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GENDERIZATION OF POLITICS: WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN PAKISTAN

Muhammad Farooq*

Since the colonial period and after the independence women are struggling for their political rights. Freedom of choice and power of decision-making are imperative for human development, thus an integral part of gender empowerment. Political empowerment is a continuum of political activity ranging from acts of individual resistance to mass mobilizations that challenge the basic power relation in a society. The purpose of women empowerment is to enlarge the scope of women's role in decision-making process. The most fundamental basic right is the freedom to make decision rather than hand it over to someone else. Political rights are as important as other fundamental rights. This requires reviewing and restructuring the structures, which are detrimental to women's strategic interests. The gender gap in women's political participation is the most visible phenomenon in Pakistan. In most developing countries small proportion of women are found as actors in political processes. It is accepted, like a fact, that politics is a male's domain that demands masculine qualities. Hence women are not qualified for public realm. Societal and state structures are woven in such a way that women remained alien to the political process. Therefore, political participation is central to the empowerment process.[2]

Women's participation in political process is required as well as necessary for the development of the society. a proportionate share in political decision-making would foster the process of economic development and formation of just society. Political dimension is a vital facet of gender empowerment model. The outcome of active and assertive participation by any group or class in politics would determine their role and influence in decision-making process that lead to political empowerment. To assess the Pakistani women's level of political participation, in this study three variables are used:

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Right to Vote; Women gained the right to vote and to be elected to political office in almost all countries that have representative institutions. Gaining right to vote did not automatically mean that women widely exercised it. Women have, particularly in developing societies, little or no right to vote freely, often their choice were influenced by men. In some rural and tribal areas of Pakistan, their family men to caste vote do not oblige women. Ratio of female voters, sometimes, does not correspond to the male-female population ratio. There is no penalty for those who do not want to cast their votes.

Political Representation; Representation in political parties and political institutions is another variable to measure the level of political participation of women. Enfranchisement does not lead to increased representation of women in political parties or legislatures or other political institutions. Freedom and equality of participation in and influence the political decision-making process at the national and local level would achieve through women's mobilization and increased representation in political institution. The increased representation is both a result of empowerment, and a potential contribution towards empowerment.

Representation in the Public Offices; Representation in the public offices is directly related to the empowerment process. Very few women are able to reach high echelon of public offices. Even those who were able to hold political offices worked with due constraints. The all-male environment put restrictions on women's maneuverability and decision-making ability and limits the scope of implementation of decisions.

Women's Enfranchisement and Political Participation

The creation of Pakistan closed the chapter of colonial rule and concluded the struggle for Muslim identity in British India. During the Pakistan movement women were greeted in the political domain as participants, not as autonomous actor but as appendages of their men, and also they were kept away from the decision-making process in political parties. The Pakistan movement, based on ideological underpinnings of Muslim nationalism in which Muslim women participated and mobilized, did not undermine the conventional attitudes of men regarding women, rather these were reinforced after independence. When the time of crisis is over, the political elite and the state did not feel the need of women's participation in public arena, therefore, they have to retreat back to the

confines of home. In colonial times kinship was not the basic unit of political accommodations, hence state intervention in the private sphere was minimal. After the decolonization, the post-colonial state became the ultimate guarantor of the social order whose moral underpinnings were symbolizes by women. Therefore, the new state's legitimacy lay in to maintain this order.

In the political structure of new state, the issue of status of women was considered as disturbing irritant for the precarious balance between state and society.[3] Therefore, the Pakistani political elite decidedly showed apathy to the issue. In the new political system women were not granted political rights above and beyond those granted by culturally and regionally diverse social orders. According to these social customs, women were virtually considered as non-political entity. Women's absence or little representation in Pakistan's political institutions at national as well as community level and their non-representation in the political decision-making resultantly influenced their status and political empowerment in society. The politico-cultural structures are constricting women's operative framework for the political maneuvering and empowerment. Pakistan's political history with its frequent disruption of democratic processes has not been conducive to promote the political participation of any political actors, male or female.

1. Right to Vote

The importance of voting as a political mean to participation is in dispute.[4] Given the all hurdles, the inadequacy of information about candidates arid infrequency of elections, the voting at least tends to provide psychological satisfaction. The relationship of the vote to other forms political participation is also not clear. However, right to vote, as feminist suffragists perceived, is considered as the first step towards the greater political participation. All constitutions of Pakistan endowed women right to vote. It is expected that it would provide an opportunity to women to articulate their issues through this process. However, it cannot eliminate the forces of oppression. Nevertheless, it is an opportunity for women to present their issues, and provides a channel through which the government can integrate women into existing political structures. Yet, women faced problems in exercising the right to vote. Region-specific and socio-cultural barriers determine women's participation in the electoral process and neutralize the gains which would otherwise women can receive. Throughout the country existing political structures, whether

feudal or tribal, have posed major problems for women. The men in their lives dominate the overall political behaviour of women.[5] Women are presumed to adopt the political outlook and views of their men[6] - father, brothers, and husband. The voting data showed tat women do not vote with the same frequency as men and a consistent differential in voting turnout between sexes is also recorded in Pakistan.

By 1928, in India, women were granted the right to vote in provincial legislatures but property qualification operated heavily against them. Under Government of India Act, 1935, six million women were enfranchised and six seats out of a total of 150 were reserved for women in the Council of States and nine out of 250 in the Federal Assembly. Under this Act first elections were held in 1946. According to this Act, to be a voter required a certain minimum amount of revenue payment as a pre-qualification. Under this restricted suffrage, women, on the basis of urban constituencies confined to towns, elected women.

In Pakistan, no elections were held on the basis of universal adult franchise from independence to 1970, for the national or provincial legislatures, except for East Pakistan's provincial assembly that was held in 1954. The Constitution of 1956 reserved ten seats for women on the basis of "Women's Territorial Constituencies" delimited for this purpose.[7] The provision for territorial constituencies for women granted them right of double vote. However, before the elections were held under this constitution, General Ayub Khan abrogated it. Under the Constitution of 1962 Electoral College comprised of Basic Democrats was empowered to elect the representatives to national and provincial assemblies. Members of the Electoral College were elected directly on adult franchise basis. The elections of 1970 were held, under the Legal Framework Order, on adult franchise basis. Afterward, all elections were held on universal suffrage basis under the Constitution of 1973.

Women's effective and active participation in the electoral process was seen during the 1970 election. Undoubtedly, the ZA Bhutto's Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) was the first party to mobilize a large number of women supporters and activists who contributed in the success of PPP in those elections. A visible decline in over-all turnout has been witnessed between 1977 and 1993. From 61.9 percent in 1977, voter turnout fell to 43percent in 1988 with only a marginal increase in 19908 (this turnout was controversial many, in Pakistan, believed that elections were rigged). According to Election Commission in 1993 and 1997 elections, women registered votes were 45.5 and 44.5 per cent of the total number of Muslim

voters respectively; their share in population was 48 per cent. Due to under-registration there were 4.7 million in 1993 and in 1997 six millions fewer women voters than male voters.[9] Low turnout and under-registration of women voters curtailed the power of their vote and lessened the strength of their impact on electoral process.

In traditional sections of Pakistani society women is still non-political entity, like Federally Administrative Tribal Area (FATA). Till December 1996, only a selected number of *maliks* voted to elect eight tribal representatives to National Assembly. For the first time, in 1997, Government of Pakistan granted right to vote to Federally Administrated Tribal Areas (FATA), on the basis of adult franchise for National Assembly elections only. The tribesmen are reluctant to enlist their women's names in the electoral lists. The tribesmen do not oppose when their women walk for miles to fetch water but consider it a matter of honour if they cast their vote. In 1997's general elections turn out in most of the tribal agencies was 40% - 45%. However, women participation was negligible and in some areas even not a single woman came out for vote. *Jirga* decisions in the newly enfranchised areas of FATA resulted in a massive denial of franchise to the female electorate. The *jirga* decisions were announced on mosques' loudspeakers that "voting by women is un-Islamic and a women going to a polling station would do so at the peril of her house being burnt down."[10] In this election FATA have 401,155 registered women voters out of total 1593212 voters (See table) i.e., only one quarter of the registered voters were women, however, according to 1998 Census women's share in FATA's population is 48.8%". In North Waziristan and Bajur Agencies the Number of enlisted female voters was extremely low. Only 480 women were enlisted in North Waziristan out of total 120,759 votes (0.4%) and 360 female votes found place in the electoral list in Bajur Agency against 78,737 total votes *(0.5%)*. In Khaiber Agency out of total 189,533, only 9,135 were women (4.8%). In South Waziristan female registered votes were 171,507 in a total of 420,421 votes. In some areas of FATA like Bajur, Mohmand, Khyber, Orakzai and North Waziristan agencies not a single female vote was cast, while in Jumrud in the Khaiber Agency out of 6,600 women registered only 37 women voted.[12] In local government elections held in 2001, majority of women's reserved seats would remain vacant.

Table: Percentage of Female Registered Votes in Fata: 1997.

Agency	Male Votes	Female Votes	Total	%age of Female Votes
Mohmand	155,169	4,076	168,796	2.4
Kurram	176,607	134,355	312,633	43.0
Orakzai	80,377	28,592	117,639	24.3
North Waziristan	118,446	480	120,759	0.4
South Waziristan	247,271	171,507	420,275	40.8
Bajur	70,861	360	78,737	0.5
Khyber	175,545	9,135	189,533	4.8
Frontier Regions	130,062	52,650	184,840	28.5
Total	1154,338	401,155	1593,212	25.1

Source: *1997. General Election Report,* Vol. I, Election Commission of Pakistan, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1997. pp. 63-64.

Many factors ranging from social to economic are behind the women's under-enfranchisement in Pakistan. In tribal and rural areas, particularly, of Pakistan, numerous instances were quoted in press and also Election Commission's statistics displayed that men were declined to register their women as voters. According to a press report[13] many women lost their right to vote because their men were reluctant to enroll their womenfolk on the electoral list in Thatta. In interior Sindh men were opposed to enter the names of their women because of rigid social set up. Purdah norms are another negative pull on the women's political participation. In many instances women are deprived of their vote due these norms. For instance, in 1990 all major political parties in some areas of a constituency in NWFP, in some wards of Sheikhupura (Punjab) and in some neighborhoods of Karachi agreed not to let women vote on the basis that this would violate cultural norms[14]. In 1993 Human Right Commission of Pakistan reported similar cases in some areas.

In addition to men's attitude, rigid social structure, and the presence of other socio-cultural impediments, there are procedural difficulties which undermining the women's right to vote and political participation even they are registered voters. The voting criteria became sterner under General Zia. He rose the minimum voter's age to twenty-one

years from eighteen years and also made it mandatory for all voters to produce identity (ID) cards when voting. This created problems for women voters, as many do not have ID cards. Getting ID cards, generally, do not considered necessary for women and face resistance from men. Fewer women have ID cards than men. Because of purdah norms women often have their ID cards without their photographs. The mandatory production of ID cards at time of voting is one of the major causes of low turnout, as blamed by the political parties. There is a discrepancy between the names as given in electoral lists and those on the cards. Further in most cases women are registered by their maiden names while ID cards have been issued to them as 'wives of or vice versa. Family and residential information in the case of women whose marital status has changed is also, therefore, not compatible. This problem is further aggravated when ID cards do not bear photographs. Thus many women are denied their right of franchise. Discrepancy in electoral lists leads to easier ballot fraud particularly in case of women voters. In very election candidates and parties protested against voting frauds particularly in female polling stations.[15]

From the elections of 1988 to onward political parties actively tried to woo women voters. In spite of the fact that women constitute half of the electorate, until 1988 political parties were spoken on general issues rather feminist issues. The election manifestos of political parties for the all general election held during 1988-97, reflected women's rights concern. Both main political parties, PPP and Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) have promised to sign the UN Declaration on the Elimination of all Form of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). The PLM (N)'s programme has a more social welfare approach. While ignoring the *Hudood* Ordinance, PML (N) has promised steps to ensure the protection of women and for the first time has addressed the issue of violence against women. Both parties' manifestos promised economic empowerment to women and hope to extend coverage as regards minimum wages, working hours, health and maternity benefits, etc.'[6] Surprisingly, the conservative religious party *Jamaat-i-Islami* was behind the liberal parties in soliciting the women voters. In 1993's election *Jamaat* led Pakistan Islamic Front (PIF) promised jobs to women in the field of health and education, the establishment of mobile family courts and separate women~ s universities. *Amir* (president or head) *Jamaat-i-Jslami* Qazi Hussain Ahmed's wife and daughter actively participated - although suitably veiled - in election campaign; an exceptional break with tradition. How far inclusion of

women's issues in the manifestos of major political parties influenced the mobilization of women voters and affected their choice of candidate or parties is a pertinent question vis-a-vis women's political participation. Keeping in view the female literacy rate and their exposure to external world how many had to be to read or hear the manifestos of political parties. However, in urban areas the mobilization in female voters was relatively high.

The impact of hard won franchise right did not translate into empowering women politically. A number of constraints neutralized the women enfranchisement's utility in the process of political participation and mobilization, hence lowered their political status. Men are declined to register their females votes, or in case of registered female voters they are not ready to permit their women to cast vote. It is because of men's conception of honour and norms of morality and decency. Here patriarchy rules. With all access to print and electronic media, political mobilization, soliciting by parties and constitutional rights, Pakistani women cannot be termed as free voters. Their rough defined role in politico-social structures and in the public world made them client voters. They are dependent on their men and cast their votes on the wishes of their men. The grant of right of vote to them is far from the free choice, consequently the situation of powerlessness in political system created a sense of alienation from it among the Pakistani women.

2. Representation in Political Institutions

It is disadvantage to be a woman in politics. However, it is not always true. A woman's relationship to a particular man may give her access to considerable direct or indirect political power, but this advantage is extended to only few women of influential political families. The cumulative effect of constraints on women's participation and representation in political institutions still has very strong persistence. Though women constituting nearly half the population do not achieve high party office or representation in representative institutions in anything like this proportion. In grass-roots activities, like voting, canvassing and participation in local bodies elections, women's participation has visibly increased, but at national level or as participants in elite political activities they not only faced structural constraints but also competition with male contenders.

Political Parties

The representation of women in the political institutions was very limited. Since independence every constitution granted the right of political participation to women, however, the conservative circles and societal structures opposed the demand of equal rights. Through constitutional provisions women have some reserved seats in national and provincial legislatures, which were lapsed after 1985s' elections, still it is quite unthinkable for women to participate in elections directly or to get political parties tickets to contest elections and win in adequate numbers to represent their gender and articulate their gender-specific demand.

Alienation of Muslim women from public life, segregation, and their virtual absence from public arena has always been created a barrier to their mobilization and participation in political processes. To get support to its wider national agenda, in the pre-partition India, the All India Muslim League has tried to respond positively on the issue of women's mobilization. To this end a separate women committee was formed and later, a female students organization was also established. These special structures within the party essentially aimed at mobilizing the women on the general political agenda. Therefore, these women were not obliged to discuss gender-specific issues. Later on, in seventies Pakistan People's Party (PPP) expanded the scope of Women's Committee to that of Women's Wing. The basic intention was to include and mobilize women from gross roots to the leadership levels on a permanent basis. By the middle of 1970s, *Jamaat-i-Islami* had also created Women's Wing. It has separate identity of itself and independent of men's wing, with its own organizational structure. With successive elections these women s wings were consolidated and played a significant role in bringing out female voters, particularly in urban area. *Jamaat-i-Islami's* women workers have previously concentrated on educational institutions become increasingly visible in electoral politics. MQM's Women Wing, created from MQM's inception in 1986, played crucial role in mass mobilization and to get support for its agenda. It also played a pivotal in local bodies, provincial and general elections in gathering votes and organizing support for the MQM in the urban centers of Sindh. MQM's success in Sindh's urban cities was attributed in equal measure to the women's wing and to male mobilization.

All political parties, except Awami National Party and all factions of *Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam* and *Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan,* have Women's Wings. Women's Wing of Jamaat-i-Islami has separate identity of itself

and independent of men's wing, with its own organizational structure. All other centrist, liberal or secular parties, like the PPP, the Muslim League (Nawaz and Quaid-i-Azam groups), the MQM, Pakistan Awami Tehrik of Tahirul Qadri, Milat Party and Pakistan Tehrik-i-Insaf, have similar organizational structure of Women's Wings. With all this creation of women's wings, the representation of women in the decision-making bodies of the political parties is insufficient to have a due share in the management of parties' affairs. This under-representation is not confined to conservative-religious parties; the liberal progressive or centrist parties are also have similar feature. In Pakistan, except Jamaat-i-Islami and Communist Party of Pakistan, no other political parties have accurate records of membership. According to a report published in 1985,17 in central executive committees of two major populist parties of Pakistan, PPP and PML (N) women were not represented adequately. Although PPP is headed by a women - Benazir Bhutto who inherited political heritage from her father and has a complete control over party's affairs - however, in its twenty-one members strong central executive committee only three women (14%) were members and five out of forty seven (10.6%) in the PML (N) 's central executive. Another woman who has strong influence on the party affairs is Begum Nasim Wali Khan, the leader of Awami National Party (ANP). She also exercised or is exercising her influence the party not as a woman politician but as wife of Khan Abdul Wali Khan, the ex-president of ANP. Currently his son heads party. After seventeen years, the situation has not improved but it further worsened as women's representation in decision-making bodies of two major political parities dwindle down. A recently published report portrays a depressing state of affairs regarding the representation of women in the highest decision-making bodies (central/executive committees) of various political parties. For instance, in two major political parties' executive bodies, the PPP and PML (N), women's representation is 7.9% and 8.1% respectively, and in Mutahida Qumi Movement (MQM) 6%, Pakistan Tehrik-i-Insaf 8%, Pakistan Awami Tehrik 12%, PML (Q) 20% and Milat Party 30% having highest ratio of women's representation in its central executive committee. Except PPP's chairperson, Benazir Bhutto and ANP's Begum Nasim Wali Khan, all other women representatives have no or little power to influence party affairs or decisions. Their submissive role in the parties' executive committees also causes the sidelining of feminist issues on their parties' agenda.

The establishment of women's wings by the political parties not necessarily become the platforms for the articulation of feminists issues or granted them due share in the management of party affairs. Women's wings became "double-edged sword."[18] It is fact that these wings helped women to enter politics. But on the other hand they also contributed to a dual marginalization: firstly wings limited the female politician's political activities within the party to these wings, and secondly, gender issues were also relegated to these wings which for the most part did not focus on women's issue. Therefore, in the political process women's wings are providing one-way mobilization, used by political parties to include women their support bases. The women wings lacked authority within the party structure, because of rigid hierarchies that exited in political parties. As a result the political agendas of parties rarely influenced by the activities of their women wings.

Women Representation in National Legislatures

Since independence women have consistently represented and participated in legislatures, although few in number. Under the Government of India Act, *1935,* seats were reserved for women both in the Federal assembly and Council for States and two seats were reserved for "Muhammadans" women. Elections were held in 1937. Second election under this act were held in 1946 and two Muslim women, one from the Punjab, Begum

Jahanara Shah Nawaz and one from East Bengal, Begum Shaista Ikramullah, continued as members of the First Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, until its dissolution in October 1954. Women's representation in the decision-making bodies and national institutions has been minimal. The socially underprivileged and depressed position of women widely recognized and reflected in the constitutional provisions for women's reserved seats in National Assembly in all three constitutions of (1956,19 196220 and 197321) Pakistan. However, the affirmative provisions were seen as temporary measures. For instance, according to 1973 constitution women's reserved seats lapsed after the elections of 1988, normally these would have eased to exist as early as 1983, if the political process had taken its normal route which was disrupted by the military coup in 1977. The lapse of reserved seats' provision did not bring women in the mainstream politics as urged by constitution framers. It was proved in the elections of 1993 and 1997.

Between 1947 and 2002, women have been elected to 103 seats in various national legislatures excluding Senate and nominated *Majlis- e-Shoora.* Eight women represented East Pakistan including one (Begum Muhammad Ali Bogra) elected on general seat through by-election, remaining belonged to West Pakistan (or now Pakistan). Out of eighty-two seats (excluding East Pakistan) only nineteen women elected on general seats. Of these nineteen general seats Begum Nusrat Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto four times, Begum Abida Hussain three times and Begum Tahmina Dultana and Dr. Fahmida Zulfiqar Mirza two times were returned to the National Assembly by contesting on general seats.

From 1947 to1977 political parties were even not ready to think about awarding tickets to women on general seats. Though the PPP established Women Wing, however, it did not awarded party tickets to women in the both elections of 1970 and 1977. In 1970 election, National Awami Party (NAP- Bhashani) awarded ticket to a woman, though NAP did not contest the election. In 1977 election, again only one woman contested election on PNA (Pakistan National Alliance) ticket and won. Under Martial Law, in 1985 on non-party basis election were held and thirteen women contested on general seats though only one (Begum Abida Hussain from Jhang) won.[23]

After 1970 election, the next elections were held on party basis in 1988 and widely accepted as free and fair. These elections were held after a long span of eleven years of Martial Law and a bitter experience of retrogressive laws. With all this repression, these elections brought thirty-five year old Benazir Bhutto to power and became the first and youngest Prime Minister in the Muslim world. In these election political parties like, Awami National Party, PPP, and Tehrik-e-Istaqlal fielded a few women on general seats. In this Nation Assembly (1988-90) four out of twenty-four women legislators were elected on general seats. The constitutional provision reserving seats for women lapsed after the 1988 elections. It created a need for affirmative action. To this end, a bill was moved in the Senate for the extension of reservation of women seats, meanwhile Benazir Government was dismissed and bill remained bill.

In spite of the expiry of constitutional provision for women's reserved seats, in 1990 elections, again major political parties were reluctant to award tickets to women on general seats. The PPP with its two co-chairpersons issued only one ticket to any other woman, Shahnaz Javed from Chichawatni, who lost. The PML led Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) fielded only one female candidate, Abida Hussain from Jhang, who was

defeated. The Muhajir (now Mutahida) Qaumi Movement (MQM), despite its strong women's wing did not fielded even a single woman candidate. In 1993 elections thirteen women contested general seats for the National Assembly, out of them only four got elected. The MQM awarded tickets to two women for national assembly, though subsequently it boycotted the election. The PPP awarded four and PML (N) three tickets to women.[24] Out of these seven female candidates Mrs. Shahanaz Javed of PPP from Chichawatni was the only candidate having no familial political background, remaining six women belonged to well-established politically influential families. She rose on the political scene due to her sheer hard work for the socio-political uplift of her constituency. Religious parties including Jamaat-i-Islami led Pakistan Islamic Front did not fielded any woman. Three women won seats for provincial assemblies: one each in NWFP, Punjab and Sindh. Two women elected to Punjab Assembly on Christian minority seats. Surprisingly, for the first time, four women contested general seats to the Baluchistan Assembly,, though not a single one succeeded.

The results of 1993 election brought Benazir Bhutto as Prime Minister for second time. However, she tried but failed to revive the women's reserved seats, it was because of PML (N) led opposition's stand that it would not go for a separate amendment regarding women's seats but for a package deal on a constitutional amendment addressing a broader range of issues. Consequently, women's reserved seats were not revived.

The 1997 election saw highest number of women contesting and won on general seats. Fifty-five women contested the poll for the national assembly and twenty-one for provincial assemblies. In reality many female candidates were covering candidates for male politicians and few had the chances of victory. The PPP and its coalition partner PML (Junejo) contested 161 seats and awarded National Assembly tickets to only nine women. The other major political party PML (N) fielded candidates on 177 general seats including six women. The smaller parties like the PPP (SB) awarded tickets to seven women while Imran Khan's Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI) initially allocated some tickets to women but later on withdrew them from the contest. Thirteen women were running as independent candidates, and none of them were able to win a seat. As a result of these elections six women took oath as member of National assembly: three each from the PPP and PML (N)[25]. However, this highest representation of women on general seats constituted less than three percent of the total National Assembly strength of 207 directly elected

general Muslim seats. Later on, one more woman member entered National assembly through by-election. In the provincial assemblies situation was more worse, with only one directly women provincial assembly member out of 460 provincial assemblies seats, and one woman elected to Punjab Assembly on Christian minority seat. All these women who won the contest on general seats were all from major political influential and landowner families with no personal footing in the politics or feminist activism. Political parties are not ready to award party tickets to women because they are considered as weak candidates, lacking political wisdom and patriarchal structure of society forbade women's participation in public like in the election campaign or in the legislatures.

Reserved seats for women restored and increased up to sixty by General Pervez Musharraf in January 2002 through an executive order, which is included in the Legal Framework Order 2002 that introduced many fundamental amendments to the 1973 Constitution. The right to amend the constitution has been granted by Supreme Court to General Musharraf as Chief Executive of Pakistan. In October 2002, another general elections were held on the basis of Legal framework order. In this election sixty women (four women were covering candidates) challenged male candidates on fifty-two general and three minority seats. Majority of women contested on different political party tickets, only twenty-three women fielded themselves as independent candidates. Fourteen political parties awarded tickets to thirty-seven women candidates. The Pakistan Peoples Party-Parliamentarians (PPP-P) has awarded tickets to eight women, while Pakistan Muslim League - Quaid-i-Azam (PML-Q) and PML (Nawaz) had fielded six women each.[26] MQM (Mutahida) has awarded tickets to three women and Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf and National Alliance to two females each for national constituencies. Majority of them belongs to the influential political families; some are wives and daughter of the leading politicians.

The results of election 2002 showed that, for the first time in the electoral history of Pakistan, thirteen women elected on general seats for national Assembly, a visible gain for women. Out of these women legislators, five belong to PPPP, three to PMLQ, one each to National Alliance and PML-Jinnah and three as independents. The other novel feature of the General Musharrafs electoral reforms is the reservation of seats for women in the upper house of the parliament, the Senate. For the first time in the history of Pakistani Senate, seventeen seats are reserved for women, four in each province and one for federal capital, Islamabad.

Irony is that not a single political party awarded tickets to women on general seats of Senate.

New electoral laws, particularly graduation restriction for candidature, fear of accountability or disqualification of many politicians through accountability courts and increased in number of general seats forced political parties to award tickets to women in relatively high number than the all previous elections. All these issues put a cumulative and positive effect on the results of elections, as afar as women are concerned. This election increased the political participation of women the political process; however, it did not brought a revolutionary change in the class background of the women legislators. Almost all thirteen women are belonged to influential political families of Pakistan, except Zubaida Jalal, who won her seat from the remotest, tribal and backward area of Baluchistan as an independent, but she earned a political place for herself during her stint as Federal Education Minister in General Musharraf's government (1999-2002). Remaining twelve women belonged to political families or wives and daughters of local or national politicians.[27] The class composition of women provincial legislators also remained same. Twelve women are elected to provincial assemblies on general sears[28]. Except two women elected from Karachi, all others are daughter or wives of the politicians who are either ineligible due graduation restriction or disqualified because of corruption charges or had desire to introduce their family women in politics.[29]

It is one of the customs of electoral politics in Pakistan to publish the party manifestos. The tradition had taken roots through successive election before independence. Though All-India Muslim League issued manifesto in 1946 election in which feminist agenda was virtually absent, however, League campaign was focused on single theme: Pakistan. The absence of general elections at national level for two decades turned into the practice of publishing manifesto outdated and meaningless. The issuance of manifesto had become routine in electoral politics during and after the 1970 election. The main targets of the party manifestos were party cadres, the educated sections of the population and constituency level workers. They lacked feminist issues. After the decades of feminist activism by various feminist groups, though less mobilized and virtually non-participants in political arena, women of Pakistan still constitute a strong constituency for political parties. Therefore, major political parties tried to woo the women voters, offering more concessions to them in their political manifestos. The 1988 election became the watershed with regard

to mentioning of feminist issues, before these election political parties addressed women in general terms. The PPP and PML (N)'s political manifestos witnessed this trend in the electoral politics of Pakistan. In this election the PPP, in its manifesto, addressed to women as a special constituency. A qualitative change has been seen in the political manifestos of the political parties in the 1993 elections in which they made concentrated efforts to solicit the women voters. The two manifestos of the PPP[31] and the PML(N)[32] revealed their shared as well as different perspectives on feminist agenda.

The political manifestos of major political parties in 1997 election stressed the need to give women their due shares in political process. The PPP manifesto of 1997 contained broadly similar feminist agenda as of 1993. It was the only major political party to devote a section to women~ s issues under the title of Women's Rights and Development Agenda 1997-2002 which contained eleven subtitled, for instance, political participation and representation, employment violence, legal rights, water, sports for women. The manifesto promised to "restore the reserved seats for women in the National Assembly, Senate, and Provincial Assemblies and in the local bodies."[33] However, the manifesto did not discuss the modalities or the number of seats to be reserved. On the other hand, the PML (N) manifesto spoke on women's seats in general terms under the title of political reforms. It mentioned "that in order to make the national and provincial assemblies more representative of the different sections of society" representation would be given on the basis of "the principle of proportionate representation to women" and other sections.[34] In contrast to the 1993 manifesto, the 1997 manifesto did not mention to revive the 1973 constitutional provision under Article 51(4) for twenty reserved seats for women. However, the PML (N) manifesto dealt other peripheral issues relating women such as hostel for working women, the setting up of government-funded women's cooperatives in the cottage industries, allocation of resources for mother and child health care, harsher punishment for those responsible for violence against women and the strengthening of inheritance laws rather focus on structural issues.

Elsewhere in Pakistan, women have been allowed only to perform a secondary role in political mobilization and as participant citizens. The comparison between the total number of seats contested by political parties and the allocation of party tickets to women candidates reflect the lack of women's effective participation in the decision-making process of the political parties. Their lack of political mobilization and representation in

political institutions mirrored their non-existence in public world. Unless an adequate number of women are given representation in the national and provincial assemblies either through reserved seats or through a fixed share of party tickets, women will remain on the margin of decision-making forums of the state. To correct the imbalance in the male-female representation, political parties should be bounded to issue fixed quota of tickets to women contesting elections on general seats as well as on reserved seats, until parity between the two genders is reached. To breed a new effective and active middle and lower middle class female leadership, in addition to women's role as legislators, their role as participant citizen as well as the process of their socialization must be taken into account.

3. Representation in Public Offices

The patriarchal cliche that women are not good administrators, blocks their entry to the realm of public offices management. From lower levels of bureaucracy like revenue administration and district management to higher levels of civil and military offices women are virtually remained absent or under-represented in the public offices. The so-called nature of job might be one cause, however, the patriarchal structures of state and society forcibly kept them out of the domain of public offices. Even those, who are working as administrators in male dominated environment facing hardships in running the offices and performing normal duties, therefore, women are forced to work in all-female environment, it is also the requirement of male family members.

Though in recent times women are seen occupying public offices, however, in actual terms women are persona non grata for these offices in Pakistan. Very few influential women who inherited political fief from their men were seen occupying the public offices. Majority of these women belonged to urban centers and upper and upper middle class families. These enlightened families though disdained but never challenged the laws of oppression and state oppression, therefore relatively isolated.[35] Women who became prominent in the political world generally worked within the parameters of the accommodation of their class with the state. They are few and exceptional, hence visible and are enjoying privileges that stemmed from their class background, nevertheless, for majority public world is 'Forbidden City.'

Apart from women legislators, Begum Raana Liaqaut Ali Khan, wife of first Prime Minister of Pakistan, who served as ambassador in 1954 and later in 1972 during Bhutto regime became the first women who

appointed, first and for the last time, as Governor of a province, Sindh. Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah, sister of Quaid-i-Azam contested unsuccessful presidential election against Ayub Khan as opposition candidate. Kaniz Fatima emerged as a famous trade union leader who headed the dockworker's trade union, which was one of the largest trade unions in sixties. During Z.A. Bhutto regime, in addition to a first woman governor of a province, Ms. Kaniz Yousuf became the first woman vice chancellor of esteemed institution like Quaid-i-Azam university, Islamabad and for the first time a woman elected to the office of the deputy speaker of the Nation Assembly. The first lady, Begum Nusrat Bhutto led the Pakistani delegation to Mexico Conference in 1975. Through administrative reforms of 1972, for the first time in the history of Pakistan, all public/government services were opened to women. After these Bhutto's reforms women entered in to new public fields from which they had been hitherto debarred, like Foreign Service and district management group.

Surprisingly, in 1988, after the eleven years of Martial Law and the imposition of retrogressive laws in the name of Islamization of Pakistani society and polity in which women were the main target, a young lady of thirty-five year old, Benazir Bhutto, elected to the office of the prime minister. Begum Ashraf Abassi, for the second time, became the Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly. Women were appointed full minister and Dr. Maleha Lodhi, a journalist, appointed ambassador to United State. The present regime of General Pervaiz Mushraf also appointed women as full federal ministers. However, all this do not entail that women are dully represented in the public offices. The present Jamali government also inducted few women in the cabinet, but women's role and share in decision-making remained negligible.

It is almost very difficult for women to get top administrative or executive jobs. Some times deliberate efforts are made to stop women becoming administrators or managers. Despite the socio-cultural barriers, women have been made some inroads into traditionally male-specified areas like banking, law, engineering, and civil service, still with limited scope. The major gain under this occupational group has been confined to the professions of teaching and medicine. According to a Federal Government report[37], in 1989, women's most favored departments for employment in federal services, like rest of Pakistan, are education (38 .9 %) and health (23.7 %). Their next choice is population welfare (21.0 %) and special education and social welfare (20.8%). In each remaining federal services females comprised less than *5%* except Women's

Development department (14.7 %) The demand for women in these professions speaks the segregation of society and resultant need for female teachers for girls' schools and female doctors for female patients. Men are occupied, almost exclusively, the occupations in sale and service sub-sectors, that involve closely working with men or general public dealing. Among other white-collar jobs, such as managerial workers and clerical workers the proportion of women is extremely low.

Their absence from public offices denotes women powerlessness in the public world. The interaction of socio-political and religious structures is responsible for making women aliens in the public sphere. Their presence in the public offices would mean economic independence of women of which a patriarchal society cannot afford and on the other hand men have to share power and authority with women. Because the structure of balance of power in the society and state, believed by men, is zero sum game. Empowerment of women implies power deduction from their power-account, hence less power to them. The patriarchal norms regarding male authority which are indoctrinated to both sexes during their socialization also put constraints on women's entry to public offices. A tin minority who are occupying public offices also face many obstacles with male subordinates during their work in male dominated institutions.

CONCLUSION

Politics, traditionally believed, is considered a domain for men, which demands aggressive, assertive and active qualities tat women lacked. All the societal and state structures are constructed in such a way that women remained political passive entity. Politics will remain man s domain unless woman would consider physically, intellectually and psychologically as complete human as man is. Freedom of making political choices and participation in political decision-making - empowering women politically - not only interdependent on economic but also linked with social empowerment. On all three counts - political participation through the exercise of right of vote, their representation in national legislatures and political parties and their share in public offices and in the decision-making process - women of Pakistan marginalized in the Pakistan's political power structure.

Socio-economic structures are too formidable barriers to cross by women to enter public world. Even when some exceptional women do breakthrough barriers to achieve leadership levels, these factors impeded their effectiveness and mobility in the political field. In the existing socio-

cultural structures women have to bear the burden of childbearing/rearing and other household activities that hamper their entry into the political arena. Politics as a highly public process requires high mobility for interaction, while cultural norms in Pakistan promote segregation and seclusion of women. The presence of rigid patriarchal structures in the rural and tribal Pakistan excluded women from the local political institutions of *sardari, jirga, lumbardari* and local government institutions, which are used as launching pad by the local leaders for climbing the ladder of high politics, further marginalized the women's entry to politics. Only exceptional women managed to cross the traditional barriers that excluded women from the public sphere. In rural areas of Punjab and Sindh political power rests in the hands of landowner families. The women leadership came from these families. A few extraordinary women emerged from the industrialist or professional groups without having strong rural connections.

Economic independence leads to political empowerment. Economic structure severely restricted a woman's access to financial resources. Woman's lack of financial resources negatively affects her decision-making powers both within her family and community. Though the constitution granted women equal rights and put no bar on them to make contracts, sue and be sued and to hold property, however, for the vast majority these laws rights had little effect. The character of Pakistan's political and social systems, nature of its economy and the restricted roles offered to women all have acted to limit the exercise women's equal opportunities and political rights. As a result the door of leadership that is actively guarded by patriarchs provides a limited entry to women.

Religion is another vehicle used to kept women away from the political scene. Politicians exploit religion as a tool for mass mobilization and medium for expressing political opinion. Women are considered ineligible for the religious leadership – *mullaship* and *immamat.* Right from the independence the religious parties in a struggle to acquire power have used religion. It is also a handy instrument and easy in use for governments in power to legitimize their rule and to thwart public participation in politics in general and for women in particular. But its use is selective, for example, the question could a woman head the state or government in Islam. [38]The use of religion not only restricted to the question of women's headship of government/state, it is, along with cultural norms, generally used as a favorite tool by the conservative

sections of the society to put restrictions on the political participation of women.

The equal participation of men and women in decision-making process is a prerequisite for effective and efficient functioning of democracy. Primarily male-membership bodies make the major decisions that effect women's lives in the form of laws and policies with virtually no participation by women. Socio-cultural norms that promote female segregation and male-dominated structures do not accept the validity of even marginal political participation of women and also deprived a substantial number of women of the right to vote. It is common for political parties or rival candidates, in some areas of Pakistan particularly in the rural areas of NWFP and Baluchistan, to mutually agree not to let their women to vote. At the level of political parties and legislatures, the participation of women can be judged from their members at the ordinary membership level, their representation in decision-making bodies of the political parties and the number of tickets given to them in general elections and their representation in provincial and national legislatures. The negligible political participation and representation were the reason behind the system of reserved seats in the legislative assemblies for women in Pakistan from the very inception. On the other, their representation in public offices is also nominal. These all variables have combined effect on the political participation of the women in Pakistan, resultantly, impacting their political status and empowerment.

Table: Women's Representation in Pakistan's Various National Legislatures

Year (Tenure of Assembly)	Legal/Constitutional Provision	Reserved Seats for Women	Mode ,of Election	Women elected on General Seats	Percentage of Women in Legislature
1947-54	Government of India Act 1935	2	The Federal Assembly continued as Constituent Assembly	0	
1955-58	No specific provision	No reserved seats		0	0

According to article 44(2)(i) 10 seats (5 for each Wing) were reserved for women for the period of 10 years. For this women's territorial constituencies were delimited i.e. double vote to women. No elections were held under this Constitution.					
1962-65	1962 Constitution: Article 20(2)	6/156 (3 for each province)	National Assembly was the Electoral college	1 (Begum Muhammad Ali Bogra elected on general seat through a by-election)	4.5
1965-69	-do-	6/156	-do-	0	
1972-77	Legal Framework Order 1969: (7 for East and 6 for West)	13/313 (Assembly convened after the separation of East Pakistan. 6/144 seats allocated to West Pakistan were filled.)	-do-	0	4.2
March-July 1977	1973 Constitution: Article 51(4) provides for 10 reserved seats for period of 10 years or 2nd general election (whichever is later)	10/210	-do-	1	5.2
1985-88	1973 Constitution (amended): 20 seats up to 3rd general election or for 10 years (whichever is later)	20/237	-do-	2	9.2
1988-90	-do-	20/237	-do-	4	10.1
1990-93	No reserved seats	0/217	-	2	0.9

1993-1996	No reserved seats	0/217	-	4	1.8
1997-99	No reserved seats	0/217	-	6	2.8
2002-	Legal Framework Order 2002	60/342	Seats allocated to political parties on the basis of general seats won by them	13	21.3

NOTES & REFERENCES

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7. Article 44(2), The Constitution of Pakistan 1956.
8. See Election Reports of relevant years,
9. and Farida Shaheed and et al., *Women in Politics. Participation and Representation in Pakistan,* Shirkat Gah, Lahore, 1998.
10. *Repot of the Commission of Inquiry for Women: Pakistan,* Ministry of Women Development, Social Welfare and Special Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1997. p 10.
11. Government of Pakistan, *Provisional Results of Fifth Population and Housing Census Held in March 1998,* Population Census Organization, Statistics Division, Islamabad, July 1998.
12. *Ibid* and Panda Shaheed and et a!., *Women in Politics: Participation and Representation in Pakistan,* Shirkat Gah, Lahore, 1998. P.73.
13. *Dawn,* Karachi, March 15, 1996.
14. *Ibid.* p. 16.
15. In a Lahore polling station in the 1993 elections, the polling officer indicated That she had turned away almost fifty percent of the women who came to vote because of discrepancies in names/addresses between electoral rolls and ID cards. She also said had caught several fake ID cards and that more than a dozen 'tender votes had been cast (i.e. when two women claimed the same identity, both having appropriate ID cards). Panda Shaheed and et al., *Women in Politics: Participation and representation in Pakistan,* Shirkat Gah, Lahore, 1994. p. 13.
16. Election Manifestos of PPP and PLM (N) of 1993 and 1997.

17. *Report of the Commission of Inquiry for Women: Pakistan,* Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Women Development, and Social Welfare and Special Education, Islamabad, 1997. p. 10.
18. Farida Shaheed, and et al., op. cit., 1994. p. 11.
19. Article 44(2) (1) reserved ten seats for ten years for women members, five from East Pakistan five from West Pakistan. Women's constituencies delimited for this. Article 72(2) provided five reserved seats for women in each of two provinces in the same style as for national assembly.
20. For national assembly article 20(2) provided three seats exclusively for women foe each province. For provincial assembly article 71(2) preserved five seats fro women in each provinces.
21. Article 51(4) reserved ten seats in national assembly for ten years or second general election (which ever later) article 106 reserved five percent seats for women in each provincial assemblies.
22. *1997: General Election Report* Vol. 1, Election Commission of Pakistan, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1997. pp. 274-277.
23. Another woman, Nasim A. Majid form Bahawalnagar contested successfully on general seat in by-election in 1985. In the all four provincial assemblies only two women successfully contested the election.
24. In addition to Bhutto ladies, Nusrat and Benazir Bhutto, the PPP awarded tickets to Mrs. Sulaman Khan from Chitral (she belonged to ruling family of ex-State of Chitral) and Mrs. Shahnaz Javed from Chichawatni. The PML (N) awarded tickets to Begum Abida Hussain from Jhang, Mrs. Tehmina Daultana from Vehari and Mg, Hameeda Khuhro (daughter of Ayub Khuhro, ex-chief minister of Sindh) from Larkana. *1993: General Election Report,* Election Commission of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1993.
25. Three PPP's member National Assembly were Benazir Bhutto, Begum Nusrat Bhutto and Mrs. Fahmida Zulfiqar Mirza (all from Sindh) and PML (N) members were Begum Abida Hussain, Tehmina Daultana and Mrs. Majida Wayeen (widow of ex-Chief Minister of Punjab).
26. Watan Party, National Awami Party, PML - Zia, Pakistan Awami Tehrik, Awami National Party, Mutahida Majlis Amal (MMA), and PPP-Sherpao has also fielded one women candidate each. Of three minorities women contestants, the PPP-Sherpao, National Alliance and MMA have fielded one each.

27. On PPPP's tickets five women won election, two from Punjab and three from Sindh (Samina Khalid Ghurki, NA 130 Lahore, she is wife of ex-MNA Khalid Ghurki and daughter-in-law of ex-MNA Haji Asghar Ghurki: Mrs. Khalida Muhsin Ali, NA 176, Muzafar Garh, she belongs to influential Qureshi family of the district, her husband, a PPP's leader became ineligible to contest election on account of graduation restriction; Dr. Azra Afzal, NA 213, Nawabshah, belong to Zardari Family; Mrs. Shamshad Sattar Bachani, NA 223, Hyderabad, is wife of ex-MNA Abdul Sattar Bachani; Dr. Fahmida Mirza, NA 225 Badin, is wife of industrialist and ex-MNA Zulfiqar Mirza). Four women elected on PLM-Q's ticket: Eman Waseem, NA 59, Attock, she is sister-in-law of sifting District Nazim Attock and belonged politically influential Khandiaro family of the district; Ghulam Bibi Bharwana (NA 87 Jhang, belongs to influential Bharwana family of the district, Mrs Riffat Javed, NA 117 Narowal, is wife of Narowal District Nazim, Col. (Rtd.) Javed Safdar Kahloonn, Ms. Hina Rabani Khar, NA 177, is daughter of ex-MNA and ex-provincial minister, Malik Noon Rabani Khar (younger brother of ex-Punjab Governor, Malik Mustafa Khar, Pakistan Milat Party's Women Wing President Sumaira Malik won from NA 69 Khushab on the ticket of National Alliance. She is granddaughter of former West Pakistan Governor, Nawab Amir Muhammad Khan, niece of ex-president of Pakistan, Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari and wife of serving Additional Secretary, Tahir Sarfraz. From N A 147 Okara, Ms. Robina Shaheen, daughter of ex-Chief Minster of Punjab Mian Manzoor Watto, won the election. In addition to Zubaida Jalal, Saima Akhtar Bharwana (NA 90 Jhang) elected as an independent candidate who is daughter of former provincial minister, Akhater Abass Bharwana.
28. Six women from Punjab, four from Sindh, one each from NWFP and Baluchistan elected on general seats.
29. Women provincial legislator, for instance, Sughra Imam, Aashifa Riaz Fatiana, Dr. Nadia Aziz, Maria. Traiq from Punjab, Marvi Memahr, Sassui Palejo from Sindh, Hajira Ghazala Habib Tanoli from NWFP and Nasreen Rehman Khaitran from Baluchistan, are all belong to influential political families of the area.
30. Muhammad Waseem, *The 1993 elections in Pakistan,* Vanguard, Lahore, 1994. p.117.
31. *The Pakistan Peoples Party Manifesto: Election 1993,* Karachi, 1993.
32. *The Pakistan Peoples Party Manifesto: Election 1993,* Karachi, 1993

33. *Pakistan Peoples Party Manifesto: Election 1997,* Karachi, 1997.
34. *Pakistan Muslim League Manifesto: Election 1997,* Lahore, 1997.
35. Ayesha Jalal, *op. cit.* p. 89.
36. For instance, Zubaida Jalal, Atiya Anyatullah and Nelifar Bakhtiar are inducted in public offices.
37. Government of Pakistan, *Federal Government Civil Servants Census Report 1989,* Management Service Division, Pakistan Public Administration Research Center, 1989.
38. Ayub Khan used religion and gathered *maulvis* to give *fatwa* (edict) that in Islam woman could not head the state, when facing Fatima Jinnah in presidential election. Ironically, Jamaat-i-Islami which had previously opposed the idea of head of government and the grant of right of vote to uneducated women including women's issues in general, was now supported the Fatima Jinnah's candidature. Both patties used religion in favour of it with political ends. Again, the question that whether a woman could be head the government/state raised during the election 1988 campaign when The PPP headed by Benazir Bhutto contesting the election. Now, religious parties including *Jamaat-i-Jslami* vote-faced their stand on the issue.

SHARP EDGES OF ETHNICITY

Razia Mussarat*

The phenomenon of ethnicity is an intrinsic component of socio-political relations of multi-ethnic states in South Asia. Unfortunately, ethnicization of politics and politicization of ethnic communities has diffused mutual toleration and has sharpened ethnic consciousness. The ethnic conflicts in South Asia have further aggravated. The explanation for this could be founding the structural formation of these conflicts and also the management and manipulation of ethnicity by its power elite and leaders. It is interesting to note that the central leadership in various South Asian states use similar slogans like 'national unity', 'national integration', or 'nation in danger' to exploit various ethnic groups.

Ethnic conflict has served to destabilize the political system in Pakistan. The main challenges in recent years has come not only from opposition to the central government by regional ethnic groups but also from competition between ethnic groups within a province such as the rivalry between Baluchis and Pathans in Balochistan.

This article attempts to grapple with some bask issue and questions emerging from ethnic problems in Balochistan in order to have a better understanding of the phenomenon. Some of these questions include how does one account for the increasing stridence of ethnicity? In multi-ethnic society, why is it that ethnicity mobilizes some groups? What conditions promote competitive and conflictual ethnic mobilization in Balochistan? What rules do the institutions of power and authority in Pakistan play in mediating, mitigating or escalating such conflicts? What is the role of transnational factors in this respect?

This article also discusses the potential and possibilities of different regimes to cope with the challenges of ethnic diversities and conflicts in Balochistan. There is an interesting account of perspectives and strategies of the central leadership regarding ethnicity and nation.

The area which formed British Balochistan abutted the frontier with Afghanistan and had been brought under imperial sway for strategic reason from 1876 onwards. The treaty of that year with Khan of Kalat allowed troops to be stationed in Quetta. It became an important center of military operations during the second Afghan War (1876-80) and shortly

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afterwards the Khan passed the whole of the Quetta district over to the British. The Bolan Pass was coded to the British Government by the Khan of Kalat in 1883. Further agreement in 1894 and 1903 placed those areas under British jurisdiction which were pass over by the strategic Mushkaf-Bolan and Nushki railways.[1] What was to become the Zhob district[2] interested the British because of the Kakar .Jogizai tribe's threat to lines of communication during the Afghan conflict. Military troops were sent to pacify the tribes in 1884 and 1889. the following year, the Zhob political agency was founded and in 1894-95 its northern boundary was demarcated by a joint Afghan-British Commission.

This expansion of British power continues to exert an influence on post colonial Balochistan. The advantage of administrative and military institutions at the expense of democratic experience was felt more fully in the region than any of other Pakistan areas. The power of the civil administration was increased by strategic alliances with the local power holders. This was by no means unique to Balochistan, but strategic imperatives and a less egalitarian society than in the Frontier enabled it to flower more fully in the region by blostering the Sardar's position through the formalization of the tribal council's (.Jirgas) powers. The presence of the Native states acted as further break on democratic political development.

At the time of partition Balochistan was not fully established administrative unit. There were three different Balochistan. First was vast buffer area between NWFP and Afghanistan. Which was governed by the British. Second was the tribal and leased areas governed by the colonial administration and the third Balochistan states governed by their local sardars, the most powerful being the Khan of Kalat.

Early in August 1947 the government signed an agreement with the Khan of Kalat. Under this agreement the Pakistani government had recognized Kalat as an independent sovereign state. Quaid-e-Azam called Khan of Kalat to Karachi in October 1947 and advised for the merger of state with Pakistan. Khan promised to consult his people and assembly. He returned from Karachi and asked the members of Darul Awam and Darul Umra about merger. In Darul Awam (lower house) on December 14,1947, Ghaus Bux Bezinjo said that "we have distinct culture like Afghanistan and Iran, if the mere fact that we are Muslim require us to amalgamate with Pakistan, then Afghanistan and Iran should be amalgamate with Pakistan .... We want an honourable relationship. We do not want to amalgamate with Pakistan".[3]

The decision of Kalat Parliament was sent to Pakistani government. Then the Pakistan Army was ordered to match to Kalat and arrest the Khan of Kalat. The Khan surrendered and signed an agreement of accession. But his younger brother, Prince Abdul Karim, gathered the army ammunition and treasury fund under his control and declared revolt against Pakistan. He crossed the Afghan boarder, and issued a manifest disowning the unconditional accession agreement signed by the Khan. He proclaimed independence of Kalat. He demanded fresh negotiations with Pakistan.[4]

However, finding no help from Afghanistan, he came back and was imprisoned.[5]

Actually Balochistan has certain unique features. Territorially, it is the largest province and constitutes 40 percent of the total land area of Pakistan. In terms of population however it is the smallest province. According to 1998 census, the total population of Balochistan is 6.558 million. Balochistan is ethinically pluralistic. Balochistan's multilingualism is the product not only of sizeable Pushto-speaking Pathan population in the district of Sibi, Zhob, Loralai and Pishin but also of the prevalence of Brahvi among groups which claims Balochi ethnicity. Indigenous Pathan tribes, such as the Kakars, Trainss and Shiranis, reside in the northern part of the province and constitute about 40 percent of the province's total population. The Pathan' dominate the commercial trade in the Quetta division. The major Baloch tribes include the Mengals, Marris, Bugtiss, Bizenjos, Zeris, Hasanis and Raisanis. The main Brohi tribes are located in Saravan and .Jhalawan in the Kalat division. Together the Balochi and Brohi tribes dominate most of the central and western part of the province. In the southern part of Balochistan are the smaller tribes including the Jamotes, Lasis and a number of non-Balochi groups such as Punjabis, Sindis and Gigits.[6]

Balochistan is well endowned with such natural resources as natural gas, oil, coal, marble, gold and some radioactive minerals.

Baloch ehnic identity has gained importance in the post colonial era because of the competition for resources with the Pathans. Balochistan remained poorer than any future Pakistan region. The Baloch sardars has always complained about the economic exploitation of Balochistan by the Punjabis. The Baloch feel that their land and territory have been taken over by outside who are politically and economically more powerful. The role and position of the Punjab-dominated military attract particular rancour. Later the Baloch pointed out that during he rule of President Ayub Khan, some of the best land (including Pat Feeder tract) was sold to the

Punjabis.[7] There are allegations that vast tracts of land in fertile areas of Balochistan were distributed amongst the political supporters and senior military personnel during the Zia era and under the premiership of Benazir Bhutto. Balochis also detest the Punjabi and Muhajr domination in the civil bureaucracy. Moreover the Punjabi constitution of the army is seen as a symbol of imperialism. The Balochis, especially the youth under the influence of radicals have been vocal against their exploitation. They resent that their province does not receive what it should out of its natural gas, and its recently developed harbour of Gawaders.[8]

Liaqat Ali Khan appointed a ' Reform Committee' on Balochistan to find interim solution to the constitutional problems of Balochistan. On November 17, 1951, later the union of Balochistan, four states Kalat, Karan, Makran and Lasbela was established. The Union had a common executive, judiciary and legislature. Khan of Kalat was appointed as the Chairman of the States Union. Thus Balochistan remained divided between the Union and the commissioner's province. In early June 16, 1954 it was finally decided through the council of ruler of the Balochistan States Union to merge the four states with the centrally administrated Balochistan. The rulers of the Balochistan States Union had agreed to merge their States with the centrally administrated Balochistan in October, 1954.

In 1955 the desire to decrease the prospects of manipulation of provincial revelries in West Pakistan led to the consolidation of western provinces, into one province, known as One Unit System. This meant greater control of the minority areas and met with increased opposition to the center.[9] A radical step, such as the one taken for the unification and an overwhelming vote of the population in all four provinces jointly and severally, for the constitutional validity and durability of the merger. The Act did not get full support from Balochistan. Balochistan saw it as a Punjabi conspiracy designed to perpetuate their dominance over the small provinces. The strategy devised to carry the scheme into effect aggravated such fears. The Act was apparently designed to achieve administrative efficiency, reduce the expenses and simply the federal structure of the new constitution by placing the two provinces (East Pakistan and West Pakistan) on an equal footings. According to the central government Balochistan had linguistic and ethnic variation. Economically Balochistan States, with a revenue of less than Rs.6,00,000 were not able to operate a full fledged provincial government. But irrespective of the declared benefits of the One Unit, the way it was enforced and the manner by which

provincial consent was obtained, rendered it a conflicting measure. The whole episode is a sad reflection of political manipulations and intrigues involved in the affair. The One Unit Act caused a sense of deprivation among the small provinces including Balochistan which felt that they were denied an equal say in the affairs of the state. Qazi Mohammad Isa, General Secretary of Pakistan Muslim League, said, his party could not support One Unit because it had failed completely.[10] In Balochistan, opponents of One Unit were active mainly from the platform of NAP.[11] The tribal sardars, independent of their party affiliation, also exerted to get the One Unit dissolved. On December 17, a representative group of sardar; and dignitaries of Kalat, demanded for the withdrawal of One Unit. Because, according to them it was dangerous for the ancient tribal customs and way of life. The sardar's also wrote separately to the president threatening that if the decision was not revoked the Baloch would take up arms against the government. The president proclaimed an emergency in Balochistan and declared that there was an armed rebellion in Kalat for separation from Pakistan. The armed forces were sent to Kalat. The Khan was arrested and many people were killed. One Unit was supposed to answer the representational question that plagued constitution making. It also aimed at creating a Pakistani identity among peoples long accustomed to thinking and behaving in more limited surroundings and circumstances. The opponents Of the scheme continued to resent the Act and eventually succeeded in 1957 in getting a resolution by West Pakistan Assembly which recommended the dissolution of the One Unit.

The NAP's main objective was the breakup of One Unit in West Pakistan and establish provincial autonomy. Overtime, the NAP leaders demanded for the establishment of Balochistan for the Balochis. They were among those who fanned the idea of provincialism in Pakistan.

Meanwhile the President proclaimed Martial Law on 7th October, 1958 and appointed General Ayub Khan as the Chief Martial Law Administrator. Ayub Khan ordered to arrest the Khan of Kalat. The Balochis felt insulted at the arrest of Khan of Kalat. There was an armed rebellion against the Martial Law regime. Nauroz Khan fought against the army with tribes men. He said that he would fight on until the Khan returned to power and the One Unit plan should abandoned. The army sought a compromise with him and promised that if they surrendered, the government would pardon them. Thus Oath was taken on Quran.[12] But when Nauroz and his followers came down they were trailed. His son was hanged and he accused life impresionment.[13] He died in Kohlu Prison

in 1964.

Ayub Khan released the Khan of form prison and placed him under house arrest at Hazara. He was released in 1962. The Ayub regime arrested and detained all the influential sardar from Balochistan and deposed many of them form tribal leadership. During the Ayub regime there was constant rebellion in Balochistan for provincial autonomy and local rule. The army had been employed in hostilities with the Zehri tribes. There were also numerous clashes with the Bugti tribe. During the Ayub regime the military bureaucratic elite attempted to dislodge the tribal system. Ayub himself threatened the Baloshis with extinction. On March 25, 1969 Ayub Khan handed over the power to the Commander In Chief General Yahya Khan. On the 1st of July 1970, Yahya Khan disintegrated the One Unit of West Pakistan and Balochistan was given the status of a province. The people of Balochistan participated as voters for the first time in the elections of 1970 for a separate Provincial Assembly. The total number to seats was 20. NAP won 8 seats, PML 3, JUI 2, and other went to independent candidates. In Balochistan, the JUI was not very effective, because the NAP sardars had greater control and influence over the tribes. Religion remained a less potent factor, despite economic underdevelopment.

In January 1972, the NAP formed a coalition with JUI which would prove to be a formidable force during Bhutto era. It was a coalition which reflected the dominance of traditional Ulema and Sardars- Khans in the Province of Balochistan. The coalition members had little in common, in terms of its goals and support base.

A conflict ensured when Bhutto exercised his prerogative to make provincial appointment by selecting party member as Governor and Martial Law administrator of Balochistan. However, NAP- JUI promoted themselves as the dominant force in the province. The NAP leadership demanded the immediate removal of the Balochistan governor. The NAP Baloach Sardars saw the appointment as a personal affront and simply refused to accept the governor's authority.

In May 1972 Bizenjo was appointed as Governor of the province, with Mengal as the Chief Minister. Bizenjo has generally been considered a moderate who preferred that Balochistan operate within the federation of Pakistan. Mengal has been generally regarded as radical nationalist who advocated an independent Balochistan).

Baloch long-term grievances were in some respect similar to those of Sindhis. This include a sense of status displacement as a result of the

migration of Pakhtuns and Punjabis into the province. Baloch intellectuals again pointed to the under representation of their community in the structure of the Pakistan's state and argued that development was exploitative of local resources such as natural gas, while road-building also served strategic rather than Baloch interests. Baloch Sardars were concerned with preserving their tribal autonomy. The Sardars were determined to maximize provincial autonomy. These considerations brought the NAP Sardars into direct conflict with the Bhutto regime.

The years between 1972 and 1975 were dominated by a power struggle between the nationality based groups led by Bhutto and the regionally entrenched groups and classes led by Wali Khan. The relations between the center and NAP government in Balochistan were strained. Certain areas can be identified wherein the NAP-JUI provincial government sought either to embarrass or confront the Bhutto regime. The first involved laws pertaining to Islamization. The NAP government in Balochistan was quick to adopt laws (establishing certain prohibitions ordinance required in the provinces and required in respect of Ramadan ordinance). The second issue was the NAP-JUI government's language policy. The provincial Assembly in Balochistan adopted Urdu as the official language of the province. By this move NAP conveyed the impression that it has abandoned its claim for recognizing four nationalities.

The provincial government was motivated by the desire to provide jobs for NAP supporters and educated Balochis. This action was particularly resented in Punjab. Mengal ministry created a civilian police force. This event further alarmed the central government. Such actions by the NAP government were perceived by the Bhutto regime as tampering with law enforcement agencies and defying the central authorities. A series of charges and counter charges followed. The central government accused Wali Khan by engaging in anti-Pakistan activities through an alleged 'London Plan' which he was accused to have chartered in London for the disintegration of Pakistan. Wali Khan refused these allegations and retaliated by suggesting that Bhutto and Pakistan (could not) go together. This exchange of charges and counter charges between the Bhutto government at the federal level and the NAP government in Balochistan were on for quit some time. The tension between the federal government and the NAP-JUI administration in Balochistan were kept in check until the July 1972. Thereafter tension escalated. The hostility between the Bugti and Mari tribes gave Bhutto further leeway to intervene in the

situation. There were other reasons behind these developments. In February 1973, the central government discovered arms in the Iraqi embassy, which it claimed Were destined for Balochistan. The Bhutto regime charged that the NAP government in Balochistan was involved in a separatist plot. Bhutto dismissed Bezinjo as governor[14] and appointed Bugti to succeed him. He also dismissed the NAP-Jul ministry in Balochistan. Even though the Bhutto regime had failed to provide convincing evidence that the NAP leadership was in any way involved with the Iraqi embassy's arms. The Balochistan government under Nawab Akbar Bugti as governor and later Jam Ghulam Qadir as Chief Minister took almost a year in arranging thin majority in the Assembly after a few sitting members had been unseated while a few others had died rendering their seats vacant.

The three top leaders of Balochistan Gaus Bux Bezenjo, Ataullah Mengal and Khair Bux Murri were arrested In August 1973. The Baloch guerilla activity had gained momentum and various military contingents had become involved in the operation. For the following two years, Balochistan turned into a battle-field, where army was pitched against a guerilla force. Baloch peoples Liberation Front worked to spread the message of nationalist struggle and Marxist ideas in general. The NAP leadership was alleged to be directly involved In these activities both by the government and, following it, by the Supreme Court. The NAP was banned followed by the Government's reference to Supreme Court on this issue.

The general impression was that Bhutto was eager to extend his party's influence in Balochistan. This has precipitated the action against the Balochistan government. This situation provided justification to the NAP to spearhead a movement for provincial autonomy and to criticize the Punjabi dominated center for its high-handedness. Bhutto resorted to some tactics. The federal interference in provincial matters, the practice began in 1949 when the Punjab cabinet was dismissed and section 92A was imposed in the province. The central rule was again imposed in the Punjab during the anti-qadiani movement and in East Pakistan in 1954. There was imposition of presidential rule three times (twice In East Pakistan and once in the West Pakistan) during 1956-58. During the Ayub era also the practice continued to get rid of undesirable or defiant provincial ministries. Whatever may be the real motive was behind his removal of the NAP-JUI government in Balochistan in February 1973, be it his genuine fear that Benali type separatist move was in the making or his dislike for the

presence of non-PPP government in the Balochistan. His action precipitated the Baloch-Pukhtoon conflict vis-a-vis the center. Even if Mengal and Bezinjo had incurred Bhutto's displeasure by their alleged defiance of federal authority. Bhutto could have practiced moderation, realizing the sensitivity of the issue. This period witnessed bitterness and polarization between the NAP and PPP. They leveled all sorts of allegations against each other. NAP criticized Bhutto for undemocratic policies and the use of Federal Security Force for harassing and victimizing the opposition. Instead of understanding the real problem Bhutto resorted the army action in Balochistan.

Bhutto government's lack of forbearance in tackling provincialism and its reliance on coercion instead of persuasion evoked resistance to federal authority from the ethnic conscious articulate regions. The subsequent Baloch uprising, the activities of the Baloch Popular Front of Armed Resistance, the reactivation.[14] The war in Balochistan demonstrated that Pakistani's were not yet a national people, that no lessons had been learned in East Pakistan, and that the Pakistan design remained a flawed vision.

The resistance of the NAP Sardars in Balochistan and the centralization efforts of the Bhutto regime clearly showed that the transition form the military regime to the participant system was not easy. Balochistan was region where tribalism reigned supreme. Where regional Sardars commanded constituencies in accordance with tribal practices. Bhutto's policies were aimed at destabilizing traditional authority but the tribes resisted the intrusion. It forced the Bhutto government to escalate the effort. Central government described the resistance as an insurgency and what began a minor display of force was transformed into a major military campaign. The national versus regional tension between the NAP regional leadership and the PPP national leadership was further intensified. The dismissal of the NAP government and subsequent military action in Balochistan compromised Bhutto's image as a democratic national leader, because he was more inclined to use coercive rather than persuasive powers. His tactics were to divide the Baloch by siding with Governor Bugti against Sardar Mengal and Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri, but his actions only intensified the struggle. The revival of Balochistan Assembly in run-up to the national elections could not put the military genie back in bottle. Democratic traditions and political institutions were not allowed to grow.[15] As a result, the government had alienated a large section of the populace in the province. The widespread and popular revolt ended later,

after Zia deposed Bhutto and sued for peace. In Balochistan Zia appointed General Rahim-ud-Din a close associate as governor and martial law administrator (1978-84). Through a deliberate low key administrative style he was able to cultivate the Baloch Sardars.

Baloch and Pusthun political opposition to the center was muted during the Zia era. Zia began a process of co-opting Baloch nationalists by releasing as many as 9,000 prisoners who had been imprisoned during the Bhutto period. However the year 1985 witnessed violent ethnic conflict. Alongwith other provinces, Balochistan expressed dissatisfaction about the manner in which federal government treated them. Sindh Baloch Pushtun Front was established in London, by Hafeez Pirzada, Mumtaz Bhutto, Fazal Bangash of the MKP ad Baloch Sardar Attaullah Mengal. The Front stood for confederation. The government and the opposition condemned this proposal.

Quetta also saw escalating Baloch-Pushtun violence in October 1986.[16] The immediate catalyst was a transportation dispute, but the long term causes reflected the relative economic predominance of the Pushtuns. They prospered not only in Balochistan but also in NWFP which experienced considerable economic development.[17]

President Zia-ul-Haq's death in an air crash on 17 August, 1968, changed the political situation altogether. The military decided to let the constitutional provision take effect. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Chairman of the Senate, was sworn in as the acting president who promised to hold the elections in accordance with the already announced plan. The November 1988 elections produced a divided mandate. The Pakistan People's Party emerged as the single largest party by securing ninety-four seats in a 217 seat National Assembly. It was followed by its rival the IJI which captured 55 seats.[18] In the elections of the Balochistan Provincial assembly none of the parties had a clear majority.

Benazir Bhutto's government seemed to have an inauspicious start with a crises in the province of Balochistan. Mir Taj Muhammad Jamali of the IJI had been appointed as the Chief Minister of Balochistan. Two weeks after his appointment as Chief Minister, the provincial assembly was dissolved by the governor, General (Retd.) Muhammad Musa Khan, on the advice of the Chief Minister. This led to a political uproar. It was termed as an attack on IJI government in Balochistan and as a fore taste of PPP's long term designs. But actually it seemed that Mir Taj Muhammad Jamali, was uncertain of his majority and found in the dissolution of the house a way out of the political impass. The dissolution was declared as

illegal by the Balochistan High Court. The government did not appeal. Nawab Muhammad Akbar Bugti was appointed as the chief minister who was able to promptly demonstrate his majority in the Assembly. A coalition ministry took office. The PPP became a major coalition partner with other parties in Balochistan.

The cause which had led to the rift between the center and the province of Balochistan tended to become abscure in the deteriorating political life of the country in which the rival PPP and IJI, backed by their alliances, contended for mastery. Indeed, in the tussle for power which was unrestrained by any norms of the politicking it became increasingly difficult to tell which side was the more to blame. For example the People's works program launched by the federal government led to a direct clash with the provincial government in Balochistan. Balochistan government insisted on the implementation of the programme. Benazir Bhutto gave defection of her coalition partner in the ANP. So the federal government's inability to develop a working relationship with the provincial government of Balochistan undermined the political process.

Again national elections held on 24 October 1990. The heat of the campaign ensured that the issues of ethnicity and center-province relations were not treated constructively. The national results confirmed a number of well-established trends in Pakistan politics. For example politics in Balochistan continued to be dominated by the tribal leaders of regional parties and by the Pushtun Baloch divide with the .JUI(F) dominant in the Pushtun areas.

Nawaz Sharif assumed Prime Ministership with the backing of the IJI, some other groups and a few independent members. IJI was able to form government in all the four provinces (including Balochistan), which was unprecedented. The IJI government took some important initiatives to resolve the outstanding problems among the provinces, like apportioning the shares of federal finances. The harmonious functioning of relations between the provinces and the center was undoubtedly a stabilizing factor at the time of the Gulf War. But the Nawaz Sharif government went the way of its predecessor on similar charges held on 6 October, to the National Assembly, and to the provincials Assemblies on 9 October 1993. The ANP as well as the ethno-based parties of Balochistan did poorly in the national elections. Internal dissension sectarian rivalries all contributed to their unpopularity outside of the JUI(F)'s traditional hold in the Pushtun-dominated areas of Balochistan being wrested form it by the ethnic PKMAAP.

In Balochistan the PML (N) won 6 seats, the PPP got 3 and the rest went to an assorted group of smaller parties and independent. The results in Balochistan once again revealed the regional character of its politics, with the Jamhoori Waten Party (which captured 13 out of 43 Balochistan Provincial Assembly seats) and PKMAP confirmed respectively to the Baloch and Pushtun ethnic areas. Weak party institutionalization was also evidenced by the presence of ten parties and nine independents in its Provincial Assembly. Benazir established a coalition government at the federal level in October 1993 and the PML(N) formed government in Balochistan with the help of its allies. The center's long-established tendency to treat ethnic mobilization as a law and order rather than a political issue resulted in center province conflict. Benazir's political and economic mismanagement created on crisis after another President Leghari dismissed Benazir's government and dissolved National Assembly in November, 1996.

In the general election held on 3 February, 1997, the PML(N) led by Nawaz Sharif had a land slide victory.

The elections confirmed long-term trend. The trend is the continued strength of ethnic regional identities for political mobilization. The ethnic parties which strengthened its position include the Jamhoori Watan and Balochistan National Parties which accounted for eighteen Balochistan Provincial Assembly seats. Political arithmetic ensures that such ethic/ regional parties have a marginal presence in the National Assembly. But the triumph of the PML(N) should not obscure the existence of strongly held ethno-nationalist identities. The task remains to strengthen the Pakistan polity by recognizing its pluralism more fully through devolution.

Nawaz Sharif was elected by the National Assembly as the new Prime Minister. The Muslim League also formed coalition government in all the four provinces including Balochistan. It created the sense of optimism that the leaders from different political parties will work together for coping with the political and economic problems and will give endurance to the slowly emerging consensus for democracy. The optimism was, however, misplaced, because seldom in the history of Pakistan have the political leaders put national interests before personal interests. The coalition government in Balochistan, led by Akbar Mengal was forced out of office because the coalition partners could no longer pull together.

The first year in the office of the new government has been eventful, even turbulent. It witnessed two major constitutional amendments. The thirteenth amendment restored the parliamentary character of the

constitution by limiting the powers of the president to that of a nominal head of the state. His power to dissolve the National Assembly in certain situations, to appoint the chiefs of the services and the governors of the provinces was done away with the Fourteenth Amendment aims at preventing floor-crossing. The period also saw tussle with the judiciary and the presidency. It is important to realize that the army became closely involved in routine civilian administrative tasks.

The army was deployed for the first time during census enumeration when the much-delayed head-count was held in March 1998. The census was expected to reveal a rapid population shift in favour of the urban areas, which would have important political repercussions in the redrawing of the constituencies. Equally contentions was the balance it was likely to reveal between Sindhi and Balochi 'Sons of the soil' and incomers. Resistance to the census was greatest among the Pukhtum population of Balochistan, who had long claimed that Balochis over counted their inhabitants. The Pukhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party boycotted the census and organized increasingly violent protests. In one episode census returns were snatched from the premises of the Quetta tehsil office. In these circumstances the decision to display the army was understandable, but it was a dangerous development.

We must keep in mind that democracy and its institutional action depend on how 'efficient, productive, and equitable the economic system of the country is. Economy is the key indicator according to which the stability, performance, legitimacy and popular support for elected government in a federation has to be judged. It appeared that handling of Pakistan's economic crisis might seriously undermine his second term in office. The allocation of I billion dollars to his beloved Islamabad to Peshawar motorway project. When development funds were being frozen elsewhere in the country generated criticism in cash-starved Balochistan. Further more farmers in Balochistan blocked highways and roads, bringing the province to a stand still, in protest at the state-owned WAPDA's imposition of water-mattering system to meet IMF demands to eliminate subsidies. In the past, large and small scale projects were not taken up and available funds were misappropriated and looted as corruption was the order of the day. It is encouraging to note that the present government has embarked upon a massive uplift program for economic progress and social development of Balochistan. For this purpose generous financial resources have been made available to eliminate sense of deprivation of the people. Previous governments were involved in mere lip-service. We have noted

that interaction between the state-elite and the ethnic groups. In the case of Balochistan, monopolized power structure is the real criterion in the life of ethnic groups. There is little possibility for ethnic groups to enter into main system of the power structure. This ethnic group finds itself out of the mainstream of national policies. In Pakistan, the Bloch ethno-national movement was primarily a reactive phenomenon to the policies of different regimes. We need to evaluate the behavior of Block ethnic group and causes of their reaction against the system as happened in the past. The result of this evaluation will demand some remedial steps. We have to take these, as early as we can, for the smooth working of our system, the following may be the possible steps.

(1) Execution of free and fair parliamentary system by which each ethnic group could get a share in the power structure. On the other hand parliamentary system should have legitimate approval of the people.
(2) Unification of the people in a national posture. The posture of nationalism will enable and prompt the people to exercise (a) collective self-determination (b) the expression of national culture and individuality.

In short, serious and real concern is the basic requirement at all levels, for achieving these higher objectives.

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FATIMA JINNAH
THE GREAT SISTER OF THE GREAT QUAID

M. Iqbal Gondal*

Living nations never forget their benefactors who dedicate their lives for the rise of their nations. This great sister of the great Quaid is ranked with esteemed leaders of deep insight in our national history. As Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah stands head and shoulders above our national leaders, so does Fatima Jinnah stand high up in the list of women leaders.

Fatima Jinnah was born on 21st July 1893, at her native home, New Niham Road Karachi[1]. She was about sixteen years younger than her brother Muhammad Ali Jinnah. When Fatima was born, her brother had already departed to England for higher education and the brother saw his sister for the first time when he returned from abroad after four years.

In 1900 AD. the family had shifted to Bombay. Now Fatima Jinnah was about eight years old ad her father Ponja Jinnah made arrangements for her early education at home. Contrary to her other brothers and sisters, Fatima Jinnah was not much interested in playing. She was rather inclined to studies like her brother Muhammad Ali Hinnah"[2].

Fatima Jinnah's father died as early as her eighth birthday and Muhammad Ali Jinnah took up all responsibilities of her education. It was the time when Muslim families were against the education of girls and so far as English learning was concerned, it was disliked even for the boys. I such circumstances, Fatima's education was a difficult task for her brother. However, in 1902, Muhammad Ali Jinnah made her admission in Convit; School at Bandra. Despite the family opposition, the brother consistently encouraged her sister and Fatima also showed her commitment to her studies. She said, "I will stand by the decision we have taken"[3]. This was the first lesson she learnt from her great brother.

After her matriculation in 1910, Fatima Jinnah passed senior Cambridge examination in March 1913 as a Private student under the guidance of her brother who was too affectionate to her sister to miss her late parents. In the company of Mr. Jinnah she developed an interest in politics and studied many books on the subject.

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After getting the degree of a qualified dentist in 1922, Fatima Jinnah practiced at her own clinic. After her brother got married, she arranged for her a separate residence. But for the loneliness and sadness of her brother after the demise of his spouse Rati Jinnah, Fatima wounded up the clinic, settled with her brother and held up homely responsibilities. She devoted herself to care and assistance of her great brother[4]. Certainly, whereas this sacrifice is significant of true human sympathy and indicative of exceptional historical importance, this sacrifice was as if God paved the way for a great national cause of the Indian Muslims. Fatima's affection for her brother had a deeper motherly touch. Her wholehearted care and support facilitated the Quaid to lead the nation. Her brother once said, "My sister had been like a bright ray of-light and hope, whenever I came home and meet her[5].

After the death of Quaid's mother, the center of his love was his sister, particularly the younger sister miss Fatima Jinnah. Actually Fatima Jinnah's growing up and education was done as per desires of Quaid-i-Azam. She also loved her worthy brother profoundly. Quaid-i-Azam not only loved but respected her a lot. Though she was much younger than her brother. He used to stand up in her respect, whenever Fatima Jinnah entered a room the Quaid-i-Azam was in[6].

From 1930-1948, Fatima Jinnah was Quaid's solitary companion. In 1930, after getting desperate from Indian politics, Quaid shifted to London and Fatima Jinnah also accompanied her brother. Their stay in London followed a stress from eminent Muslim leaders who were extremely willing for Quaid to come back and lead the nation. For this the brother mid sister returned India in 1935 and the Quaid took up responsibility to organize Muslims of the subcontinent. He called upon; them to unite under the flag of Muslim League if they wanted its' secure their body-nation. Sister Fatima along with her brother equally contributed in the Fulfillment of that historic mission.

It fell to Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah to awaken Muslim women and help them step out in the field of action. As Quaid-i-Azam believed that a nation can't be strong without its women participating in national development. Fatima took it to herself to visit every nook and corner of the country to activate and organize the women for the success of the message and mission of the Quaid. She addressed the Muslim women, informed them about the aims of Muslim League and inspired them to work with men for the renaissance of Muslims of India. She encouraged Muslim women and paid them tribute for doing well. She used to say, "It is women

who touch upon the economic, social and educational institutions of national development. So women should struggle politically to strengthen all India' Muslim League".[7]

Fatima Jinnah had always accompanied the Quaid during the sessions of Muslim League and it was a great encouragement for women to find a place of honour with men like Quaid-i-Azam. The men also realized that it was a right time for women to join the freedom movement and that women could not be left ehind.[8]

Fatima Jinnah also brought Muslim girl-students in touch with politics because she believed that only Muslim girl-students could be the harbinger of educational and social reforms. In this connection they could render a great service by co-working with all India Muslim League women sub-committee. She attended the meetings of Muslim student federation (women) and provided guidance and inspiration for a better future. In her address to the annual session of MSF (W) at Dehli in April 1943, she said, "Along with your first duty to your education, it is also incumbent upon you to well-verse yourself in every; day affairs, political issues and other concerns having an influence on our; life and country".[9] Her efforts helped in promoting adult education for women and in her guidance Muslim women began to work together.

Working in collaboration with her brother from 1940-1947 for Pakistan movement, Fatima Jinnah awakened Muslim women and brought them in the new main stream of Indian Muslim national politics. It was a time when the British held sway; and none of India Leaders had the gall to challenge the British writ. It was in such trouble times that Fatima inspired his brother and joined him in; his battle against the imperial empire. Quaid-i-Azam loved his sister because of this truly great contribution.

Fatima set a classic example of loyalty and sincerity to her brother and his mission. Her support was so selfless that she never claimed any credit for her leading role throughout the way to this national struggle. She rather preferred to work as a common worker. She said, "I worked with and for my brother like any common Muslim worker. Quaid-i-Azam always took me with him during the Pakistan movement. He did not even offer me a political office. He had not found this country for his sister or even for himself. He rather created Pakistan for the whole nation"[10]. It was for this reason that Begum Muhammad Ali represented Muslim women in Muslim League executive body.

After Pakistan resolution 1940, due to consistent hard work and untiring struggle, Quaid's health was affected badly. At this time Fatima

Jinnah was very much worried and requested her brother to take rest and care for his health, but Quaid always evaded her smilingly. At many occasions when the Quaid suffered from his failing health, the sister Fatima nursed him timely. In 1943 when Quaid faced a murderous attack, she provided him with first aid before the doctors could attend him. At times when Quaid-i-Azam stayed away from home, Fatima Jinnah maintained a regular contact with him through letters. She would inquire about his health on wire or telephone in case of any delay in correspondence.[11] She was indeed a perfect partner in pain and pleasure to Quaid-i-Azam.

It was for the sacrifice and sincerity of sister Fatima that Quaid-i-Azam steered through the arduous process of Pakistan movement despite his weak health. Quaid-i-Azam never forgot this indebtedness to Fatima. He mentioned her services once in this way, " By serving me for long and by awakening Muslim women, Fatima has done me a great unpayable favour."[12]

After the creation of Pakistan, Fatima nursed the sick Quaid' during his stay at Quetta. She spent sleepless days and nights to attend her sick brother. The also assisted her brother devotedly in dealing with his daily mail and file work and then she conveyed to Quaid's secretary his directions."[13]

Fatima Jinnah enjoyed a great fame among Muslim women as Quaid's sister, Muslim women had a great respect for her and titled her as khatoon-e-Pakistan. Revering her services Quaid-i-Azam once remarked, "What is Muslim League but me and my sister,"[14] Fatima was not only his political associate but also his personal adviser. The Quaid had so much faith in her sister that he never kept any secret from her and always freely discussed every problem with her. In fact he never issued a statement until the consulted Fatima Jinnah. The Quaid always advised his secretary to read out the draft of the statement before the full council, by which he meant his sister and himself.[15]

National politics was the impeccable lasting bond between them. It Kept the brother and sister together in the most trying times of their lives and the most turbulent phase of history of the sub-continent. Her being Quaid's caretaker and confidant in the most crucial period of his political career, proved to be a stronger relationship than their blood relationship. This great political association lasted till death parted them.

Fatima Jinnah had never entertained the idea of holding any public office. The Quaid himself.had summarily brushed aside the suggestion of

Chouhdry Khaliquzzaman that she be nominated as the president of the Muslim League.[16]

Fatima Jinnah throughout her life played an active role in Pakistan movement along with her brother. After the death of her illustrious brother, she continued to lead and educate the people of Pakistan, enabled them to understand the ideas for which this Islamic and Welfare State was created. Fatima combined her sincere struggle to build up the country without pursuing any office or other personal interests. She promised to the nation in her radio address on 21 September 1948 as she had serving nation in the Quaid's life, she would continue her services to strengthen Pakistan even after his death.[17] With his cherished aim she stepped into the field of national activities and enlightened the nation with her visionary sayings on national days.

Fatima Jinnah kept a keen eye on political scenario of the country and whenever she observed any conspiracy being hatched against the nation, even the big guns of political arena could not escape her castigation. Whether it was the government of Liaqat Ali Khan or Khawaja Nazim Uddin, regime of Muhammad Ali Bogra or Sikandar Mirza or it was the lawless period of Ghulam Muhammad or garrison government of Ayoub Khan, she led the nation with courage and state forwardness.

Fatima Jinnah expressed her anxiety over the tussle for power amongst politician. As a result of conflict; between Doultana and Mamdot the governor general imposed Governor Rule in Punjab. At this Fatima resorted, "I feel grieved at this conflict and situation".[18] She severely opposed the Politicians for their undemocratic attitude. Pakistan and Muslim League were very dear to her, as they were the sacred trust of the Quaid and a legacy of the people of; Pakistan. But alas for the politicians who did not recognize the true worth of her statements. This willful negligence on the part of politicians of her sincere exhortation resulted ,in a serious loss to Muslim leaguer.

These were the days when Muslim League was plagued with political anarchy in the province of Frontier and Sindh. Political clashes had been undergoing between Pir Monki Sharif and Khan Quoum Khan in Frontier and between Yousaf Haroon and Ayoub Khorou in Sindh respectively. Fatima visited the twin provinces and preached for unity and discipline under the flag of Muslim League. In this perspective of misdeeds of politicians, she explained to Khan Abdul Qaume Khan, "Gone is the Muslim League of Quid and gone are those values."[19] These were the circumstances when she was satisfied neither with national polities nor

with state of affairs of the country.

In the life of Fatima Jinnah the period from 1948-1964 holds an important place in national politics. To upheld her pledge made at the time of Quaid's death, she remained active in national politics. Throughout this period Fatima had been providing the nation with her ripe advices and sagacious thoughts. She demanded for democracy and constitution which could meet democratic desires and guarantee basic human rights. Despite her oldage, Fatima Jinnah, the sister of father of the nation agreed to be a candidate for the office of the president on behalf of the combined opposition Party (COP) to contest election against the military ruler, Muhammad Ayub Khan. Her courageous decision had shaken the ruling party. Contrary to this the people welcomed it and considered the decision as a good omen for a better political future of the country.

Fatima Jinnah started her election compaign on 1st October 1964 at Peshawar. During her compaign of mass public contact from Peshawar to Chitagong, millions of people welcomed her enthusiastically. She assured the people that she had been contesting the election for the restoration of democracy and would lay down her life for that purpose. The political miracle that Fatima Jinnah achieved in the first phase of her election compaign bewildered the ruling party. "Ayub Khan and his comrades felt troubled to counter as tough a political challenge as posed by Fatima Jinnah".[20]

Fatima Jinnah criticized openly the autocratic regime of Ayub Khan. She declared that Pakistan came into being not for us to live our lives as slaves. We rather achieved Pakistan to, live as a free people. In her last address to the member of electoral collage on 1st January 1965, she convinced people to vote for a thriving democracy and a great Pakistan.[21]

Although the voters comprised a mere 80,000 and there were restrictions on public meetings, she drew enormous crowds. The people thronged to hear her as they found an emotional release through a sense of participation. Thus it was when Fatima Jinnah castigated Ayub Khan's rule. There was tumultuous response from the people as the articulated their feelings. Her imperious tone and fearless manner recalled to the people's mind her illustrious brother and with him the memories of a mass movement.[22]

The presidential elections between Fatima Jinnah and Ayub Khan were held on 2nd January 1965. Her success in the election was evident but contrary to what was expected the percentage of vote was 63.31% for Ayub Khan and 36.00% for Fatima Jinnah. Even in this dismal situation

she held her head and in her message she thanked her steadfast voters. There were proofs that in this contest against Fatima Jinnah, the state machinery and district officials ensured Ayub's success by threatening and purchasing the voters.[23]

Ayub Khan won the presidential elections but it was proved afterwards that Ayub Khan had, infact stamped his eternal and ever lasting defeat by this engineered, forced and fraudulent electoral success against Fatima Jinnah. The election results had given him a false mandate but this doctored success opened the floodgates of a violent reaction and revolt that ultimately swept him; out of power. Although Fatima Jinnah did not live to see the end of the dictator, she had played a significant role in hastening his collapse.[24] Regarding this, the them west Pakistan Minister Mr. Khuda Bukhish Bucha stated, "By wining the presidential elections against Fatima Jinnah, we lost the game of national leadership".[25]

The leaders of the COP felt desperate as the presidential election results were adverse to their expectations but at that occasion Fatima Jinnah proved herself courageous and more confident than before. She advised them not to loose heart and gird up their loins to face the dictator. The way she withstood with perseverance and fortitude her temporary defeat in the elections in praiseworthy. Neither her womanhood nor her oldie could deter her plunging into the roubled waters of elections. Had she been successful in the elections we could have had a different Pakistan. Because she would rule over the country with an acumen that would usher a new era of progress and prosperity in our country.[26]

None less than Ayub Khan himself acknowledged her dauntless courage. He said, "I appreciate the wonderful vibrant virility of this seventy years old woman and the arduous battle she fought".[27] After the death of Quaid, her person were a blessing for Pakistan. It was an historic event in our national politics that the sister of the founder of Pakistan contested presidential elections. She held high the flag of renaissance of democratic values and infused a spirit of freedom of expression and action in people frightened of; martial law. She inculcated true devotion and desire in the people of Pakistan to claim their rights. The light of the torch of democracy kindled by Fatima Jinnah is our guide still. Her personality as a great sister and a sagacious women politician still shines like a guiding star for Pakistani women, especially for the 33% women representatives in present district government and 17% in parliament. They should learn a lesson from the struggle, simplicity, righteousness, fearlessness, patriotism, love for democracy and the political insight of

Fatima Jinnah.

After her death on 9th July 1967, Mr. Z.A. Bhutto expressed his homage to Fatima Jinnah, "My tribute to the great lady, whose life was devoted for the nation, who was an epitome of sincerity, determination and scrupulousness, whose services are a living relation for this nation to take pride in."[28]

Truly, it is rightly said of Fatima Jinnah," She was a true replica of her illustrious brother. Having been brought up by him ad also having remained constantly under the influence of his dynamic personality, this was but natural. In fact, Fatima Jinnah was the symbol of an ideal Muslim women as visualized by Quaid-i-Azam".29 She sacrificed her life for her great brother and for Pakistan.

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CHILD LABOUR AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF GOVERNMENT

(A Case Study of Auto Repair Workshops of Lahore)

Khalid Manzoor Butt*

Children are considered a precious asset for the future of a country. They are innocent, weak and delicate, they require proper guidance, treatment, care and education. They are one of the most vulnerable segments of society because they are dependent on elders. Jean Paul Sartre, a French thinker considers that the responsibility to take-care of children is on parents but Plato a Greek philosopher places this duty on the state. In the modern age, parents and states share the responsibility. It is unfortunate that both the institutions have not been responding effectively to make children productive human beings of the society. Resultantly, there are millions of children in the world, who have been neglected, mistreated and exploited either by the elders or different institutions of the society. Such children who work or are forced to work to earn living for themselves or their families are usually called 'Child-Laboureres'.

Child Labour is a phenomenon, which has been existing in the world since time immemorial. Historically, most of the children used to assist and help their parents in routine household, family crafts or works, which seems just a participation of a 'child' as member of a family-unit. The Industrial Revolution in Europe in the18th Century had changed the concept of 'work'. It had brought along currency as a medium of exchange, therefore, bartering changed into wages and workers got a new name of 'labourers'. Since then industrialists have been looking for a cheap labour either to compete in the market or to maximize their profit. Hammond & Barbara stated in 'The Town Labourers that ***'when the English Manufactures warned Pitt that owing to high wages they had to pay their workmen, they were unable to pay their taxes, Pitt returned a terrible answer: 'Take the children'.'*** [1]

It is accepted that generally industrialists and manufacturers had begun this phenomenon to hire children for their producing units. Over the years, it has become a problem, which needs to be understood and addressed. The Industrial Revolution is considered a turning point, which

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had brought major change of role of a child from a 'participant' in the household activities to a 'labourer' for the monetary gains mostly for parents or guardians.

The International Labour Organization (ILO) defines as ***'the employment of Children under the age of physical and mental maturity for longer hours. Child Labour is often used in societies where industries are being developed. Children are agile, efficient at many unskilled and semi-skilled works, quick learners and unprotected. Young workers are able to work long hours and have docile nature making it very easy for adults to exploit and mistreat them. The adults do not care about the rights of children and abuse them for economic gains'.*** [2]

According to the Americana Encyclopedia, ***'Child Labour as the employment of boys and girls when they are too young to work, for hire or when they are employed at jobs unsuitable or unsafe for children of their ages or under condition injurious to their welfare. It is any employment that robs children of their rightful heritage of a chance for healthful development, full educational opportunities, and necessary play'.*** [3]

A survey of the ILO says that ***'some 250 million youngsters in developing world who often work in exploitation and hazardous conditions. Face injury, illness and even death. 61% of them are from Asia and about 3.3 million are in Pakistan'.*** [4] According to estimate of the Bureau of Statistics (FBS), Government of Pakistan 1998 there are about 3. 3 million working children in Pakistan. And about 70% of them are unpaid because that are involved in family related works or crafts and only 23% are employed. The FBS statistics further says that in urban areas 31% of total working children has been found. The major fields of Child Labour are crafts / trade 19% and manufacturing 11% respectively. Generally the children, working in cities have been experiencing exploitation and hazardous conditions in most of the jobs.

Child Labour is a complex phenomenon. It is manifestation of a number of problems inter-related in intricate ways. Most of the people agree that rampant poverty, unemployment, dependence of parents on children's income for survival, big family size, absence of appropriate social protection and unaffordable school system are the major causes of Child Labour.

Causes leading to Child Labour

It is also noticed that usually very low incomes and poor families have high rates of fertility. Many social scientists believe that in such families, child has an economic value. These families depend upon their children to run household or stay alive. Generally they want more children for economic benefits rather than religions, social or emotional reasons.

Illiterate parents and their lower social class are also important factor for the promotion of Child Labour. Mostly uneducated parents restrict their children's education career and they want that children should be sent to work at early age to earn money. *The United Nations has also noted that* **'countries with the highest illiteracy rates and most backwards in school enrollment are those that suffer from malnutrition, they have greatest Child Labour problem.'** [5]

Employers also prefer to employ children because these youngsters do not have much awareness about their rights. So it is easy for employers to control, pressurize and abuse them. ***'Children can be easily exploited. They obviously are unlikely to organize themselves in unions or to complain to the authorities when they are overworked or under-paid or underfed'.*** [6]

There are so many kinds of Child Labour. These children usually work in factories, mines, village farming, family-crafts, houses, restaurants, shops and workshops. Some people also use them for beggary, pornography and sexual purposes. In a few countries they have been employed for camel-races, military and guerilla warfare. Some cases of domestic and cross border smuggling of children have also been surfaced and investigation revealed that people have been using them for trade purposes.

Labour damages the physical and mental growth of children, when they do work for longer hours, over work, suffer injuries, exhaustion. Their regular contact with substances, like acidic and chemical is harmful for them. Chand Raja writes in her research that **'Child-Labourers can be called a premature generation. The job demands more physical and psychological resources than children have. They grow old (physically and mentally) prematurely without a normal childhood, starting work so early, they are on fringes of society and miss both education and vocational training'.** [7]

Child Labour is generally associated with no education or a low level of education, which hampers proper socialization of the children. A Child-Labourer lacks ethics, manners, and confidence, which damage his

personality. Another research on the same topic describes that **'Working children have negative attitude towards life and also do not have oftenly high aims and objectives. They have many anxieties and fear, disturbed and isolated personality, premature thinking and usually have conflict of ideas'.** [8]

The problem of 'Child Labour' is related to wide population of our society. Our hopes for the future depend on the next generation. But in many cases the way children are being treated in our society leaves them stunted in their mental, physical, social and moral well-being. It is considered as one of the serious violations of human rights in the contemporary world. Child Labour is one of other persisting problems of Pakistan, which has not been controlled yet and furthermore its population has been increasing day by day. Pakistan is recognized as one of the most affected countries of the world as far as Child Labour is concerned. It is also noticed that most of efforts by government and NGOs have been made in rural areas but child Labour of informal sector in urban area has been ignored or overlook for quite some time. This kind of Child Labour has its own implication, dimensions and exploitation, which need to be studied. In this regard a survey has been conducted to study Child Labour of Auto Repair workshops of Lahore. For that matter a non-random (purposive) sampling' has been adopted. Therefore a small sample of Auto Repair Workshops has been randomly taken for survey purposes. The following are the findings:

	Number	Percentage
1, Total labourers in these workshop	70	-----
2, Labourers in these workshops more than 18 years of age	22	31%
3, Labourers in these workshops more than 10 years of age but less than 18 years of age	35	50%
4, Labourers in these workshops up till 10 years of age	13	18.5%
5, Literate children	18	25.7%
6, Literate Father of Child labourer	8	16.6%
7, Literate Mother of Child labourer	3	6.2%
8, Father doing some work	20	41.6%
9, Father income approximately (Rs3000 to 4000)	10	23.8%
10, Father's income approximately (Rs. 2000 to 3000)	32	76.19
11, Child labourer belong to a family size (9-11)	10	20.8%
12, Child labourer belong to a family size (6- 8)	32	76.1%
13, Child labourer belong to a family size (3 –5)	6	12.5%
14, Start working less than 1[illegible] years of age	19	39.5%
15, Start working more than 10 years of age	29	60.4%
16, Working less than 6 h[illegible] day	00	0.00%

17, Working more than 6 hours a day		48	100%
18, Working more.than 8 hours a day		32	66.6%
19, Often work after sun set		32	66.6%
20, Average salary of child labourer age between 15-18 per month		1600	-----
21, Average salary of child labourer age between 11-14 per month		900	-----
22, Average salary of child labourer age between 6-10 per month		400	-----
23, Children give total salary to parents		22	45.8%
24, Often injured during work		31	85.4%
25, Ustad often abuses during work		41	85.4%
26, Ustad often beats during work on mistakes		35	72.9%
27, Other associates also abuse during work		40	83.3%
28, Other associates also beat during work on mistakes		36	87.5%
29, Do you want to start studying with work		35	72.9%
30, Poverty was the main cause of you coming to this job		39	81.2%
31, Is the workshop registered	NO	10	100%
	YES	00	0.00%
32, Do you have permission from any government institution	NO	10	100%
	YES	00	0.00%
33, Has any Labour inspector visited this workshop	NO	10	100%
	YES	00	0.00%
34, Has any representative of Social Welfare Deptt. Visited this Workshop	NO	10	100%
	YES	00	0.00%
35, Has representative of Pakistan Bait-Ul-Maal Visited this Workshop	NO	10	100%
	YES	00	0.00%
36, Has Representative of any NGO visited this workshop	NO	10	100%
	YES	00	0.00%
37, Workshops have electricity		03	30%
38, Workshops have toilet		1	10%
39, Workshops have First Aid System		0	0.00%
40, Workshops keep Register about child labourers		0	0.00%
41, Workshops having proper shelter		2	20%
42, Workshops structure temporary nature		7	70%

The Survey has found that the children are 68.5% of total labour force of these Auto Repair Workshops. Almost 74% are illiterate and mostly belong to the large family size. Generally, families of these children fall in the category of very lower income strata of the society. However, 81.2% respondents gave poverty as the main reason, which forced them to work. All the children use to work more than six hours a day, however, 66.6% even work after the sun set and more then eight hours a day. 85.4% children complained about the abusive language of

Ustad and 72.9% stated that Ustad also beat them if they show laziness or make a mistake during the work. The other elder associates in these workshops follow the pattern of Ustad. It is also found that salary of these children is much lower than the salary of adult workers. Moreover 45.8% stated that they used to give total salary to their parents.

Another schedule to evaluate the conditions and role of different organs of government is also prepared and the following informations have been collected in this regard. None of the owners got permission from the concerned government departments to establish workshop nor any representative of government inspected these workshops to check child labour. It is noticed that concentration of government departments in the formal sector of rural areas and this informal sector of urban area has been overlooked. Neither these workshops have first-aid system nor they keep register about the children, which are basic requirement according to the Employment of Children Act-1991. 80% and 70% of these workshops are without proper shelter and permanent structure respectively. Almost all workshops do not possess protected devices. The environment and conditions of these workshops are quite untidy and unhygienic. There are so many tasks and processes in these workshops, which are hazardous and harmful for the children. Nevertheless, it is a clear violation of the Convention on the Rights of Child (CRC) of United Nation as well as the Employment of Children Act (ECA) 1991 of Pakistan.

There is also a large variety of Child Labour in urban areas but its population and growth in Auto Repair Workshops is considerably high. In these workshops the children have interaction with adults and elderly persons who are generally illiterate and reluctant about the welfare of a child. A carefree environment and indifferent attitude of associates expose these children to a premature adult-age and consequently they come across many social evils. It is noticed that this kind of child labour prone to produces child-abuse, which keeps them disadvantaged educationally, psychologically, physically, morally and socially.

Auto Repair Workshops are infamous for employing children in urban areas to a large extent. Most of these workshops small in nature, and run by owners / ustads themselves, with the help of children between age of 8 to 18 years. These Workshops use low-tech methods, which require helping hand. Many of the tasks during repair do not need physical strength; therefore, children can be used for these tasks because they are agile and slim. Their work is to assist their senior mechanics for a nominal salary. In the years long process, they share economic burden of the

parents and keep learning a skill. There are many types of the Auto Repair Workshops liké Motorcars. Buses, Wagons, Rickshaws, and Motor cycle, which exist on the road-sides, open-places,, corners and foot-paths of the city. These workshops can be further divided on the basis of their specialized or related works like workshops of mending puncture, painting, denting, radiators, electrician, engine-repair and servicing. There is hardly any record of these workshops in the concerned departments of government.

According to Anees Jillani **'*the informal sectors consist of small establishments not covered by laws for protecting children. This sector is the largest employer of children in the urban and semi urban areas'*. He further quoted that '*the ILO says, it is the fastest growing area of Child Labour in the developing countries. Because of their small size are easy to shift and conditions of employment such as working hours and wages are arbitrarily fixed by the employers. However, the excessive supply of child-Labourers the competition is intense and wages are very low'*.** [9]

Role of Government

No doubt the Children, who are working in these workshops have been facing mental and physical harassment by their associate elders. Hardly any meaningful effort has been noticed on the part of government to address problem of Child Labour of these workshops. In this study the role of government has been assessed and determined to stop this practice from our society. Its micro and macro policies have also been evaluated in this regard. Although there are certain laws in Pakistan to check child Labour but weaknesses in it implementation and adjudication have been clearly noticed. There is lack of coordination among the three main components of government i.e. Legislature, Executive and Judiciary. Therefore, in this modern age government with immense capabilities can play a significant role to check such social problems like Child Labour. ***'Government is an agent of State through which the will of the State is formulated and expressed, viz. its sovereignty is exercised. It is the government that performs the important function of rule-making, rule-executing and rule-application. The very existence of State and attainment of its goals, are largely depend on the working of it government'***. [10]

Therefore role of government and its different components are very important and essential to check Child Labour in Pakistan. It has required means and machinery to get the required results. It is not out of

context to say that individual and combine performance of these components and coordination among themselves are also needed. Therefore, a three-fold strategy for government is suggested keeping in view major causes of Child Labour in the Country.

1, Preventive Measures
2, Regulative Measures
3, Rehabilitative Measures

Preventive Measures

As far as preventive measures are concerned government has to redesign its macro economic policy, which should be a goals oriented. The policy should reduce poverty, unemployment, and population growth rate and ensure free, compulsory and accessible education for all children and make an effective social protection system in the country. Poverty and unemployment are co-related variables and interlinked. If poverty reduces the unemployment will also come down. It is pertinent to mention that unemployment of adults also stimulates child labour in the society. According to the FBS ***'Unemployment deals with the section of population who are capable and seeking / available for the production of economic goods and services but not utilized as such by the community and therefore, manifests one aspect of the wastage of human resources'.*** [11] The FBS gives statistics that ***'the total labour force in Pakistan during 1996-97 is estimated 35.15 million. The government statistics says that 5.37 % unemployment in the country, which seems underestimated and unofficial estimate of 12%, looks closer to reality.*** [12]

Unemployment is another source of poverty because when there are fewer jobs and more seekers then employees use to exploit the situation. It would bring low wages and generate poverty. In a situation where child labour is at the rampage, the employees prefer Child Labour. It makes easy for them to exploit and reduce the wages. When parents are unable to get jobs then they are forced to send their children to do something to earn to avoid hunger because they can do petty jobs on nominal wages. This trend further generates child labour because more the children more the income parents have. It also increases population growth and family size

Poverty is a principle cause, which also generates its vicious circle and invites malnutrition, low life expectancy, diseases, unhygienic conditions and health problems. Renowned Economist Ms. Amartya Sen,

defines it that 'poverty in the sense of moneylessness means, not having enough of the basic medium of exchange to satisfy elementary human needs and to function economically and socially'. She further says ***'Poverty is a situation in which people's total earnings are insufficient to obtain the minimum necessities for the maintains of merely their physical efficiency'.*** [13] According to the National Policy and Action Plan, Government of Pakistan it says that Poverty is the main cause for child labour, ***'Poor households need money, which their children can easily earn. Child Labour, although a pervasive problem flourishes because of economic forces that give rise to continued demand for cheap labour. In an economy where there is a race to compete by reducing labour cost, child labour prevails. In this situation jobs are allocated to adults at wages, which keep them and their families below poverty line. Many jobs are given directly to the children, leaving adults unemployed'.*** [14]

Pakistan is one of the poorest countries of Asia. It has $ 429 per capita income.[15] ***More than 30 % of its population lives bellow poverty line.***[16]

According to Fawad Usman Khan ***'rich-poor disparity in Pakistan in the most pronounced in South Asia'.*** [17] ***The World Bank and other sources have confirmed that poverty has continued to go up in Pakistan and now stands in the 30 –34 percent range.***[18]

Therefore main concentration of government should be on poverty alleviation in this regard we should have long-term, medium-term and short-term economic policy. More than 60% population lives in rural areas and our economy is agriculture based therefore we should put maximum effort to increase agriculture production. Government should give farmer-friendly policies to give the incentives, which could reduce poverty in rural areas.

As for as industrial sector is concerned we should encourage agri-industry, small, and medium industries. A simple one window loaning system should be introduced with minimum possible interest rate, which would generate industrialization in Pakistan as done by the Greeman Bank in Bangladesh. It would bring trickle-down effects in the economy. There is need to strengthen a free market system without monopolies and for healthy completion. Incentives should be given on the part of government to enhance exports and remittances for foreign reserves. It should increase the budget allocation for the social development sector, which also a great source to reduce poverty.

One of the other preventive measures to reduce Child Labour is to make universalization of primary education and make it free, compulsory and accessible to all children. According to Federal Bureau of Statistics ***'there are 40 million total children in Pakistan under the age of 14 and only 28 million are enrolled in schools. However 12 million have no access to schools predominantly poverty reasons. Out of 28 million enrolled children in schools 14 million drop out before reaching to class 5, Therefore about 26 million total children who are out of schools which is a very high strength'.***[19] It means that they are not getting formal education and high likelihood that they have been engaged in some kind of work. ***'The Children studying in the government run schools are largely from poor strata of our society and once they are out of school there is little chance for them to continue their studies'.*** [20]

Pakistan has the lowest literacy rate in South Asia with one of the lowest primary school participation ratio (53%) which compares poorly to 100% in Sri Lanka, 93% India and 60% in Bangladesh.[21] it is also noticed that either schools are beyond the means of poor parents or they are not easily accessible, particularly in rural areas where more than 60% population lives. In Urban areas government run school and are not equipped with proper requirements and facilities and not producing quality students, which are demanded in the market. In this type of education, which does not have prospects, parents lack interests for their children's education. Therefore people from poor strata prefer to send their children to work rather than to send them in expensive schools, which they are unable to afford.

In this regard Indian state Kerala has set an example by enhancing the number of school going children and it got sharp reduction in the incidents of Child Labour. ***Pakistan is just spending 2.1% of its budget on education, which is the lowest in South Asia.***[22] Therefore government should at least double the budget on education and try to open schools in far-flung and remote areas. Primary education should be made free for all students and there should be uniformity in syllabus throughout the country.

Over population and its high growth rate is another important variable to stimulate Child Labour in a poor country. A large family size is considered another cause of Child Labour. ***Pakistan is 7th most populous country of the world having more than 140 million population.***[23] ***It also has 2.1 % the highest population growth rat in Asia.*** [24]

Generally average family size in Pakistan is very large, as compared to other countries of Asia. It does not match our limited

resources and creates a gap between production and consumption, which lead to poverty, unemployment and Child Labour. It is observed that mostly countries having high growth rate falls in the category of poor countries.

Islamic countries like Iran, Bangladesh and Malaysia have been following population control policy and they are very successful in this regard. Government has to redesign its population policy keeping in view ground realities, which needs legislative, executive and judicial measures simultaneously to check undesirable population growth in the country. A maximum size of a family should be fixed and penalties should also be imposed on the violators. It is a fact that government has those resources to launch a countywide campaign to make people aware and motivated to control population growth for a quality life.

Regulative Measures

Most of our laws about Child Labour are out-dated. The Constitution of Pakistan 1973 Article 11 (3) defines that a child is that who is bellow the age of fourteen years. Whereas the Employment of Children Act 1991 regards child who has not completed the age of fifteen years. After the ratification of 'Convention-182' of ILO, by government of Pakistan in 2001, it has to amend its laws regarding the age of a child. The Convention says that a Child is a person who has not completed the age of eighteen years. The Pakistani laws need to be amended in accordance with international commitments.

It is a fact that only coercive methods cannot eliminate Child Labour. It has to be reduced gradually and at first place it should be regulated. Although Karl Marx did not like Child Labour but he wanted to regulate it at least. He says ***'A general prohibition of child labour is incompatible with existence of large-scale industry and hence an empty pious wish. Its realization __ if it were possible__ would be reactionary, since, with strict regulation of the working time according to the different age groups and other safety measures for protection of children, an early combination of productive labour with education is one of the most potent means for the transformation of present society'.*** [25]

Our social and economic structure does not allow uprooting Child Labour in short span of time. The long term and macro level policies are required to check this practice in Pakistan. At first stage, it should regularize working, timings, wages, protections, rest hours, study-hours.

At the second stage coordinated efforts of the three components of the government would be needed to further strengthen the steps taken by the international community.

Rehabilitative Measures

In the developed countries, there is an effective social protection system. They used to give unemployment allowance to their people and have a mechanism to protect them from unexpected social and economic problems. But in a country like Pakistan we do not have that kind of system where due to unemployment or any other incident government could come to help its people. We have very limited shelter homes or orphan houses for such children who suffer from social problems. Therefore poor people use all means including their children to tackle the social and economic problem they face.

Government should allocate appropriate fund for social development and open maximum possible orphan, vocational and rehabilitation centers in the country. Pakistan Bait-Ul-Maal has initiated a scheme of opening National Centres for Rehabilitation of Child Labour (NCRCL). In these centres children are given free education, books, stationary and uniforms. This Department also gives Rs 300 to each child who studies there and same amount is given to parents. No doubt it seems good strategy to counter Child Labour but it is catering very limited population of Child Labour and does not have large-scale effects. It has only 13 centres in seven districts of Punjab rehabilitating about 1500 students.

It is need of the time that government should spare maximum funds for such schemes. It can encourage people through media motivation to begin social welfare schemes in this regard. In the developed countries there are number of social welfare projects which local communities have been running.

It is high time that government should take comprehensive and rational measures i.e., preventive, regulative and rehabilitative to tackle Child Labour in Pakistan. Because localized projects and scheme do not cater large population therefore macro level planning is required to have long-lasting results.

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DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND THE GLOBALIZATION PARADOX

Kh. Zahid Parwaiz*

The last few decades of the previous millennium witnessed colossal transformations in the global power and economic structures. The all-encompassing wave of sophisticated technologies has made it imperative for all nations to acquire competence and compatibility over industrial and automated production in order to extract their rightful share from the global market in order to ensure their viability as independent and sovereign nations. Although, the technologically and industrially advanced nations do confront challenges from the contemporary world yet they are holding ground in the global market. On the other hand, the developing countries are in the grip of evolving crises with imbibed threats of economic & political instability, social backwardness and internal & external terrorism that may lead to serious imbalance between the constituent segments or among diverse cultural groups within these states. Such crises, if prolonged, may not be sustainable by these economically crumbling nations and are likely to end up with disintegration and even extinction. The share in the global market is linked with the bargaining capacity of a nation in the international trade negotiations, individually or as member of an economic group. A developing country is seldom in a strong bargaining position individually on account of its technological, economic and political constraints. Normally, it has to associate itself with some group or a block as member of an economic or trade coalition**. Such coalition arrangement has its own bottlenecks and flaws. In the first instance, the coalitions (in trade and other international economic negotiations) are 'often fleeting and not exclusive' as Whalley rightly puts in [1]. A coalition partner may be a companion on one issue but may prefer to join another block on the other since the nature and quantum of interests of the different states vary from issue to issue. Accordingly, there is hardly a consensus on panoramic profile which is not an unlikely situation as the stronger partner within the coalition tend to maneuver a situation for its own benefit through some extra coalition arrangements. As

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**In examining coalition formation, a coalition is defined as two or more actors with shared interests that influence their bargaining behaviour toward other actors [John Whalley, 1987]

a consequence, the coalitions may not achieve the desired levels of bargaining capacity and the developed nations remain successful in maintaining their firm grip.

During 1980s, in the course of the second wave of globalization, *bilateral* and *minilateral* approaches to trade negotiations proved more successful for the developing countries than *multilateral* negotiations as demonstrated at the Uruguay Round [2]. Many of them, like Malaysia, Indonesia, South Korea and Thailand, took full advantage of such arrangements and managed to muster significant economic strength. This escalation, however, gave rise to a "convergence club" alone comprising of East Asian Countries and did not help to close the gap between the rich and the poor [3]. At the same time, it aroused skepticism about the benefits of further economic integration in both the industrialized and the developing countries. There has been a lot of resistance that stiffened following the East Asia Crisis of 1997-98. The failure of the Seattle Summit (November 1999) in launching the 'Millennium Round' gave a discouraging signal of insufficient political support and pointed towards widening of the debate on globalization [4]. It clearly indicated that the globalization, as envisaged, is not likely to be achieved in an automatic sequenced form.

The developed world may tolerate the prosperity of a developing country so far as it is not challenging their hegemony. It has been emphatically demonstrated through the East Asia Crisis engineered and escalated by the economic giants who, mindful of the consequences of rapid economic growth of the East Asian countries, did not allow much freedom to them and were successful in destabilizing the economies of these countries. Heinrich Kreft* articulated the 'Asia Crisis' as —

"In just two and a half years, the geopolitical situation in Asia changed dramatically, mainly due to the crisis in East Asia that began in summer 1997 as a foreign exchange crisis in Thailand, developed into a financial and economic crisis and spread to virtually the whole of East Asia. The resulting economic and social dislocation as well as domestic and international repercussions have been immense. It is both a deep-seated crisis, precipitated by the challenge of globalization and liberalization, in what may be called "the Asian system", as well as the result of acute microeconomic malfunctioning with far-reaching

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macroeconomic consequences. Systemic deficiencies were revealed with regard to the rule of law, reflected also in widespread corruption and cronyism, government intervention in the markets, the gulf between the political elites and society at large as well as increasing destruction of the environment and economic disparities." [5]

This timid crisis eclipsed the vision of a dawning Asian century that was perceived in view of the unprecedented economic development during the concluding three decades of the twentieth century. The conflict in East Timor, continuing uncertainty in South Asia & the Middle East and non-relaxation of tensions in the Korean Peninsula are merely symptoms.

This reflects the failure of Asia to create viable multilateral economic and security structures for understandable reasons ensuing out of highly heterogeneous patterns of resource distribution, economic development, culture, ideology and politics. The economic disparities arising out of the crisis have re-fuelled the impulses of intra territorial nationalism in many Asian countries and have even jolted the multilateral economic block like the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN). The worst to suffer has been Indonesia (once the driving force of the ASEAN) whose population is larger than that of all other Asian crisis countries combined, where economic crisis initiated gross political and ethnic upheaval whose end is not yet in sight. Though South Korea and Malaysia managed to stage rapid recoveries by late 1990s, the recovery of Thailand remained hesitant till now [5&6].

While the "Asian tigers" dwindle, China, India and Pakistan are struggling with the same problems of excessive debt, weak financial institutions, lending according to political criteria and inefficient industries. China has been fortunate for its initial management to keep the Asia crisis at bay is now facing the fundamental conflict between market economics and authoritarian political culture. [7]

Although the country is strenuously undergoing the most difficult phase of economic liberalization, the fast growth it needs cannot be achieved without massive restructuring of the economy which cannot be achieved without the destabilizing consequences of people losing their jobs that may be devastating with current 8% rate of joblessness [6]. The scenario in Asia is getting worse with escalating tensions on account of open nuclearization of South Asia, the race of missile technology by India, Pakistan & North Korea and development of nuclear arsenal & missile technology by Israel & Iran. These tensions are not conducive to the harmonization of relationship between these strategically important

countries of the world located amidst the largest market on earth. Certainly, continuity of such a situation can jeopardize the globalization process and undermine the prospects of a free market, so vital for the industrially developed countries in order to extract exorbitant profits through their products.

The perpetuation of crises, particularly in the Asia-Pacific Region, is not at all sustainable by the developed economies as it is likely to generate far reaching macroeconomic consequences all around the globe. The developed countries tend to go for the managed trade in order to ensure their dominance in the 'free market'. Accordingly, a new mechanism of corporate globalization has been devised in the form of the World Trade Organization (WTO) as a powerful global commerce agency and, through it transformed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) into an enforceable global commerce code. Under this system of corporate-managed trade, economic efficiency, reflected in short-run corporate profits, dominates other values. Decisions affecting the economy are to be confined to the private sector, while social and environmental costs are borne by the public. Under this arrangement the developed European countries and Japan seek salvage to their worries whereas the United States foresees its role as a sole guarantor for stability in the world in any international economic restructuring. It is trying to put its leverage through bilateral and minilateral economic & trade manifestations in cooperation with some isolating fragments within the multilateral economic blocks (like WTO) ensuring managed trade to its advantage.

The tendency of corporate globalization has been to encourage 'liberalization' through organized protectionist arrangements that at times may be discriminatory and arbitrary between the partners in an economic & trading block. Such arrangements are viewed as commercial nightmare for the developing economies since they are likely to be confronted with far larger industrialized partners in an unequal contest will little or no international surveillance. In addition, the WTO system, rules and procedures are undemocratic, un-transparent and non-accountable and have operated to marginalize the majority of the world's people. That is why, in November 1999, the World Trade Organization's (WTO) Third Ministerial Meeting in Seattle collapsed in spectacular fashion, in the face of unprecedented protest from people and governments around the world. It suggests that the developing countries have taken cognizance of this nightmare.

The paradox of globalization has been that on one hand the phenomenal progress in the sophisticated technological fields, including the information technology, is confined and restricted to the developed world that is not freely willing to share these advancements with the developing countries whereas it is, under the garb of 'free market', maneuvering to capitulate the benefits of liberalized trading which cannot be shared substantially by the developing economies on account of their inferior infrastructure, less developed information retrieval & dissemination systems and restrained access to the global financial markets. There has been growing awakening in the developing world that they should have judicious and compatible means to acquire the appropriate technological transfers in order to safeguard against the vulnerability of their production infrastructure, reliable measures to reduce corporate gearing ratios to sustain the economic bumps as a consequence to some capital outflow and development of an effective internet market coupled with trading in order to maintain the steady progress. These are the decisive ways to ensure for them a competitive positioning in the global milieu. The developing countries are in need to engage in active negotiation so as to integrate with the international economy on terms which will give them the best possible trading opportunities in commodities in which they enjoy comparative advantages and promise the desired level of food security [8].

The developing countries need to adopt a comprehensive approach towards globalization, managed and abetted by good policies in order to ensure for themselves the advantages of growth promoting measures that in turn may lead to viability of their as well as international economic and stability structures. While entering into multilateral trade liberalization they should ensure for themselves reciprocal concessions from the major partners of the global alliance. They should build up domestic infrastructure and financial depth in order to sustain competition in the dynamic economic regions thriving in the open trading environment. They are in need to build up electronics commerce in order to ensure drastic reduction in transaction & search costs. Can the developing nations acquire the level of bargaining necessary to achieve all this? The experiences of the previous century are not so optimistic!

Globalization is not a cure-all. It may increase the susceptibility of the countries to shocks under certain constraints that at times may cost their sovereignty and integrity. It therefore requires a very careful

venturing and sequencing after thoroughly probing the impact of the key elements of globalization together.

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METAPHYSICS RE-INSTATED

Mohammad Maruf*

The first systematic rejection of Metaphysics as a branch of knowledge came from Immatuel Kant in his famous *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781)[1] wherein be based his rejection on his critical analysis of the Pure Reason. It was in "The Transcendental Dialect" Book II that he subjected to scrutiny the Pure Reason and concluded that Transcendental Psychology, Transcendental Cosmology, and Pure Theology are impossible to comprehend, because there is no experience to occasion them and corroborate them[2]. He also made a distinction between (a) *Phenomenon* and *Noumenon*[3], and (b) *Sensible Intuition* and *Intellectual Intuition*[4]. Of the latter intuition he says that 'the intellectual, which is not that which we possess, and of which we cannot comprehend even the possibility'[5]; and this leads him to the conclusion that man cannot have the knowledge of the *Noumenon*, which is comprehensible through Intellectual Intuition only. Kant, however, has been largely misunderstood, because what he has denied the possibility of on the basis of his presuppositions in the field of Pure Reason, he has reaffirmed in his *Critique of Practical Reason*[6], where God, the Immorality of the Soul, and the freedom positively considered as Practical Postulates[7]. In fact, Kant has accepted these Postulates to support his Moral ideal or *Summum Bonum*, which is a Composite End.

Kant was followed by Soren Kierkegaard (1813-1855) who was averse to all system building and was afraid that Professors would be teaching his thought in the Universities. His two books *Philosophical Fragments* (1844) and *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* (1846) 'Present as directly and methodically as can be expected the philosophical thinking of a man whose method is indirect and whose philosophy is not a system'[8] But, despite his protest, the Movement he originated culminated in elaborate and highly complicated systems of Martin Heidegger's Existence and Being (1949)[9] and J.P. Sartre's Being and Nothingness (1957)[10] which are not easy to follow even for a serious student of philosophy. Another reaction against philosophical systems, especially Hegelianism, which originated from an interaction between the Cambridge School of Analysis

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and the Vienna Circle in the early 1930's, was named Logical Positivism[11]. (At least the term appeared in 1930's though with some qualifications). However, its application in the fields of morality, metaphysics and religion came as late as 1936 when A. J. Ayer first published his classical work Language, Truth and Logic (London)[12] and The Foundation of Empirical Knowledge (1940)[13]. The basis of this school was the famous "Verifiability Principle" which enables its votaries to make an incisive distinction between the "meaningful" and "meaningless" or "nonsense" statements. However, A.J. Ayre was compelled to admit Indirect Verification[16] also which rendered the whole criterion so vast and "loose" that many of the moral, religious and metaphysical utterances could pass for "meaningful" statements. What led him to this concession was that the original Principle was too rigid to pass even for froth some of the most established hypotheses of science, e.g., the axis of the earth and its inclination at 45 degrees. However, in fairness to Logical Positivists, they could very ably project the case for empiricism. But the question arises what necessitated the emergence of these reactions against traditional metaphysical systems? Why a need for them was felt which purported to demolish time-honoured philosophical systems like that of Aristotle, Hagel, and so on. A close examination of these reactions will show that they are reactions against systems like Hegelianism, which has its inspiration from, and may be deemed as a logical consequence of the philosophical systems of Plato, who was rightly called the Father of Idealism in the West: it was Platonic system which during all these centuries, developed and culminated m Hegel's Absolutism, followed by his followers. These reactions have nothing to do with the First Philosophy of Aristotle, whose philosophical system cannot properly be dubbed as Idealism, though there, no doubt, is an element of Idealism in his system. The modern philosophers are often misled into thinking that their movement is a reaction against Aristotle's 'First Philosophy', and in this short paper my main object is to refute this misconstruction.. Thus, I have decided to devote Second Section of my paper to as true an exposition of Aristotle's metaphysical philosophy as is possible.

Before taking it up, it is necessary to discuss another movement called Linguistic Analysis or Philosophy, which is 'An approach to philosophy that holds that a careful study of how language is actually used, taught, and developed in everyday discourse can illuminate, or even transform or dissolve, time-honoured philosophical problems. These problems are seen as arising, often if not invariably, because thinkers,

misled by superficial grammatical similarities or their own fondness for uniformity, have ignored relevant differences' in the functions of terms and hence misused them...'[18]. The Linguistic Philosophy was popularized by Wittgenstein and then developed by Carnap (The Logical Syntax of Language),[20]. J.L. Austin,[21] and Gilbert Ryle[22] (Plato's Progress, 1966), etc. However, a close scrutiny of this philosophy will reveal that it originated in the West with Socrates who was the first to emphasize the need for defining terms precisely which are being used in the discourse and arguments to render thought crystal clear. Today the linguistic philosophy has developed into Post-Structuralism and Post-Modernism[23] of thinkers like Michel Foucault (1926-1984),[24] Jacques Lacan (1901-1980)[25] and Jacques Derrida (1930-)[26]. Foucault has tried to philosophize away 'the Subject';[27] Lacan has replaced the 'Signified' by the 'Signifier' and thins has turned knowledge into something superficial;[28] while Derrida puts up Post-Structuralism, as against Structuralism, which, he says, 'is a philosophy of Becoming rather than of Being; it is endlessly dynamic, allowing us no escape or apparent respite from the shifting play of meanings'.[29] thus, they have demolished any permanence in human thought and reality; they have done away with any stable 'referent'; in short, they have brought philosophy once again at the cross-roads as was done by the Sophists in the pre-Socratic period. Today we are badly in need of another Socrates and Aristotle who can put philosophy back on its pedestal.

II

What is my main object in this paper is to reinstate Aristotle's First Philosophy in its true paces, whom I deem as one of the miracles of God. Unfortunately, during all these centuries, his thought has been badly and largely distorted — a fact which dawned on me when I read his original text. Aristotle has been very clear and consistent in his exposition of his thought. In the Ethics, he makes a very fine distinction between art and science which stems from experience. He says 'that experience is knowledge of individuals, art of universals, and actions and productions are all concerned with the individual;...[30]. He cites the case of a physician who cures individuals; and if he knows the theory without experience, 'he will often fail to cure, for it is the individual that is to be cured'[31]. However, 'we think that knowledge and understanding belong to art rather than to experience, and we suppose artists to be wiser than men of experience (...); and this is because the former know the cause, but the

hatter do not, for the men of experience know that this is so, but do not know why,..[32]. According to Aristotle, 'the master-workers in each craft are more honourable and know in a truer sense and are wiser than the manual-workers, because they know the causes of the things that are done...'[33].

Again, Aristotle stresses that 'in general it is the sign of the man who knows, that lie can teach, and therefore, we think art more truly knowledge than experience is; for artist can teach, men of mere experience cannot'[34]. Again, Aristotle adds, ails which 'were directed to the necessities of life' were regarded inferior in respect of wisdom than those which are directed' to its recreation, the inventors of the latter were always regarded as wiser than the inventors of the former, because their branches of knowledge did not aim at utility'[35]. However, lie assigns due importance to other branches of knowledge. He says, 'we do not regard any of the senses as wisdom; yet surely these give the most authoritative knowledge of particulars. But they do not tell us the 'why' of anything — e.g., why fire is hot; they only say that it is hot'[36]. He adds, 'All the sciences, indeed, are more necessary than this, but none is better'[37]. Thus, Aristotle assigns due place to all the branches of knowledge, but for him the 'First Philosophy' is the most superior.

Aristotle holds that philosophy begins, and originally began, with wonder; 'And a man who is puzzled and wonders thinks himself ignorant (....); therefore they philosophized in order to escape from ignorance, evidently they were pursuing science in order to know, and not for any utilitarian end'[38]. He adds, the science 'which investigates causes is also more capable of teaching, for the people who teach are those who tell the causes of each thing. And understanding and knowledge pursued for their own sake are found most in the knowledge of that which is most knowable;...; and the first principles and causes are most knowable; for by reason of these and from these all other things are know ii, but these are not known by means of the things subordinate to them'[39]. Thus, theoretical sciences are more of wisdom than the practical sciences, according to Aristotle. He goes on to hold 'theoretical kinds of knowledge to be more of the nature of wisdom than the productive. Clearly then wisdom is knowledge about certain causes and principles'[40]. Not only that the most exact science deals with the cause and first principles; they are also those 'which involve fewer principles are more exact than those which involve additional principles, e.g., arithmetic than geometry'[41]. This point is very important in modem science which amply bears it out. A student of

physics knows well that originally physicists believed that there were four fundamental forms of energy; the gravitational energy, the electromagnetic energy, and the two forms of nuclear energy, the so-called weak and strong. Dr. Abdus Salam, the Nobel Laureate, and his team reduced the two forms of nuclear energy to only one. He says, 'In our view, there should be no basic distinction between electricity and nuclear forms. We said they were simply identical'[42]. Their final aim is to reduce all the kinds of forces to one single force. This is nothing but reducing the number of 'First Principles' the need for which Aristotle stressed centuries ago.

It is generally believed that for Aristotle 'substance' was the study of the 'First Philosophy', lie used a word in Greek language which has been translated into '*ousia*'. Later, this word was rendered into Latin by *substantia:* Cicero proposed the alternative *essentia*, which also won its way into philosophical discussion. The history of the word then became complicated by die usage of theologians'[43]. However, Aristotle used the word 'substance' for the 'individual' or subject in the logical sense; for other entities like genus and species he used the term *quasi-substance*[44]. Again, he says that 'There is a discipline which studies that which is *qua thing-that-is* and those things that hold good of this in its own right. That is not the same as any of what are called the special disciplines. For none of the others examines universally that which is *qua thing-that-is*, but all select some part of it and study what is accidental concerning that;...' The discipline that deals with 'that which is *qua thing-that-is* is nothing but philosophy or what Aristotle called the First Philosophy'[45]. But the prerequisite for knowing this science is complete freedom and, he adds, 'as the man is free, we say, who exists for himself and for another, so we pursue this as the only free science, for it alone exists for itself[46]. However, he adds that 'the possession of it might be justly regarded as beyond human power: for in many ways human nature is in bondage;...[47]. According to Simonides "God alone can have this privilege" ..' Aristotle, however, adds that this is the most divine science and is also most honourable'. Commenting on Aristotle's concept of God A. H. Armstrong writes in his An Introduction to Ancient Philosophy 'It is simply the logical culmination of the hierarchy of substances and the ultimate explanation of motion and change. But it is not a person or power exercising providence, ordering all things by its will. Still less is it a Creator...'[49]. He adds, 'Aristotle's thought is not really God-centered, Cosmos-centered'[50].

Thus, our study of Aristotle's original thought on the 'First

Philosophy', reveals why he placed it after physics, for lie assigned due importance and authority to other disciplines, including those which are derived from senses, because 'surely these give the most authoritative knowledge of particulars;' though 'for him "the First Philosophy" is the most superior;' it deals with the first causes and the principles of things, and adds that 'those which involve fewer principles are more exact than those which involve additional principles,...' ~ However, what is generally neglected, though it is extremely important, is that 'Aristotle assigns due importance to other sciences also when lie says, "All the sciences, indeed, are more necessary than this, but none is better". Thus, he assigns due importance to all those disciplines which are pursued for some end or utility; he did not reject them as mere "opinions" or useless like Plato.

III

After having stated Aristotle's position the question arises how corruption occurred during all these centuries which aroused so much hue and cry against metaphysics? We have seen that Aristotle never used the term 'Metaphysics' for his 'First Philosophy'. 'It was apparently Andronicus who gave the name *Metaphysics* to Aristotle's treatise on First Philosophy, because it was ranked after the Physics in his edition;...'[52]. In fact, present day Metaphysics, which later on assumed the meaning of 'beyond physical,' had its origin in Platonic World of Ideas. Christian world drew its inspiration from Plato and the neo-Platonists, and tried to understand Christian dogmas in its light. In contrast to Plato's superlunary World of Ideas, the Churchmen like Albert of Bollstadt (1193-1280), and St. Thomas Aquinas (1225 or 1227-1274) placed those Ideas or Forms in the Mind of God. St. Thomas, like Albert, agrees with Aristotle in conceiving Ideas, or Forms, or universals as immanent in the mind of God,'[53]. Again, John Dims Scotus (1274-1308) more emphatically says, 'Universals exist before things,, as forms in the mind of God; in things, as their essence or general nature; and after things, as abstract concepts in our minds'[54]. So, this is how metaphysics began to be convened into theology amid religious concepts like God, Hereafter, etc., came to be part of metaphysics, and became object of severe criticism at the hands of movements during the last two centuries, and unfortunately, it came to earn a bad name. But why modern thinkers became conscious of these problems about metaphysics and began to assail it from all possible quarters?

Prof Ivor Leclerc, Prof. Emeritus of Philosophy, Emori University,

Atlanta (U.S.A.) in his paper "The Issue of the Nature of Metaphysics" has taken much pains to trace the development of those trends which have tried to impugn metaphysical problems. In the first place, he writes, 'In the Hellenistic period, and indeed among Aristotle's immediate followers, the basic emphasis was put on the *ousia* which was held to be primary, namely the divine--... That is, with this answer to the question of 'what is that which is in this sense,' metaphysics essentially became theology --, i.e., the 'object' of metaphysics was God'[55]. This gave it an objectionable look for the scientific mind which refused to go beyond the 'physical.' The prefix 'meta' assumed a meaning during the Middle Ages which was not in accord with Aristotle's doctrine. 'Relevant here is', says Prof Leclerc., 'that it was particularly this interpretation which in the eighteenth century came to' be rejected'[56].

The question arises how metaphysics came to be disreputed? The question whether or not metaphysics is a valid enterprise has faced us for the last two centuries and still is most prominently facing the philosophical community today, for I, somehow, believe that no metaphysics means no philosophy in its proper sense. 'This issue rose early in the nineteenth century as the outcome of the development of physics as a mechanics, that development which had initiated with Galilio and by the end of the seventeenth century ha achieved a significant peak with Newton, and which reached its perfection by the end of the eighteenth century with Laplace.'[57]. And with this started the drive to purge (lie science of mechanics of all philosophical and metaphysical concepts like force, cause, law, etc., and were replaced with quantitative concepts. The impact of science on philosophy was variously manifested and, as said before, the result was the emergence of positivistic trends in philosophy which took various forms, e.g., logical positivism, neo-positivism, empirico-criticism, analytical philosophy and so on. Another change which emerged in philosophy 'was the turning of philosophy to epistemology as fundamental. This movement of thought, in which the influence of Kant and Hume were prominent, has on the whole been decidedly anti-metaphysical, or at best not sympathetic to metaphysics'[58]. However, Aristotle had a great insight when he sounded a warning at that time, that is so early, that 'mathematics has come to be the whole philosophy for modern thinkers, though they say that it should be studied for the sake of other things', " This warning has come true today and, let me add that it has completely corrupted philosophy. As I said before, today philosophy is at the cross-roads as it has no anchor to stand upon, and I am afraid (hat

we are moving towards "scientism"[60], which will be a death-blow to the true spirit of philosophy. It is high time for the people of philosophy to rise from their slumber and do their best for the revival of philosophy, which is not possible without a resuscitation of metaphysics in the sense in which Aristotle presented it about three thousand pears ago.

IV

We should keep in mind that philosophy and science are two disparate human activities which one undergoes in his daily life. Science, as everyone knows, is descriptive and predictive, while philosophy is evaluative and critical (the two kinds of activities which each human being undertakes in his everyday life); and how these two diametrically different activities can be confounded with one another, This, however, does not mean that they have nothing to do with one another, because the two activities often go hand –in -hand in most of the human intellectual endeavours. As Iqbal says, 'They stein from the same root and compliment each other'[61]. However, unfortunately the two kinds of activities have been confounded and mixed up fix over last two centuries - an attempt which will lead to a complete debacle in the two fields, for even science is sure to stiffer in the long run. In one of the toughest interviews of my life I was asked if there was a place for philosophy in the world of unparalleled achievements of science, especially technology. I replied to this tricky question in the affirmative and said, 'When a philosopher collects his data and organizes them, he is in the realm of science; but when a scientist proceeds to draw conclusions from his data to arrive at general principles, he is mm die realm of philosophy. The two forms of processes musty go hand-in-hand else there will be no knowledge in the proper sense.' Thus, the two activities go side by side and both are inevitable. While talking of metaphysics, we should keep in mind that Aristotle never left the 'physical' behind to take a jump into the supraphysical realm as Plato did. As we have seen before, he assigned due importance to experience, and then tried to rise beyond, rather draw out of them, a universal study of the 'being' or '*thing-that-is*'. Prof Leclerc has endorsed it in the following words: '... characterizing Aristotle's own view of that field-which he himself referred to as *prote philosophia*, 'primary philosophy' — namely the set of issues and problems which are arrived at meta, '*after*' the study of the physical, arising out of that study, but going 'beyond' the physic This field extends beyond that of the physical in not being concerned, as is the physical inquiry, with particular kind of things, but deals with all

beings (*ta onto*), that is, it considers being universally (*katholou*) *qua* being (*he on*) [62]. The criticism, on the other hand, applies to those attempts which left the physical or experienced totally behind and tried to sore into a world, a heavenly world, as was done by Plato and his followers down to the Absolutism of Hegel; they do fall within the preview of that criticism which has been brought against metaphysics-*meta* in the sense of 'beyond' the physical reality. It is these thinkers who have been building airy castles, which is, in my view, neither metaphysics nor science.

I conclude my discussion again with very pertinent remarks of Prof Leclerc who says, 'For what has come to be necessary today is an effective partnership of the natural sciences and metaphysics, since not only neither of these is as autonomous as has been believed for the last two centuries, but they are also mutually necessary to each other'[63]. I believe that this is the only attitude which can help in the progress of knowledge. I mean comprehensive knowledge, in today's world. The philosophy today is again at the crossroads as it was at the hands of Sophists, and we seriously need another Socrates to define the terns, and another Aristotle to put philosophy on its true and proper footings in order to render it genuine once again — a discipline which is worth studying as an independent and genuine intellectual endeavour.

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BOOK REVIEW

The Big Lie
By: Thierry Meyssan
Published by: Carnot Publications
Price: Rs. 950 Pages: 235

The destruction of world trade center twin towers on 11 September 2001 was literally an earthshaking event for the Americans. It has cast a deep imprint on the overall psyche of American people. The aerial hijacking of several large airliners, full of fuel and passengers, and their subsequent suicidal crashing into the tallest and arguably the most famous office blocks in the world, right in the center of New York City, and follow-up crashing of the aircraft into the side of the Pentagon building; the world famous headquarters of the mightiest military force in the history of mankind were almost beyond the stuff of fiction. The planning of the event, its timing and execution, even two years after the deadly happenings is still wrapped in deep mystery. The US media has attributed these events to Al-Qaeda. Al-Qaeda has not accepted the planning and the execution of these kamakazi attacks.

These events predictably triggered a most venomous and angry backlash by the Americans. They arrogated universal hegemonic powers to themselves. Attacked and destroyed Afghanistan and much of the Iraq. Killed, captured or forced into hiding the members of the Taliban government of Afghanistan who had no connections with the hijacked airliners. Saddam Hussain, the Iraqi dictator, his clique and the family along with much of his country and its rich oilfields are American hostages. Yet again Connection with the hijackers again are definitely not established.

The events themselves and the American muscle flexing in the U.N.O, NATO , E.U, South Asia and as far away as Japan did much to take away the world attention from identifying the perpetrators of these attacks and instead managed to refocus the world's attention on the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq .

Who perpetrated this stream of murderous events, what was their objective and will they ever be identified and put before justice; has never been addressed directly. So far all evidence, if one call it so, leading towards any realistic conclusion is speculative; and at best indirect and

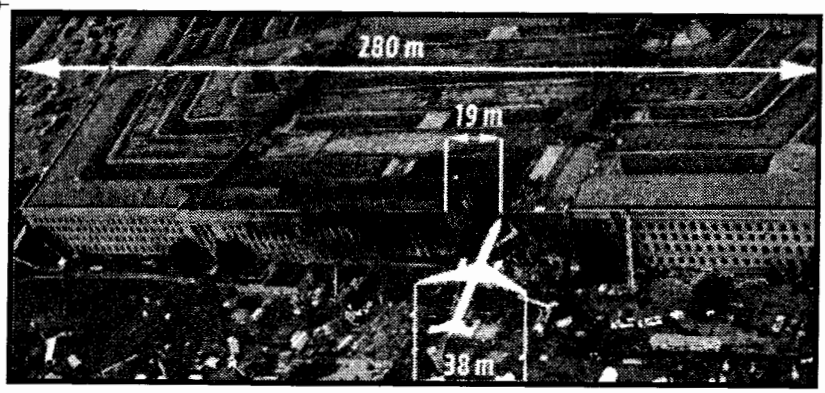
circumstantial. Osama bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda group are accused, yet without any proof.

This has led to the inevitable conspiracy theories to justify the events of September 11, 2001 now simply known as "9/11" events. This book gives a different perspective to the events as against when it is not routinely and commonly accepted as "an obvious case".

Written in French, titled: L'Effroyeble Imposture (The Frightening Fraud) is translated in the English as "The Big Lie: The Pentagon plane crash that never happened" by Theirry Meyssan. The author is editor-in-chief of the monthly French magazine Maintenent. He graduated in Political Science and then worked as an international human rights expert and subsequently took up investigative journalism. Written last year in 2002, the book went on France's best seller list only in its second week of publication, and soon became, the highest numbers sold book, in one single week in Europe, ever. However in America the all powerful media either dumped it altogether or trashed it as so unbelievable that it goes beyond the flights of fancy, or at best, yet another crackpot conspiracy theory.

The events of 11 September 2001 and their follow up by the US government, with all its might and vengeance, belie the American media's contrived ignorance of this document. It says much that is to be digested with a dispassionate and open mind. All arguments are supported by documents, photographs, official statements and formal press releases easily accessible to an average reader.

His observations are uncanny and yet raise disturbingly obvious questions. Here are some to ponder. "In order to cause the greatest amount of damage, the Boeing should have dived into the Pentagon's roof..... The plane suddenly approached the ground, as if to land. While remaining horizontal, it came down almost vertical, without damaging the lights along the high-way that runs by the Pentagon Parking lot, either through direct impact or the back wash of its passage. Only one lamp post in the parking lot itself was cut down..... Despite its weight (a hundred tons) and its speed (between 250 and 440 mph), the plane only destroyed the first ring of the building. This can be seen quite distinctly in the photo below.



The author also includes appropriate description of the Boeing 757-200 air liner: "155 feet long, wing span 125 feet, with two massive and powerful jet engines of hardened steel, speed 560 mph". Applying this knowledge upon the Department of Defense (DOD) satellite photograph of the damaged Pentagon site, if one super imposes the plane's outline onto the satellite photo below, it can be seen that only the nose of the Boeing entered the building. The fuselage and the wings remained out side. The plane was stopped dead, without its wing having struck the façade. There is no visible trace of any impact except from the Boeing's nose.. We should thus be able to see the wings and the fuselage outside." Then the author goes on to describe that there are no marks of the wings or the high revving hardened steel jet engines striking the Pentagon side whatsoever." As to the so called eye witnesses he writes, "Not withstanding the respect owed to the high rank of the "eye witnesses" – including military officers and members of Congress – it is impossible to swallow such nonsense". A little further on he says, "Numerous people, who were in their cars on the highway running alongside the Pentagon, heard the sound of a plane passing overhead. This sound was shrill, like that of a fighter aircraft, not a commercial airliner. Some said they saw this aircraft. They then described it as a small plane that might have contained eight to twelve persons, not a Boeing 757". And then comes the observation deduced from the evidence. All of this testimony and these observations could correspond with the firing of one of the latest generation of AGM [air to ground missile] type missiles armed with hollow charge..... and guided by GPS [global positioning system – a hi-tech homing device]. This kind of weapon does indeed look like a small civilian airplane, but is not a plane at all; in fact it is a cruise missile. And then the author drops the dreaded verbal

bombshell. "This attack could only be committed by United States Military personnel against other U.S. military personnel. How else can one explain that the maximum havoc caused on the building is only by the hollow, lightly built fuselage of the airplane and the dense, fast rotating, hot and big engines [of steel] have left so impact or residual wreckage. The large and relatively more solid wings – 125 feet wide and full of highly volatile aviation fuel have left no trace of contact or imprint or the post contact metal residue on the crash site. This has no precedence in aviation crash investigations history. Where did the engines and the wings disappear?

Next, Meyssan looks at the devastation of the huge twin towers of the world trade centre. What strikes the reader most is, how can semi trained (on light aircraft only) almost ab-initio pilots of foreign extract, handle, navigate and manovoure with extreme precision three huge, cumbersome hi-jacked airliners with such absolute accuracy on an almost ideal day for this sort of havoc. The author is well aware of the U.S. military's mastery of gadgetry. He describes the episodes of mid-sixties era when large jetliners were modified to fly, by remote control to achieve certain objectives. In early 21st century the same technology is advanced enough to guide a high speed, law-flying vehicle to fly several hundred miles and hit a target with deadly accuracy within few centimeter of the bulls eye. Any one who saw the horrific and live T.V. transmission where the second Boeing airliner strikes the south tower of the World Trade Centre, can not help but marvel at the deadly accurate flight path corrections the heavy aircraft made to hit the target. Could there have been a ground controlled beam guiding an empty airplane to hit the towers repeatedly. If so where could this device be located? Unexplained destruction of some unhit nearby buildings adds considerable weight to these thoughts to further develop this line of thinking.

As to the motives of such cowardly deeds, Meysson asks a simple question. Who would benefit from such a deed – certainly no one sitting in the far off caves, in a semi nomadic country almost living in the medieval era. But then what about the "Military Industrial Complex" that president Eisenhower, himself a former 5 star general spoke so passionately about, towards the twilight days of his second presidency.

Just 2 years after the fateful events of 9/11, when the US is the sole hyper power, unchallenged in its political and military might for well over a decade, is still spending more money on its "Military Industrial Complex" than the rest of the world defense spending combined. Hence

the question – who benefited?

A quick look at the world stage following the 9/11, does illuminate some other pointers also.

The US bases in the Central Asia Republics of Azerbyjan, Tajakistan, Kyrghazistan and Uzbeckistan show a dramatic appearance of US military might which has strategically encircled the largest undeveloped ,known reserves of hydro carbon energy in the world right in the back yard of the former USSR. (Does any one need a reminder as to who was the nemesis to the USSR?) The subsequent conquest of Afghanistan – an essential territory to lay the shortest pipe line for this huge energy reservoir to reach the warm waters. The conquest of Iraq inspite of absolutely no proof of weapons of mass destruction (even the death of a British non supportive expert scientist in the field), no proof of contacts between Osama – bin – Laden and Saddam Hussain makes one wonder what triggered this Juggernaut of unprovoked vengeance and destruction? Even an unbeliever hesitates to outrightly reject the idea that the fateful (oh how apt even an old cliché can become) events of 9/11 have a long and hidden history of supreme secrecy, with a predictable future – all involving the "Military Industrial Complex" and the unchallenged ambitions of the US to perpetuate what has become yet another old chiche' – the American way of life.

The Bush administration's acknowledged reluctance to cooperate with the inevitable congressional investigation Committee for the 9/11 Events and subsequently creating ever increasing layers of secrecy in an otherwise self proclaimed "open society", against its own citizens, raises several questions:-

- Would the attack on Iraq and the capture of its rich oil fields be justifiable without the events of 9/11 taking place.
- Would the attack on Afghanistan be acceptable to the world without this event?
- Would US the sole superpower have a plausible reason to increase its military budget to the astronomical levels – with no discernable enemies, without reference to the events that were triggered by 9/11 [Over 2 trillion dollars in the next 5 years].
- What happened to tower 7? A building separate from the twin towers and standing firm, well after the attacks. Could this have been the base from where the Boeing jet liners got their navigational guidance? And therefore it was destroyed to cover

up any leftover evidence of homing devices that were used to guide the airliners?

- The senior members of the Bush administration (including Bush Sr.) have benefited immensely from the events and post event happenings of 9/11. In some cases, as in the Carlyle Group, the links of Bush family are clearly connected with the bin-Laden family.
- The initial estimates of the death toll in the twin towers ranged from 20,000 to 30,000 persons. The final figure is less than 2800 persons. Who initiated the internet warning to all, offices in the towers only few hours prior to the catastrophe?
- The unusual going ons in the stock exchange especially with reference to the aviation industry and the targeted airlines is too much of a coincidence to go unnoticed. Where is the follow up to the investigation.
- Inspite of direct hits on the towers, the buildings imploded upon themselves. The rescue workers and firemen heard unexplained explosions at the lower floors, just the mechanism to cause the building to fall upon itself. This aspect needs much digging into and yet has never been talked or much written about. Simply buried forever?
- And finally where is the air plane? Especially the one which hit the side of the Pentagon?

There is much more in this small volume that provides a slightly different perspective to the shady events of the past in the U.S. history. Be they, a part of the Cuban affair [a la' brothers Castro] or the Kennedy assassination or several other curious but unexplained small events of the US military history. They seem to form an invisible link to these most unusual events which cast such a profound impact upon much of the unsuspecting mankind. No wonder this book is reviled in the US establishment at all levels and yet had the highest sales ever in one week in Europe. Perhaps the true story of the events of 9/11, 2001 is yet to be written.

A.M.K

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