The Baily Star

Founder-Editor: Late S. M. Ali

Dhaka Monday, July 27, 1998 Waters Still on the Rise

It was a rather dry day all over the country on Saturday. And yet 13 more districts were engulfed and 21 more people were drowned. And the situation in the already swamped districts, particularly in towns and cities, worsened. Reports forecast further deterioration, even if there is only a dry-todrizzle condition. For fresh rush of water continues in all the major rivers - Padma, Jamuna, Meghna and Teesta. If it rains in the upper basins, things will go beyond all help.

There at Kaptai on the Karnaphuli is a coffer dam, made wholly of earth, that gives us hydel power. Care is taken every year to see that its 16 spillways discharge enough water in good time so that water cannot overflow it. Otherwise the whole structure will be swept away - and a literal doomsday will overtake the region. All its spillways but one have been opened three feet and the remaining one a foot and a half, discharging 54 thousand cubic feet of water per second. On the other side of the dam or the reservoir lake water level has climbed 13 feet over normal to 100.42 feet. Opening the spillways further to save the dam will result in devastation of a size not seen in independent Bangladesh. At Chandpur the blocks of the protection embankment have been crossed by the surging water and it is feared if it continues its grip, all that has been done at a very high cost, will be damaged to no end.

Barring a few important highways, all major roads of the nation and some rail-links have submerged — and numerous dams and bunds breached. It will be a picture of unserviceable devastation that will emerge of our communication network all over Bangladesh when the water will recede.

In the crowded milieu of catastrophe, the problems of Dhaka are easily skipped over. What happened to the protection embankment? Is the incomplete thing dead? What was the big idea behind it really? Shutting the rest of flooded Bangladesh out? By dams and pumps, but why? It is a far better approach to build and raise all roads above the 1955 or '88 flood-level and mildly prod the house builders to build on that level. This will set a radical new initiative in land development and housing in the lowlying areas of the city.

The bottom-line is: if you cannot prevent such flooding prepare for minimising its consequence. Medicine and house-building material and tubewells, where the ground water is arsenic-free, must be garnered in quantities responding to the postflood needs.

Replicate UCEP

It is an amazing tale of quiet but inspiring endeavour that the cover story of Star Weekend Magazine dwelt on in its last issue: Underprivileged Children's Educational Programme or UCEP as it is popularly known. For little over 25 years it has come to build relentlessly on the idea that is being increasingly deemed as the only key to come out of the prison of poverty for a resource constrained overpopulated country like Bangladesh. UCEP has been engaged in developing the only endowment we have in plenty: human resources.

Born out of a study conducted by the Institute of Social Welfare and Research, Dhaka University back in 1970 and shaped by Allen Cheyne, the late social worker from New Zealand, and Ahmedullah Mia, the current executive director of the UCEP, the programme has really turned into a lighthouse of sorts. Admired both at home and abroad, UCEP basically comprises four components - general school, vocational education, training and job placement. This is pragmatic approach to education at its simplest and best. Almost every sentient citizen now recognises what a monumental blunder it has been to be focused only on the idea of education as the highest degree from the university. All we have got for our myopia and vanity about higher education is the curse of unemployment and economic hardship. An institution that has given new lease of life to many like Khadija of Khulna who would have otherwise been lost or at best become unwanted burden to the society UCEP demands replication by its sheer effectuality. We are proud of UCEP and want its impressive enrollment figure of 20000 to serve as an inspiration for the government to give it cash giants and help replicate the success story.

Truth Across the Border

The heightened Indian fundamentalist campaign against alleged Bangladeshi infiltrators has run into rough weather with the Left Front government in West Bengal and the Shiv Sena-BJP ruling coalition in Maharashtra locking their horns on the issue. Were it not for an actual move by the Maharashtran government to put groups of Bengali-speaking people from Bombay into trains headed for Haridaspur border with Bangladesh via West Bengal under police escort, the windmill of truth would not have perhaps moved inside India so quickly.

Their attempted deportation to Bangladesh has been resisted by none other than the government and people of West Bengal sparing us the need to do it ourselves. The West Bengal government says that most of the people expelled from Mumbai are not Bangladeshis, rather they are from West Bengal. Furthermore, they are 'Bengali-Speaking Indian Muslim citizens' employed in specialised trade and crafts in Bombay. At the popular level, thousands of people stopped the train carrying the allegedly illegal 35 Bangladeshi immigrants under Maharashtran police custody and freed them all.

The most forceful denunciation came from WB Chief Minister Jyoti Basu against what he described as the Mumbai police move to brand Indians as Bangladeshis and hound them out of the country. It seems judicial intervention is also coming in aid of victims of arbitrary deportation orders. A court in Calcutta has prevented Indian authorities from deporting three people to Bangladesh.

Let the bogey be contained on that side of the border without causing any prejudice to the improving relations between Bangladesh and India.

Coping with the Changing Realities | Informational Efficiency in the Stock Market

Bangladesh is no more a defender's paradise; neither is it an attacker's nightmare. The impregnable maginot line protecting our vital ground is already breached. This reality will have to be the point of departure in evolving our new defence policy.

ANGLADESH has long been considered a defender's paradise. We were fed on the myth by Pakistanis who, during their rule, held this area thinly with their military. Even historically neither the Mauryas nor the Mughals, with their imperial spread, could effectively penetrate into Bengal. Awed by its large rivers and incessant rains their armies bogged down in the treacherous ground of one of the largest deltas of the world. Indeed, its terrain. topography and climate provided essential ingredients of a setting ideal for the defence of a country. It is not surprising that before the advent of British, Bengal retained its near

sovereign status. Our numerous rivers, waterbodies and marshlands gave a series of defensive lines to slowdown, halt and repulse the intruders. The country's adequate forest and tropical vegetation provided sufficient cover and concealment to hide military objectives from enemies' view. Its inhospitable monsoon months with torrential downpour and floods had been disincentive to potential aggressors. The rather constricted landscape of the country and its soft alluvial soil restricted the maneuverability of the superior forces. A poor state of road networks throughout

the country allowed little mobility for any advancing force. All these disadvantages when combined could make the enemy cost-conscious about their enterprise.

The 'Dhaka bowl' - the vital ground of our defence, was even more formidably protected. Three of the world's mightiest rivers — the Padma, the Brahmaputra and the Meghna effectively cordoned it off. They formed an impregnable 'maginot line' by providing two arms of an irregular triangle just below the country's most sensitive nerve centre. Although its northern side was obstacle free there were beautiful defensive positions also there. For any aggressor, to penetrate these lines of defence could be a nightmare.

The country is now bereft of those topographical and physiological advantages. Over the years a series of metamorphoses in its physical features have drastically altered the country's military landscape. A pervasive change has taken place in the country's ecology distorting its hydrological cycle and climatic pattern. The distribution of rainfall has now become more skewed both spatially and seasonally causing shorter period of monsoon and longer spell of

dry season. Damming of the rivers upstream has deprived them of their perennial flows and many of their tributaries have atrophied due to climatic change. Marshland and similar other water bodies have dried up. These changes have improved mobility across country and allowed tactical maneuverability. Earlier, Bangladesh was not considered fit for tank warfare and deployment of heavy artillery. Now, considerable area of the country has become tankable while longrange artillery can be deployed and redeployed at ease. All these are boon for offensive action but create problems for defence planner.

The forest cover of the country has dwindled from 20 per cent during early 1960s to bare 7 per cent now. The groundwater level has sunken deeper due to prolonged drought. It does not allow wild growth of vegetation as before. As a result the country has turned almost barren. The

consequent disappearance of covers and concealment affect the defenders more adversely. The nature has lifted the veil that covered Bangladesh for ages and exposed her to ulterior motives from external sources.

In the meantime the country's communication system has revolutionised by our standard. The road networks have been tremendously improved. Any desired destination has now been made approachable with wheeled transportation. This has gradually removed the haze of remoteness from our countryside and even the nook and corner of the country enjoy, to an extent, an exposure to outside world. During the post-liberation period, apart from restoring the road and railway bridges destroyed during the war the new bridges have come up interconnecting the regions and the country's metropolis. The ferries throughout the country have been provided with powercraft.

The mighty Meghna was already bridged up at more than one point. Now the opening up of BJMB across the Brahmaputra, the most turbulent of our river systems, is by any reckoning the most revolutionary event of our national life. It has brought us right on the highway of the world. Once the forthcoming Padma Bridge would be

vehicular PERSPECTIVES and also perrisscross the whole country by Brig (Rtd) M Abdul Hafiz whole country and beyond virtually unhin-

commissioned

opments cannot however be without their farreaching effects on every sphere of our national life. But the most profound will perhaps be their military implication. A reappraisal of those implications is bound to call for a great deal of rethinking, reorientation and adjustments in our defence posture as well as efforts in term of weapons, equipment and training. One thing is clear that Bangladesh is no more a defender's paradise; neither is it an attacker's nightmare. The impregnable maginot line protecting our vital ground is already breached. This reality will have to be the point of departure in evolving our new defence policy.

The country's defence has not been without its problems even earlier when Bangladesh, by virtue of its inherent physical advantages, was easier to defend. Most of the problems stemmed from the country's size and public psychology. Being a small entity without much geographical depth each inch of its territory mattered. So, one could not leave vast chunk of territory ahead and sit back in an ideal defensive position in the rear. That explains why in spite of many advantages a forward defence for Bangladesh was a preferred choice also during Pakistan period when the occupation forces adopted the same choice. In present conditions, it is perhaps an overwhelming imperative. The trading of space for time is possible only for vast countries like Russia with enormous depth. There are other reasons why river obstacles guarding Dhaka could not be relied upon as guarantor of its defence. Any modern Army today is known to have sufficient vertical envelopment capability. The fall of Dhaka starkly proved the point in 1971.

Either Meghna-Gumti Bridge or BJMB is both a great boon to our economy as well as challenge to our military security. Our national leadership ought to be seized with the problem which must be addressed in due earnestness and with a sense of urgency. Our patriotic people are sure to be behind any effort in that direction.

Once the appropriate laws and regulatory orders are in place and implemented effectively, the deviants will be punished and the law-abiding actors will be rewarded in the market automatically.

INSIGHT

Kabir U Ahmad

VERYONE understands that information plays the most crucial role in the stock market. It is essential for taking rational decision by issuers, brokers and dealers as well as investors of all classes - whether small.

medium or large. Any intentional or unintentional misinformation about the values of the stocks and their associated risks can create havocs in the market. All relevant information, therefore, have to be strictly correct and undistorted and made available to all players in the market truthfully and in a least-cost manner.

This is informational efficiency. If this is violated, then instead of serving the purpose of mobilising capital for socio-economic development, the stock market will be a drag on the economy. This is what Bangladesh has been experiencing over the last two years or so. Therefore, the fundamental principle of obtaining truthful information from, and disseminating it to, all participants in the stock market has to be upheld at all possible costs. And it has to be done most efficiently (i.e. at the least possible cost) without any let or hindrance and without any fear or favour to any quarter.

Once the appropriate laws and regulatory orders are in place and implemented effectively. the deviants will be punished and the law-abiding actors will be rewarded in the market automatically. One may ask why some investors, however law abiding they may be, lose in the stock market. The answer is that in the shortrun they may lose, but if they invest efficiently

they will definitely gain in the medium- or longrun.

However, it is in this perspective that the activities of the regulatory authorities in supervising the generation and

spread of information in the stock market have to be judged. The Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) held a lively discussion forum in Dhaka recently under the title "Disseminating Information to Investors' which was co-sponsored by both Dhaka and Chittagong Stock Exchanges.

It was interesting to hear the heads of the SEC and the two bourses, foreign consultants working with the SEC and the DSE, representative of Asian Development Bank, chairmen and leaders of both the stock exchanges, executives of various financial institutions, representatives of brokerage firms, economic and financial analysts, journalists, and above all the Finance Minister and the Finance Secretary of the Government of Bangladesh.

A wide cross-section of views on the progress of reform and development measures undertaken by the SEC and the two bourses over the last year or so, the need for dissemination of information in the market and the challenges still lying ahead have been candidly discussed. It was indeed an open forum among four interested groups of participants: the regulatory authority represented by the government and the SEC, the issuers of shares in the market, the investors or the buyers of shares, and the conscenscious upholders of public interests like the financial and economic analysts and the journalists.

It is undoubtedly a good beginning in bringing all these parties face to face in an attempt to establish the norms of "Openness", "Transparency" and "Accountability" in the business eniture in at least one small but most sensitive sector of the economy. The SEC deserves congratulations for this attempt. It should continue holding such public fora on a regular basis.

The Issues Discussed By and large, the range of issues discussed were: how to improve the transparency and accountability in the market, full disclosure on the part of the issuers, infrastructural develop-

ments and the institutional measures to

strengthen the market.

The SEC Chairman reported that the two bourses have recently adopted clearance and settlement regulations that are in line with the G-30 recommendation, the CSE has already commenced automated trading approximately a month ago in three different cities of the country, the DSE has completed the installation of its automated system and has commenced training of its staff and members on the new system, the CSE and the DSE have allowed foreign brokers to become members of their exchanges and the SEC is recommending FULL DISCLOSURE POL-ICY as opposed to the previous MERIT REVIEW

POLICY to the new issuers to satisfy the stan-

dard maintained in the outside world in issuing

Further, he also reported that the SEC has recently forwarded a draft legislation to the Government of Bangladesh on CENTRAL DE-POSITORY SYSTEM (CDS) which has to be passed in the parliament.

However, when one listens to the discussions of these issues one observes the attempts made by both the regulatory authorities and the leaders of the bourses in bringing about important structural reforms to introduce greater efficiency in the stock market.

This is a very healthy sign. It is like the attempts made by economies when they go through major recessions or depressions to bring about their structural and institutional efficiencies so that market players can feel confident in the economy and start investing more vigorously. Given this and the government's appropriate monetary and fiscal policies, the economy gradually begins to move towards the phase of upswing.

The Bangladesh stock market has been depressed for the last two years and there is definitely a vital need for all-round reorganisation and restructuring of the market institutions so as to bring about confidence in the minds of the investors. The attempts made so far seem to be piecemeal and lack overall policy coordina-

tion. It is worth drawing attention to a few. First, the ruling real interest rate in the market is rather high which seems to be discouraging small- and medium-sized investors and hence new IPOs are not forthcoming in large

numbers. Second, the rate of riskless return on investment in government's Saving Certificates is high compared to the risky investin the ment shares in the stock market.

Third, for some reason or other, the merchant banks including the government owned Investment Corporation of Bangladesh (ICB) are

not investing in the stock market. There is a need for a thorough research and analysis of these and other factors which are impeding the participation of investors in the

Issues Not Discussed

There are a number of vital issues that were not discussed in course of that public forum. First, one got the impression from the nature of the discussion that if the issuing companies make full (even if truthful) disclosure of their financial positions, then investors will rush to invest their money in their shares. There is a dark spot here between the information given out by the companies and corporations and the investors' ability to choose these lines of investments.

There is a need for collecting many other information about the company and analysing those information before the investors can decide to invest. For example, in addition to the financial statements of the company (the integrity of which needs to be checked), one has to find information about its future plan of expansion or contraction, whether it is under a take-over bid or whether it is bidding other companies. whether it has any internal efficiency promoting measures ready for implementation. whether it is operating in the competitive or duopoly /oligopoly market either on the product or on the input purchase side and the general market climate etc.

All these and other relevant information have to be collected and analysed with risk and then classify as a class A, class B or class C company which will create information about its worth. Only then an investor will be in a better position to decide. This kind of information processing work cannot be done by all potential investors, it has to be done by the brokerage firms. It is the brokerage firms which do these work and present the investors with their recommendations to purchase or not to purchase.

There is a need for training the young analysts of the brokerage firms to do such analysis Otherwise, investors will be carried away by rumours and hearsay and be victims of repeated debacles in the market.

The next important point that was not discussed was why no legal follow-up has been seen so far of the manipulators of the 1996 debacle. Unless ordinary people see that justice is done, and the legal loopholes are plugged properly, confidence will not return to the market, no matter what technological and structural reforms are introduced in the machinery of the

Death of Rubel

Sir. Five plain clothed DB men apprehended a talented BBA student from the street and allegedly tortured him to death. According to them, he was picked up because they suspected he had a firearm in his possession.

This is not an isolated incident, and it seems that the law enforcement officials in Bangladesh have become the number-one threat to public safety. Just the other day an OC of the Uttara thana was caught violating an woman at her own house, where he had gone to investigate a case. Everyday newspapers are filled with stories of such brutality being committed by the people who are in charge of protecting us from acts of crime.

The American constitution gives every citizen the right to bear arms, to defend themselves from tyranny. It looks the people in Bangladesh also need to start carrying handguns to defend themselves from the thugs in uniforms

who are terrorizing them. I would also like to draw the attention of the Prime Minister and ask her: What if it was your

Harun Mani USA

University's tuition fees

Sir, For God's sake, stop agitating the students, who are our assets and pride. If the quality of University education is to be ensured by our government, the present fees should be increased to provide the students with the facilities of quality education to meet our national requirements in the

Good education means a good amount of money in our times. Many of our people spend lots of money for their sons, daughters and wards to study abroad and look forward to seeing them well-placed in real life either at home or abroad. Let us see that VC and University teachers are strong enough to motivate the students to implement the policy of increasing tuition fees with effect from the next academic year.

Abul Ashraf Noor Uttara, Dhaka

An idea that doesn't concern people

Sir, The opposition leader had been claiming that BNP built the BJMB bridge and AL is taking the credit for it. Not that I support the idea of the sudden name-change, but I oppose the idea of wasting valuable time

and money on a topic which really doesn't concern majority of the people.

The locals of Tangail are more than happy to have the 11th longest bridge in the world at their doorstep. Whether the name of the bridge changes from Tom. Dick to Harry doesn't bother them a bit. Just because the name of the bridge is after the father of the nation, doesn't necessarily mean that the family members of Bangabandhu will get the toll-free. Tell us Madame Zia, if it really was first dreamt by Shiekh Mujib, implemented during BNP's regime, continued through Ershad's regime and concluded during the AL's regime, then are we to call it — Bangabandhu-Zia-Ershad-Zia-Hasina Jamuna Multipurpose Bridge? This might prove too much of a mouthful, doesn't it?

Shagor Dhaka.

Tax system

Sir, This refers to an article written by MT Hossain titled "Withholding tax system for income tax and refunds: Law and realities" in the DS on the 16th instant. The writer has expressed his past experience and I think it is a lesson for the present generation. We expect more articles from him about the subject from his past experience for our future guidance and details about new introduction of Section 82c this year.

Being an executive, I have seen many payment certificates stating that tax has been deducted without deposit of taxes. In such cases when the officer verify it and finds out no tax has been deposited, then the party has to pay penal taxes in addition to due taxes. In government cases, tax is adjusted and it is difficult to verify whether tax is credited in cases of PWD, R&H, military deptt etc. Therefore, we request the NBR for wide circulation about the matter in the national dailies regularly as lessons for

M Ali Dhaka.

the tax-payers.

Registration of birth and death

Sir. We are not aware as to which authority maintains birth and death record in our country. We however know that when a child is born in a government hospital or in a private clinic or when a person dies, the hospital/clinic authority issues the necessary certificates. We also know that the munfcipal authority makes necessary entries in a register when a person is buried at a municipal graveyard. But what about the overall situation of

our country, when a child is born at home or in a remote village, when a dead body is not buried in a municipal grave-

tration of birth and death and issuance of necessary certificates thereof cannot be ignored We would suggest that henceforth with effect from 1st Jan-

uary 1999 the registration of

The importance of the regis-

birth and death in our country may be made in the Union Council/Ward Commissioners' offices concerned. Would the Ministry o

Health and Planning, Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of LGRD kindly co-operate and co-ordinate among one-another and take necessary steps regarding the matter for greater national interest?

O H Kabir 6. Hare Street, Wari. Dhaka-1203

SOFA under study

Sir. These days no nation can live in isolation. Because of the existing rules of international diplomacy and politics smaller states cannot be swallowed by the big states. The proposed understanding between Bangladesh and the United States should not create any fuss. It is a pity that most of the educated men and "Jinen of our country in most cases try to judge and assess a subject and its implication in the negative sense for which we cannot take a right decision at the right moment. As a result, we suffer a

lot at the national level. We must accept the truth that we are a brave nation. Our people can face any natural calamity or man-made crisis with strength courage and fortitude. It is indeed a unique and distinctive quality of our people. Since today's world is a global village, one should try to assess all global matters in the positive sense to help support the efforts of smaller nations to overcome their distress and pangs with the assistance of the big states.

In fact, the SOFA aims at promoting the spirit of humanitarian efforts of the highest order for the cause of mankind. Keeping this in view, the signing of SOFA cannot be treated as a subject of controversy among ourselves.

Abul Ashraf Noor Uttara, Dhaka-1230

Can you help?

Sir. I would like to congratulate personally every individual of the group of 1001 who recently performed a noble public service. Where to get their addresses?

"1002" Dhaka.

Pathans and Pakistan

I was amused to read the reply of Dr. Fakhruddin Ahmed (Letter from America) to the letter of HE Karam Elahi, High Commissioner of Pakistani. correcting Dr. Ahmed's earlier comment that the Pathans were coerced into joining Pakistan. In his reply. Dr. Ahmed justified his remark by referring to the book he read authored by Khan Abdul Wali Khan, son of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Having read the book about 10 years ago, I have forgotten the name but I think it was "Not the Whole Truth" or "Half Truth." I shall be happy if some reader kindly corrects me.

IPOs (Initial Public Offerings).

OPINION

Dr. Ahmed did not elaborate who forced the Pathans into opting for Pakistan. Were they non Pathans, Mountbatten or people from other provinces!

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, father of Wali Khan, the writer of the book Dr Ahmed refers to, was conferred with the title of "Frontier Gandhi" by the Indian Congress leaders for his anti-Muslim League and, by inference, anti-Pakistan role. He along with his brother Dr. Khan Saheb, were leaders of pro-Congress Red Shirt group and naturally they did not want people of NWFP to join Pakistan. In May 1947 the Khan brothers insisted that, if the partition of India was the only solution to her political problem, the Pathans should be free to have their own independent state in collaboration with the brethren across the border. (VB Kulkarni, Pakistan: Its Origin and Relation with India, Academic Publishers, Dhaka, p

After the plan for the country's partition was published on June 3, 1947, Dr. Khan Saheb, who was then premier of NWFP said on 26th June 1947 that since it had been decided to separate his province from India. the only rightful course "left for us is to have separate sovereign state of our own" (ibid, p 102). As far back as 1929, Khan

by Emran A Beg Abdul Gaffar Khan had started a powerful but entirely non-violent movement called the Khu-

dai Khetmargars whose objective was to promote unity amongst the Pathans. Since they used to wear Red Shirts as their uniform they were also known as Surkhposhan or Red Shirts. Sir Olaf Caroe, the last Governor of NWFP in his book, "The Pathans" called these Red Shirts as "Shock troopers" (Sir Olaf Caroe, The Pathans, McMillan & Co Ltd. p431). Their function was to intimidate people into their way of think-

Wali Khan's contention that the Pathans were coerced into voting for Pakistan will perhaps be dispelled by following observation made by Alan Campbell Johnson in his book/diary named Mission with Mountbatten. In his entry for 15th April, 1947 on page 65 he writes, "Sir Olaf Caroe, speaking about the North West Frontier, which at the moment seems to be the point of most acute political crisis, wants an election. Dr. Khan Saheb, the Premier who with his more famous brother Abdul Gaffar Khan, "the Frontier Gandhi", leads the pro Congress Red Shirt group, does not. All the pro-Muslim League Moslems who would stand to gain most from an election are in goal." One could ask why pro-Muslim League Moslems were put in jail by a Congress led Premier, uncle of Wali Khan. By reading his book Dr. Fakhruddin Ahmed concluded that the Pathans were coerced into voting for

Pakistan? In his entry for 28th April 1947. Campbell Johnson further writes in page 74 of the same book about Mountbatten's visit to Peshawar. He writes about "an immense Moslem League demonstration less than a mile away which was to place its grievance before the Viceroy

and was ready to risk breaking the law by forming a procession and marching on Government

Mountbatten was advised by Caroe and the Premier to face the demonstrators and show himself without any delay. Mountbatten drove towards the crowd and looked down upon the vast concourse gathered at Cunningham Park and stretching away into distant fields. There was much gesticulation and waving of innumerable but illegal green flags with white crescent of Pakistan, accompanied by steady chant of "Pakistan Zindabad.

Now does this look like coercion for Pakistan?

Pathans are fiercely independent nation and none could force them to act against their wish. The British found this to their peril when they tried to subjugate them and bring them under Indian Law. A number of battles took place over a period, but they failed and finally had to have separate law for the Frontier Province conforming to tribal tradition entitled "Frontier Crimes Regulations" which was enforced by the Political Agent on behalf of the Viceroy through Tribal Jirga. Sir Olaf again writes in his book "it is hard to see how the Pathan tradition could reconcile itself for long to Hindu leadership, by so many regarded as smooth-faced pharisaical and double-dealing. How then could he have associated himself with a party under Indian, even Brahmin, inspira tion?" (ibid p433) He correctly read the Pathan character and this was proved on 15th August 1947 after the plebiscite, when with every sign of enthusiasm Frontier Province became part

Perhaps it would have been prudent to read more than one book before making an authoritative comment on a historical event based on writings or opinion of an interested individual.

of Pakistan.