difficult, if not virtually impossible. Figure (1) lists negotiating milestones that has taken place since the 1947 partition of the subcontinent. The list is not comprehensive, though most of the major agreements are included.

Figure (1) Indo-Pakistan Agreements⁸

- (1) Calcutta agreement (1948)
- (2) Inter-Dominion Agreement (or Karachi Agreement, 1949).
- (3) Liaquat-Nehru Agreement (1950)
- (4) Nehru-Noon Accord (1958)
- (5) West Pakistan-India Border Ground Rules (1960)
- (6) Indus River Waters Treaty (1962)
- (7) Rann of Kutch ceasefire Agreement (1965)
- (8) Tashkent Agreement (1966)
- (9) Prior Notification of Border exercises (1966)
- (10) Rann of Kutch Tribunal Award (1968)
- (11) Simla Accord (1972)
- (12) Establishment of Indo-Pakistan Joint Commission (1982)

The most significant negotiations to date were concluded in the aftermath of three conflicts (1947-48, 1965, 1971).⁹

The brief December 1971 war between the two countries had far reaching consequences on the Indian subcontinent. It changed the power structure and the state structure of the subcontinent. Moreover, it pricked the bubble of the two-nation theory and put Indo-Pakistan relations in a new perspective. The Simla Agreement (1972) ushered in a new era. But when the Simla Agreement was debated in the National Assembly in Pakistan, it started with an invocation from the Holy Koran which freely translated means: "when infidels want to enter into an agreement with you, then do enter",¹⁰ which showed intensity of Muslim hatred for the non-Muslims.

Over the last few years, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, in his typical approach to relations with India, had been making proposals off and on for normalisation of relations between the two countries, with varying degrees of seriousness, with a consistency of purpose in showing himself as the national pragmatic ruler of Pakistan interested in having peaceful relations with India, at the same time keeping alive anti-India feelings within Pakistan.

The coming to power of a democratic regime in Islamabad under Benazir Bhutto seemed to have brought a fresh wind of change to a relationship that had for long been characterised by bitterness and mutual suspicion. Three agreements were signed between Benazir Bhutto and Rajiv Gandhi - on avoidance of double taxation of income from international air transport, on cultural exchanges, and on not attacking each other's nuclear installations.¹¹ Both the countries are going to improve their relationship.

Relation between Pakistan and Bangladesh:

In 1971 Bangladesh became an independent country. Though it took four years for Pakistan to recognise the independent existence of Bangladesh, relations gradually improved after 1974. There was limited trade and contacts remained correct rather than close. A somewhat closer relationship developed only after 1982, when General Ershad came to power in a military coup. Some observers see General Ershad's policies as closely modelled on those of his Pakistani counterpart. Certainly the disputes each state had with India helped to bring them together. The two generals were instrumental in the formation of SAARC, formally launched in Dhaka in December 1985.

The case of Bangladesh-Pakistan relationship is somewhat unique. It took her less than three years to come to an amity with her erstwhile persecuter. Unofficial relationship started even earlier in the form of small scale trade through third countries. Given the background, the speed and urgency marking the growth of this relation have few parallels in contemporary history.

After having examined some of the factors that could have influenced an early Bangladesh-Pakistan reconciliation it will be pertinent to attempt an assessment of how the relationship has grown over a decade. The period of the relationship can conveniently be covered under two distinct phases with the political changes of August 1975 marking a watershed. The beginning of both the phases were characterised by great enthusiasm and high optimism. A promising start was made in 1974 when Sheikh Mujibur Rahman visited Pakistan to attend the Islamic Summit the use of which had, for formal rapprochement, a significant implication. Again in 1975 renewed zeal could be noticed on both sides when Pakistan instantly recognised the new regime of Dhaka and both sides decided to open up diplomatic missions.¹³ There was the Tripartite Agreement on April 9, 1974. The significant feature of this agreement was the dropping of the trial of 195 Pakistani prisoners "as an act of clemency" as a step

"for the promotion of normalisation of relations and the establishment of durable peace in the subcontinent".

The relationship kept growing and there were a great deal of reciprocity of views on issues and matters so long they did not constitute any bone of contention between the two countries. A substantial progress has, however, been achieved in trade relations. Bangladesh and Pakistan signed a trade agreement in April 1976. One of the salient features of trade relations between the two countries is the volume of trade relations between the two countries is the volume of trade in private sector which constituted about 78 per cent of the whole transactions. Pakistan is continuing to improve the relations with Bangladesh.

Relations with Sri Lanka: In the early years of their career as independent nations, Sri Lanka became the port of call on the 3,000-mile ocean route between the two wings of undivided Pakistan. During the period 1948-1985, five Sri Lankan heads of state/government have paid official visits to Pakistan, whereas from Pakistan only three such visits were undertaken.

President Ayub Khan's visit in 1963--the first from Pakistan--took place after a long delay, nine years after the first official visit by a Sri Lankan head of

government. Pakistan and Sri Lanka enjoyed a problem free mutual relationship obviating the need for frequent meetings between their leaders. Prime Minister Sir John Kotelawala of Sri Lanka during his visit to Pakistan in 1954 spoke of the close ties and similarity of outlook between the two countries. At that stage both Pakistan and Sri Lanka were oriented towards the U.S. while the former entered into an alliance Kotelawala was to be a strong proponent of the West's point of view at Bandung in 1955.

Sri Lanka's policy towards the 1971 crisis had two distinct phases. Its initial attitude amounted to support for Pakistan: (a) it maintained (at the U.N.) that East Pakistan was an internal problem; (b) it offered facilities for Pakistani air craft at its air ports; and (c) it voted for the U.N. resolution of December 7, 1971 calling for immediate ceasefire and withdrawal of the armed forces on the territory of the other to their own side of the Indo-Pak border.¹⁴ India termed the resolution unrealistic as it took no account of the immediate problem confronting the people of India and Bangladesh. Sri Lanka-Pakistan relations have been growing stronger since 1977 -- the year in which both Zia and Jayewardene came to power. The two regimes developed a closer outlook on regional and international issues. Sri Lanka was the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement during

1976-79 and Pakistan became a full-fledged member of the movement during this period.

Sri Lanka has always supported the Pak position on Afghanistan--in the context of the Soviet intervention there in and outside the U.N. The Jayewardene government was looking for significant economic assistance and investment of capital the U.S. and had generally been adopting pro-Western posture on international issues. So was Pakistan. This common posture brought the two nations closer to each other. A possible outcome of President Zia's visit to Sri Lanka could be stepped up arms from Pakistan to fight the Tamil extremists in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. In Sri Lanka's perception, a closer relationship with Pakistan would serve to divide the ethnic minorities on religious lines, the Tamil-speaking Hindus and Muslims. Pakistan has been helping Sri Lanka to fight the Tamil militants by training its homeguards and other security personnel in Pakistan during the past year and a half. Both the countries are trying to improve their relationship.

Relations with Nepal: After 1985, Pakistan's relations with Nepal are growing to improve. Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan visited Nepal; during his stay he not only held wide-ranging talks with the Foreign Minister of Nepal, but also assured him that Pakistan was ready to aid Nepal during its trade row with India.

The meeting of the Pakistan Joint Economic Commission took place at Kathmandu on July 27th 1988. During the meeting the two sides discussed the ways and means of promoting trade between Nepal and Pakistan.¹⁵ At the end it was decided to take concrete steps, in the coming years, towards economic cooperation in the fields of trade, industry, agriculture, civil aviation, tourism etc. The leaders of the delegation also signed an agreement under which Pakistan pledged to extend a loan of US \$ 1 million to Nepal.

Relations with Maldives: Apart from India and Sri Lanka, Pakistan has been another South Asian State to establish its mission in Male. Interestingly, the Pakistan-Maldivian linkages date back to 1940s when a small number of Pakistanis were employed by the British on Gan base. Pakistan also had banking transactions in Male. During the last few years it has provided technical assistance to Maldives and gifted plants and seeds of high quality. In 1981, it donated 10,000 tons of superfine rice.

Earlier, the services of a Pakistani constitutional expert were sought by President Gayoom in the preparation of the new constitutional draft and in 1982 Pakistan promised to render assistance to the Maldives in its plans to set up an University. As with India and Sri Lanka, the Maldives has also concluded an air services agreement with Pakistan in 1981.¹⁶

Relations with U.S.A.: Since 1947 Pakistan-U.S. relations have been governed by certain policy objectives on both sides that basically address question of national security, regional stability, and strategic interest, though not necessarily in that order of priority. To be more precise, we can see these main goals generally pursued by Pakistan in its foreign policy and more so in its relations with the United States: (1) territorial integrity as a sovereign nation-state, legitimate interests and ideals; (2) evolution of a viable politico-economic order, eventually leading to a welfare state; and (3) regional stability.¹⁷

Pakistan has, despite inflation, surpassed the magnitude of American patronage received during the era when Pakistan was an active member of both CENTO--the Central Treaty Organisation and SEATO--the South East Asian Treaty Organisation alliances.¹⁸

Ever since the early 1950's the United States has taken keen interest in Pakistan, a country which occupies "central strategic position" in the international relations of South Asia. Pakistan's geopolitical position is strategically very attractive for the United States. The industrial and populous heartland of the U.S.S.R. is also very close to it.¹⁹ The presence of 85,000 and more

Soviet troops in Afghanistan and Pakistan importance as a conduit for the supply of U.S. and Chinese arms to the anti-Russian guerrillas of Afghanistan for just getting large Soviet army and other Soviet resources heavily involved and committed in Afghanistan if for nothing else have all the more enhanced U.S. stakes in Pakistan.²⁰

The return of democratic government and the election of Benazir Bhutto as Prime Minister had introduced a new situation in Pakistan, but she had been dismissed after some time. Afghanistan remains a key factor in U.S. Pakistani relations, but with the Soviet withdrawal, the previously parallel Afghanistan policies of the two countries may not only diverge but even become a source of conflict.²¹ While both Pakistan and United States recognize the importance of their relationship, each must also recognize its limitations. Pakistan is neither an area of high priority interest for the United States nor an instrument of U.S. policy.

Relations with U.S.S.R.: Soviet-Pakistan relations did not have a smooth start for various reasons. The Soviet Union had viewed the Muslim national struggle in South Asia with suspicion and regarded the establishment of Pakistan as an extension of British policy of "divide and rule".²² The new state's profession of Islamic ideology

and its vigorous efforts to cultivate brotherly relations with the Muslim world were not welcomed by the U.S.S.R. Pakistan signed military aid pacts with the U.S. and entered into defence alliances, CENTO and SEATO. In its zest to woo the West, Pakistan alienated the U.S.S.R. completely. With the beginning of the 1960s the international situation took a new turn. The Sino-Soviet confrontation underlined the need for U.S.S.R to soften its attitude towards Pakistan. Soviet Pakistan relations began to improve. After that in Moscow, Ayub Khan clearly hinted at terminating American bases in Pakistan.

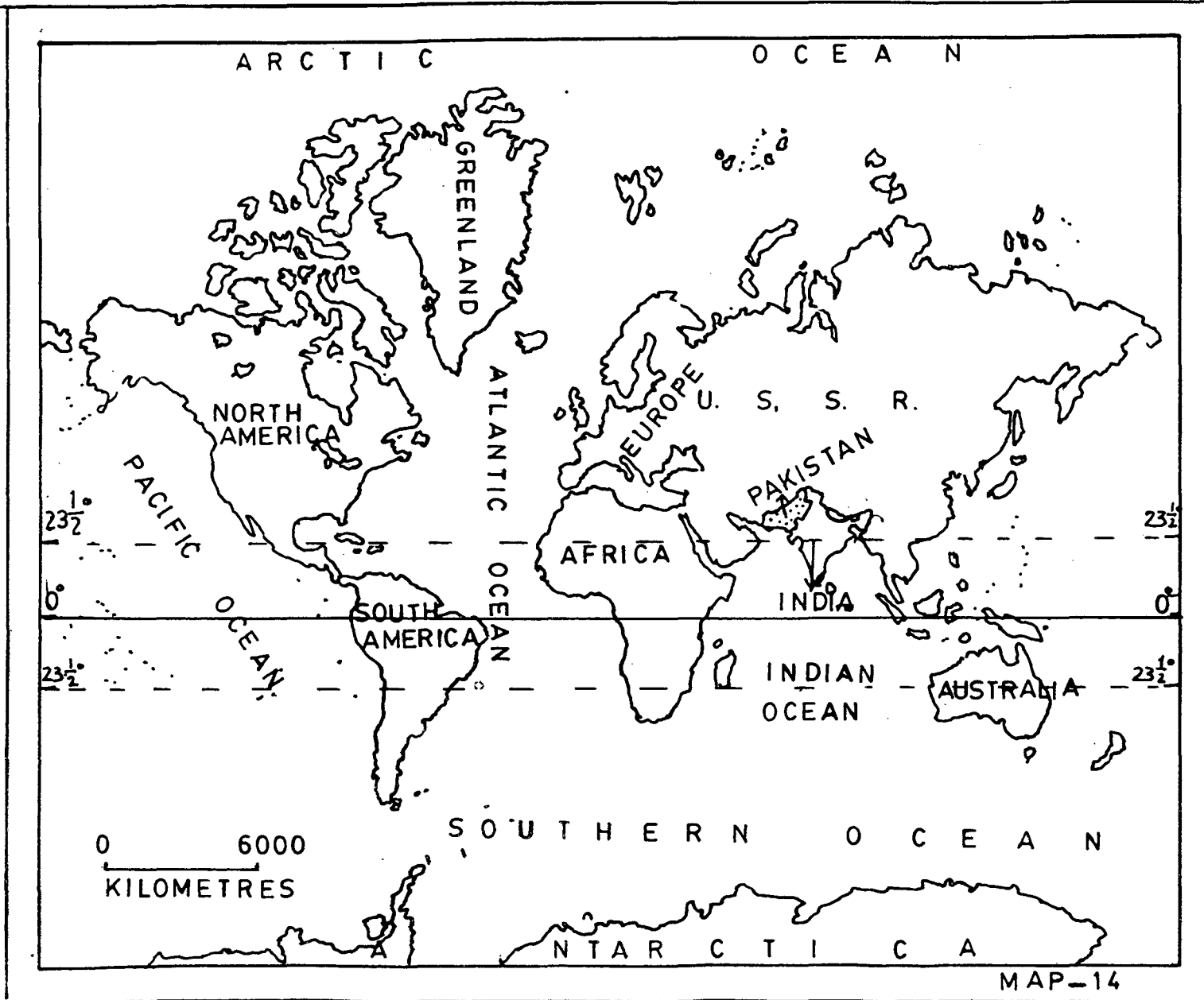
Moscow has more than once indicated that it attaches a great amount of significance to its relations with Pakistan. If India is valuable because of its size, Pakistan is no less important owing to its strategic position, proximity to Soviet Central Asia, and its close relationship with the Islamic countries.²³ A Pravada article quoted the U.S. Secretary of Defence, Caspar Weinberger, to the effect that "without Pakistan,...the resistance in Afghanistan would come to naught."²⁴ While that makes Pakistan the potential target of Soviet retaliation, it also improves her bargaining position and can, therefore, be turned to advantage.

Relations with Afghanistan: Pakistan-Afghanistan relations made a bad start right from the beginning which did not augur well for the future of friendly relations between

the two Muslim neighbouring States who had many things in common. Despite this, Pakistan desired friendly relations with Afghanistan. Afghanistan's relations with Pakistan all along, except for intermittent and brief spells of tranquility, have remained tortuous and hostile, because Afghanistan pursued an audacious and intransigent policy towards Pakistan. Oblivious of the fact that it being a land-locked country had its only nearest access to sea through Pakistan. The cause of strained relations between the two neighbours can be attributed to the fact that among the rulers of Kabul, "the rule of Peshawar is a passion deep in their hearts".²⁵

The Pakhtunistan problem, which is closely inter-linked with the Durand line issue, has been a source of immense bitterness between the two countries. Afghan demands have been that there should be separate state for the Pashtu speaking people on the Pakistan side of Durand line. It justifies "its support for Pakhtunistan is a component part of the history of Afghanistan. The struggle of the Pakhtun people began when they were separated from the Afghan state in consequence of the encroachment by the British Government".²⁶ Afghans have further stressed that the Pakhtuns were more akin to Afghanistan from the ethnic, linguistic, geographical, historical and traditional point of view. The Durand line

PAKISTAN AND THE WORLD



had been accepted by Amir Abdur Rahim under duress of internal and external constraints while negotiating with the British. The Afghan Government rejected the Pakistan contention that the majority of the NWFP population voted in favour of Pakistan in the referendum held in 1947.

Relations between the two neighbours were cold during the early fifties, in part due to Pakistan's preoccupation with India over the Kashmir issue. The relations brightened when Prime Minister Bhutto and President Daud decided to hold bilateral talks in earnest on their outstanding political differences in the mid 1970s.²⁷ The Soviet intervention in December of 1979 had resulted in the virtual fragmentation of Afghanistan. At least for policy purposes, Afghanistan could no longer be regarded as a single entity. A dramatic change in the geostrategic setting of the area evoked serious regional as well as global concern. Pakistan, the country most directly affected, found itself face to face with the Soviet Union along its western border. Following the intervention, Pakistan's Afghan policy became gigantic exercise in crisis management. As a central component of this multi-pronged effort, Pakistan endeavoured to seek Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, in order to pave the way for voluntary and honourable return of the refugees. Its search for a negotiated settlement

through the United Nations-sponsored Geneva proximity talks was backed by effective resistance inside Afghanistan denying a military victory to the Russians within the limits of Soviet patience vis-a-vis Pakistan, which meant a policy of limited escalation. While the outcome at Geneva depended on a whole range of factors, the situation on the ground in Afghanistan remained a case of continuing stalemate, though at a higher cost than before for both the sides. Not surprisingly, therefore, Mr. Gorbachev referred to Afghanistan at the February 1986 CPSU Congress as a "bleeding wound".²⁸

The war in Afghanistan has brought not only risks but also opportunities for Pakistan for resolving its traditional Afghan dilemma in the best interest of the two peoples and in keeping with lasting peace and stability in the region. The Afghan nation has been placed much closer to Pakistan than ever before, thanks to the Russians.

Relations with China: China is Pakistan's next powerful rather supreme neighbour. Directly connected by the Karakoram highway, it shares a long hilly border with Pakistan in the Karakoram region China is a communist country, while Pakistan is an Islamic Republic. But despite these ideological differences, both the countries have developed cordial relations between themselves.²⁹

The Chinese extended their support to Pakistan in careful and calculated stages. Before the border agreement was reached they took the position that Kashmir was a disputed area. After the border agreement and other understandings, they came out fully in support of Pakistan's stand on Kashmir. It seemed that the Chinese attempts to forge close links with Pakistan were ultimately directed towards driving a wedge between Pakistan and the United States. In the communique Pakistan expressed its opposition to the schemes for creating two China's and the Chinese supported the Pakistani demand for plebiscite in Kashmir. A trade agreement between Pakistan and signed on 4 January 1963 provided for commercial exchanges on the basis of most favoured nations treatment. On 13 February 1965, direct radio and telecommunications link between Pakistan and China were also established.³⁰ The most important development in Pakistan-China friendship both from military and commercial point of view was the reopening of silk route, linking xinjiang with the Hunza valley in Pakistan, to traders in 1967.

Nevertheless, the real test of Pakistan-China friendship came during the 1965 Indo-Pakistan war. China condemned India's unbridled aggression against Pakistan and rejected India's claim that the attack on Lahore was a defensive measure. Apart from this, China accused the

towards India. China has assured Pakistan that in case of foreign aggression the Chinese people and the government would stand by Pakistan. Although China has not broken diplomatic relation with Kabul, it had recognised the organization of Islamic conference as an important force against the Soviet advances. China which has a large Muslim minority, is in favour of a powerful Islamic movement that could play an important role in world affairs.

All told it seems that relations between Pakistan and China are built on the basis of enlightened self-interest. When the interest of nations coincide, there is greater cooperation, and when their interests clash, there is less cooperation or no cooperation at all. The contingencies of international politics and the geopolitical compulsions have brought China and Pakistan closer to each other.

Relations to the Muslim World: For several years after its establishment, Pakistan was an enthusiastic supporter of close cooperation among Muslim countries. The search for Muslim solidarity led to a number of definite policies. The first of these has been a general attempt to bring Muslim governments closer together. The first Muslim International Economic Conference was held in Karachi in 1950³¹, and was presented with a major presidential address by Gulam Mohammad. The same organisation met in Karachi again for its third Conference in 1954, when Zafarullah

Khan presided. However, a more ambitious plan for a permanent consultative organization of Muslim states had to be abandoned because of the reluctance of some of the invited governments. Contacts with heads of state and Prime Ministers of Muslim countries was maintained by means of frequent visits.

The Muslim world is undoubtedly a great world. Politically, it dominates major parts of the world. It is stretched, in a continuous belt, over major lands of Africa and Asia from the Atlantic sea to the Pacific Ocean. It can count now forty five independent sovereign states, most important of which (besides Afghanistan and Iran) are Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Sudan, Egypt, Libya, Tunis, Algeria, Morocco, Malaysia, Bangladesh and Indonesia.³² Most of these countries are geographically contiguous and occupy most sensitive and strategic points in the world. Pakistan, since its inception, had been very anxious about the unity of the Muslim countries. Indeed, it has been the ardent advocate of Muslim Ummah's internal unity and solidarity. Even before Pakistan's emergence, the Indian Muslim leaders and thinkers had been very anxious about the Itihad-i-Islami (unity of Muslim Ummal). Anyhow, since 1958, the main object of Pakistan's foreign policy has been to promote and strengthen spiritual, cultural, commercial, economic and industrial relations with the Muslim countries.

Another regrettable thing is that the Muslim world lagged behind in science and technology. Pakistan emphatically stresses that the Muslim world must make concrete efforts in advancing its science and technology. Anyhow, Pakistan has good relations to the Muslim countries.

Pakistan has joined the Non-Aligned Movement and became its active and potent member. The Non-Aligned Movement was started by Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia, Gamal Abdul Nasir of Egypt and Jawaharlal Nehru of Bharat. Pakistan basically belongs to the third world which encompasses all the non-aligned under-developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Briefly speaking, Pakistan unquestionably occupies a very prominent place in the comity of nations, and also improving its relations with the other countries.

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C O N C L U S I O N

CONCLUSION

This dissertation of the Political Geography of Pakistan necessitates tracing the various cultural, economic, political and geographical patterns. It discusses several important aspects of the political geography of Pakistan, such as the effects of the physical and cultural environment and the unequal distribution of resources, external boundary problems and international relations.

The Pakistan's people's Republic has inherited several cultural, racial, linguistic, religious and politico-administrative legacies from the historical past that are affecting the present geopolitical structure of the country.

The northern mountains isolate Pakistan from central Asia. They are a linguistic and cultural divide. The western bordering mountains are stretched in the West of Indus plain, forming the western border of Pakistan. The Hindukush constitutes the main range of the western bordering mountains in the north. These mountains separate Afghanistan from Pakistan. The Baluchistan Plateau consists of dry valleys, saline lakes and a vast area of desert with dry hills. It also consists of large barren mountains, deserts and stony plains.

The surface of the Potwar plateau is greatly cut by deep ravines in the soft siwalik beds of which the area is composed. Agriculture is almost totally dependent on rainfall. The chief crops of plateau are wheat, barley, onion and tobacco. The plateau has a geological structure which is favourable for oil. Large quantities of rock salt and other minerals like gypsum and coal are found in the salt range of Pakistan.

The upper and the lower Indus plain is the gift of rivers. The plain is a centre of power with a concentration of population, and a capacity for assimilation which favours the unity of the nation. The Indus plain is favourable for the agriculture.

A variety of climatic influences have affected the strategic situation of Pakistan, its internal unity or disunity, its economic viability and its regional diversity. Many of the nation's political problems can be related to the eccentricities of seasonal winds and rainfall rhythms. These phenomena have created floods, droughts, regional shortage of food and conflicts concerning the distribution of river and canal waters. Less directly, climatic conditions have influenced the problems relating to the selection of dam sites, the preservation of forests and conditions of soil erosion.

The social fabric of Pakistan is badly shaken by the endemic intra-regional and inter-sectarian conflicts. The ethnic and demographic composition of Baluchistan, N.W.F.P., Sind and Punjab undergone vast changes with the advent of the Mohajirs or refugees from India, the Pathans on both sides of the Durand line and finally the Afghan refugees. These large influxes have created tensions between the local and the settlers which in turn have resulted in sporadic violence or ethnic problems in Pakistan. The government must work out a constitutional settlement that would provide for increased autonomy to the provinces and to calm down the regional tensions.

The unequal distribution of agricultural and mineral resources in Pakistan has affected the economic viability and political stability of the nation as a whole and of its various regions. This unequal distribution of resources has created a regional disparity and rivalry among the states and has contributed to fragmentation and regionalism. The uneven distribution of agricultural resources in relation to population has resulted in some areas being deficient in food. Similarly the unequal distribution of minerals has posed problems of equitable distribution of industrial establishments in various states. This problem was partially met by the Central Government's

efforts to establish industrial plants in various districts in response to locally available resources. The Government has tried to provide reasonably equal opportunity for manufactural development of every region.

Starting with practically no worthwhile industries by the end of sixties, Pakistan had developed substantial industrial base. By the later part of the sixties the private sector had grown from the processing of agricultural raw materials into cement, chemicals and fertilizers and banking. Nevertheless, even today Pakistan's industrial structure remains dominated by food processing and textile industries. The economy of Pakistan so far is not fully developed and the Government from time to time initiated a number of measures to strengthen it. In 1972, Z.A. Bhutto Government nationalized the industry in the hope of giving a new direction to the Pakistan economic set up. But later on it was realized that to implement the decision was very difficult and the Government was compelled to change the policy. Both public and private sectors are in existence in Pakistan. The financial policy planners are more or less flexible in their attitude as is evident from the existence of large number of multinationals hopefully enjoying the patronage of the Pakistan Government.

Since Pakistan is deficient in certain minerals and fuels, significant sums must be expended in importing these items from foreign countries to meet the demand at home.

To continue this practice, Pakistan must maintain good relations with various foreign countries and power blocs, especially with ideologically similar countries like the United States and the nations of Western Europe.

Widespread poverty, regional economic disparity and political instability can be attributed at least in part to Pakistan's immense population and the uneven distribution of this population. The rate of population growth needs to be reduced at the same time that the rate of economic development is accelerated.

Pakistan's population is exerting heavy pressure on resources. The country lacks the resources to feed the already increasing number of people to maintain health and welfare services, and to ensure a maximum rate of growth for the economy. Pakistan is already under heavy debt and the economic development is going at a slow pace. The dependence on foreign economic aid has been increased manifold since 1947 and sometimes a country is compelled to sacrifice its national interest and foreign policy assumptions in order to qualify for financial benefits which are essential in the modern world of science and technology for a developing country like Pakistan.

On the way of economic development Pakistan has been facing so many problems since independence such as rural development problems, problems of agricultur sector,

increasing population, social problems, other socio-economic problems, planning etc.

Planning efforts for development in Pakistan so far been made of two levels--national level through five year plans and village level under various rural development programmes. The two processes could neither converge together nor could fruitify one another for the vast gap between the levels and the absence of efforts at intermediate level. As a result the problems of development remained more or less the same and in some cases like fulfilment of the basic needs and eradication of poverty became more complicated. This realisation has not only become obvious but significant. As a result there is increasing recognition of the need for intermediate development planning in the developing countries including Pakistan. Further, planning has been initiated recently at the district level under the local government system by entrusting the responsibility for planning to district councils. District in Pakistan is not only a politico, administrative unit but also a viable unit for socio-economic development as well.

In the revolt of 1857 the Muslims took a leading part. Subsequently the old policy brought the idea of special protection as a minority. In 1906, the Muslims formally asked the British Government for a separate state.

Conditions, however, went on unfortunately changing as the years passed; and both the British and Muslims became supporters of the idea of Pakistan. Gradually, vehement demand for a separate state resulted the partition of India and Pakistan became an independent state on 14 August 1947.

From the geographical point of view the partition was not a logical one as the two widely separated parts were brought together. There were strong ethnic, linguistic and cultural differences between east and west Pakistan. It brought the partition of Pakistan. Pakistan's eastern part which was Bengali dominated became an independent state under the name of Bangladesh. So after partition Pakistan reduced access to raw materials, food and industrial products etc. Jute productive area has been ceded by Pakistan after partition.

Pakistan has the boundary disputes with neighbouring countries like India, China, Afghanistan and Iran. Many agreements have taken place between Pakistan and neighbouring countries. With India the main problems are the Kashmir problem and the Siachen glacier problem. In 1972, Simla Agreement was held on the Kashmir issue. On 2nd March 1963, boundary agreement with China to demarcate their common border on October 30, 1956. Complete agreement over the disputed parts of Baluchistan between Iran and Pakistan was held. The transfer of territories was completed in 1963 under the Ayub regime. Afghanistan

has Pakhtunistan problem with Pakistan which is closely interlinked with the Durand line issue. In this way, Pakistan has been able to have good relations with the neighbouring countries.

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan is a Federal State. It is laid down in the Constitution that the executive authority of the Federation shall be exercised in the name of the President by the Federal Government consisting of Prime Minister, who shall be the chief executive of the Federation.

In 1973, Bhutto introduced an interim constitution in which the head of the government was Prime Minister. The constitution was federal, democratic and parliamentary in character and spirit. In March 1977, a country-wide agitation started resulting an unedning political crisis. To save the country from the brink of a civil war, the Chief of the Army Staff General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq took over the administration of the country and Martial Law was imposed. After the death of Zia-ul-Haq the civilian regime of Benazir Bhutto replaced Zia's regime. Since 1990, Nawaj Sharif government is in power in Pakistan.

Prime Minister Nawaj Sharif's greatest achievement to date relates to the historic accord on apportionment of river water among the provinces. The thorny issue of distribution of water had lingered for a long period and

numerous commissions had failed to resolve it. But he became a contradictory personality after introducing the controversial Shariat Bill in the National Assembly. If passed, the legislation would make the Koran the supreme law of Pakistan and bring all aspects of life, from social mores to civil liberties, under the tenets of Islam. But liberal Muslims contend that the new law would promote sectarianism, pave the way for a militant theocracy, repress women and bring the press and educational system under the control of clerics.

Despite all the divergent opinions, Nawaj Sharif said his measures would transform Pakistan into a real Islamic, welfare, progressive and democratic state. Basic reforms in administrative, judicial, legal, economic, educational, police and social set up will be introduced. His objective to eliminate hunger, disease, corruption, injustice and exploitation of all kinds and build a strong prosperous and viable Pakistan.

The change in the administrative set up and reorganisation of the Provinces was a major step towards centralisation of state power which were both strategic and political. The pattern of administrative units of Pakistan represented the cumulative influences of politico-economic decisions upon the traditionally conservative society. The administrative pattern can thus be understood

only within the milieu of the nature of various Pakistani government's tradition, continuity and other extra-mural forces. The administrative machinery has to be reorganised and geared to the task of development. The Ministry of Planning should become effective as a co-ordinating agency, and should scrutinise carefully all sectoral programmes and industrial projects.

The external relations of Pakistan are as important for its stability as a democratic nation as are the internal political and economic conditions. Pakistan is trying to make good relations with the other countries. Pakistan is certainly enjoying good relations with the South Asian countries like India, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Maldives. These countries are earnestly cooperating with Pakistan. Sri Lanka has always showed friendly feelings towards Pakistan. Pakistan has always showed great regard for the People's Republic of China. China has always supported Pakistan's stand on Kashmir issue. Afghanistan's attitude always remained unaccommodating rather hostile towards Pakistan. After Russian Military intervention in Afghanistan, the Afghanistan government is indulged in provocative activities against Pakistan. But Pakistan wants honourable political settlement of Afghanistan crisis.

Pakistan has good relations with U.S.A. The geographical position of Pakistan attracted the attention of the U.S.A. The U.S.A. administration thought it fit

to provide moral and material assistance to Pakistan. Likewise, Pakistan has friendly relations with France, West Germany and Japan. Particularly, Japan is taking great interest in the industrial development of Pakistan. Pakistan has good cultural, commercial and industrial relations to some extent. But political and diplomatic relations between Pakistan and Russia still remains strained. Rather, Russia's military occupation of Afghanistan has worsened the situation. Pakistan is greatly concerned with every Muslim country and have good relations with them.

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