

JPRS-NEA-92-004
16 JANUARY 1992



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JPRS Report

Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN

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SPRINGFIELD, VA 22161

Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Government Incapable of Compromise With U.S.

92AS0335A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 15 Nov 91 p 5

[Editorial: "Proposed Pakistan-United States Negotiations"]

[Text] For some time, news about bilateral talks between the United States and Pakistan has been circulating. According to this news, the problem of reinstatement of U.S. economic aid to Pakistan would be discussed. U.S. Ambassador Nicholas Platt has also given some details of the proposed talks. According to him, General Hoover, commander-in-chief of the U.S. Central Command, and Mr. Bartholomew, the U.S. under-secretary for international security affairs, will be arriving in Islamabad next week. The two U.S. officials will hold talks with the prime minister and the chief of army staff in Islamabad. They will discuss the present developments between the two countries and the problem of nuclear energy. The government of Pakistan has not issued any statement about this yet. Therefore, all kinds of rumors are being circulated, and the Pakistani people are wondering about the purpose of this visit by the high military official and the under-secretary. U.S. aid has been suspended since 1 October 1990; however, the people of Pakistan are satisfied, and they have never been discouraged. The nation has decided now that it will not extend its hand for charity, and that it will follow the policy of self-sufficiency in order to make the nation prosperous. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif reminds us of this goal in every speech. The government has continually given the impression that Pakistan's development plans have not been affected by the suspension of U.S. economic aid or the Gulf crisis. At a time when the government and the people have determined that they will continue their journey without any foreign aid, why are we holding these talks with the United States of America? It is possible that this is being done because of the international conspiracy against Pakistan and the present government.

The countries that the United States considers to be against the interests of its so-called "new world order" include China, Iran, and Pakistan. The United States fears that there might be some sort of alliance among these three countries. Therefore, in order to sabotage unity efforts among these three countries, the United States might try to give birth to misunderstanding among them. Therefore, the Pakistani Government should be on the alert and careful. If it compromises national prestige and self-respect and accepts U.S. aid, it would be making a major blunder. Nawaz Sharif's government would face a serious crisis, and the people of Pakistan will not tolerate the compromise of their nuclear program or national interests for U.S. economic aid.

Editorial Expresses Hope for End of U.S. 'Discrimination'

92AS0404A Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu
23 Nov 91 p 10

[Editorial: "New Understanding Between Pakistan and United States"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Mr. Bartholomew, the U.S. deputy secretary of state, said that the United States has no desire to establish India's supremacy in this region, and that it does not only want to maintain its 40-year friendship with Pakistan, but also enhance it. He expressed this assurance yesterday while meeting with President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in Islamabad. The Pakistani president welcomed the assurance by the U.S. representative and declared it very encouraging. The U.S. deputy secretary of state and General Hoover, commander in chief of the American central command, spent three days in Islamabad and met with important Pakistani officials as well as the president and Prime Minister Mohammed Nawaz Sharif. During these meetings to discuss important issues between the two countries, it was clear that Pakistan would not compromise its national defense and pride for the sake of U.S. friendship and benefits related to it. Pakistan is not willing to accept any conditions connected with its national defense and independence, even for the sake of U.S. aid. It does not want to risk its independence and defense. Pakistan's president and prime minister told the U.S. envoys that Pakistan desires U.S. friendship, but that it will not ignore its own national interests for this friendship. They also stated that Pakistan would not accept any conditions affecting its independence and national defense. As for the issue of Pakistan's nuclear program, both the president and the prime minister said directly that they would not accept a discriminatory attitude in this context. The president told the American general that Pakistan respects the laws passed by the United States about it, but that the United States should also respect Pakistan's independence and autonomy. The prime minister also clearly told the U.S. deputy secretary that Pakistan will not accept any discriminatory restrictions on its atomic program. The prime minister repeated Pakistan's firm commitment to keep South Asia free of nuclear weapons, and said that Pakistan would consider working in this area. He also mentioned his suggestion to the U.S. deputy secretary of state about the five-nation conference. This proposal asks for a conference including the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Pakistan, and India to decide about making South Asia nuclear free. All countries except India have endorsed this proposal. The prime minister emphasized to the U.S. representative the need to pressure India to give a positive response to this very important proposal. The prime minister told the U.S. representative plainly that Pakistan would accept only a regional decision about its nuclear atomic program, stating that if atomic problems are not solved on a regional basis, no other approach will be helpful.

The assurance given by the U.S. deputy secretary of state to Pakistan's president regarding India's supremacy in the region is praiseworthy. The people of Pakistan express fear that the United States is conspiring to establish India's supremacy in this region. The United States is supplying India with weapons in huge quantities, and in spite of India's nuclear program, it continues to provide aid to India. It has stopped aid to Pakistan, even though our nuclear program is for peaceful purposes. These are all indicators of the U.S. "conspiracy." The U.S. deputy

secretary has clearly said, "The United States does not favor the establishment of India's supremacy in this region." We pray the United States respects its representative's words and follows up on these. India, which has always been in the Soviet camp and opposed to the United States, should not be given preferential treatment over Pakistan. We hope that the United States will not help India color its dreams of supremacy in this region. In this context, the fears expressed by Pakistan's leadership, government, and people are not imaginary; they are real. A few incidents from the U.S.-Pakistan friendship in the past do not make us proud. If the United States continues to discriminate against Pakistan even after this assurance, and makes Pakistan the target of similarly unfair treatment, then the people of Pakistan will lose faith in U.S. claims of friendship. Pakistan is making progress, even though the U.S. aid has been stopped. During the last year, we have made progress in new ventures and development. Pakistan is making progress in the area of self-sufficiency under the leadership of Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif. Pakistan is not willing to accept discriminatory restrictions being imposed on its nuclear program. It has expressed its willingness to sign the nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty on the condition that its very powerful and nuclear bomb-blasting neighbor also signs this agreement. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has proposed that a regional solution be found to the issue, and has asked for a five-nation conference. The United States has not only accepted this proposal, but also expressed its willingness to follow up on it. In spite of all this, the United States still wants to target Pakistan in a discriminatory manner, and has the desire to establish India's supremacy in this region. If that happens, then the world will know about its promises and assurances. Pakistan will remain firm on its fair and appropriate stand, and will receive the support of the whole world.

Foreign Aid Termed 'Waste,' Self-Sufficiency Urged

92AS0404B Karachi AMN in Urdu 23 Nov 91 p 2

[Editorial: "U.S. Discrimination Against Pakistan"]

[Text] President Ghulam Ishaq Khan has expressed regret over the discriminatory attitude of the United States and has demanded that the American government prove to be a trusty friend of both its traditional and new allies. While talking with General Joseph Hoover, commander in chief of the U.S. central command, he asked him why discriminatory laws were being imposed on Pakistan. After a one-hour talk with President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, the U.S. commander in chief expressed his opinion that even though Pakistani-U.S. relations have gone through many ups and downs, and although both countries have often been disappointed with each other, basic relations would remain the same. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, while addressing the Pakistan Muslim League convention, announced that Pakistan would not accept any aid that would be detrimental to its self-respect and pride.

He repeated his promise that the government would take steps to improve the lot of the common man and stabilize

the country's economy. He said that an announcement would be made about a package plan to provide fertilizer and tractors to farmers.

The U.S. bias against Pakistan is a proven fact, and the world knows that the United States has never considered Pakistan to be a trusted friend. It has always ignored Pakistan in its times of need, and has even tried to harm it. Meanwhile, various Pakistani leaders have even ignored our own nation's interests to prove our allegiance to the United States.

Pakistan has been a member of the two U.S. military pacts, SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization] and CENTO [Central Treaty Organization], at U.S. insistence. As a member of both, the United States had the duty of taking effective steps to defend Pakistan if the latter's security and independence were threatened. When Pakistan was suddenly pushed into war in 1965, the United States, rather than providing assistance to Pakistan, even stopped supplying spare parts that were already paid for. During the 1971 war, its attitude toward Pakistan was no different. Later, when Pakistan wanted to develop self-sufficiency in the area of energy to save on importing oil and to use that money for developmental programs, the United States targeted Pakistan's nuclear program. In this context, it stopped all aid to Pakistan, based on imaginary fears. In this manner, it tried to sabotage the nation's economy. On the other end, our national leaders tried to prove our allegiance to the United States and offered clarification. Meanwhile, neighboring India, which had never supported the United States and whose leaders have never tried to hide their feelings about the United States, still has the sympathetic and supportive attitude of the United States.

The basic reason for this is that U.S. leaders know very well that Pakistan's economy has been dependent on foreign aid, and nothing can be done to make this country stand on its own feet. Pakistani leaders understand that as long as the situation persists, Pakistan will be a victim of the blackmail efforts of the United States and other nations, and it will have to accept new and discriminatory laws every day.

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif promised when he came to power that he would take effective steps to help rid the nation of dependency on foreign aid; however, during the last year of his rule, he has not taken any steps that could direct our economy toward stability and self-sufficiency. Instead, he has formed the largest cabinet in our country's history and has recruited a large army of advisers and assistants to adversely affect the national treasury. The money that could have been spent for the welfare of the people is being wasted on their salaries and fringe benefits. The government has stopped providing employment to the unemployed in order to save money, and has done so in the name of trimming the budget. At the same time, special assistants are being hired, and new luxury cars worth millions of rupees are being bought for various ministries. The people are being told of a new package that is being prepared to alleviate the situation. This is being done just to keep them quiet. In a country where more than a million

people are unemployed, the minister and other privileged persons have no reason to buy cars worth millions of rupees.

If the president and the prime minister are aware that the United States is taking advantage of Pakistan and is targeting it with discriminatory laws, then the best option for them is to manage the country without the aid of the United States and its allies. They should not waste time trying to prove faithfulness to the United States, and should instead make it clear that Pakistan can live without their aid. This cannot be done by mere talks. The full support of the nation is required for political stability, avoidance of a campaign for a no-confidence motion, and support from strong parties. It does not have to recruit an army of ministers and advisers. The government should not spend all its energy and resources to harm the opposition and its character assassination. The people cannot be kept silent for long by showing the statistics of money earned from the sale of money-producing concerns.

U.S. Attacked for Accusation of Terrorism

*92AS0333C Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
25 Nov 91 p 10*

[Editorial: "Accusation of Terrorism—New Propaganda Against Pakistan"]

[Text] The U.S. deputy secretary of state told the Indian foreign minister that Pakistan was supporting terrorism in Kashmir and Punjab against India. The U.S. deputy secretary said that he had insisted during the talks with Pakistan that it quit its terrorist activities. Pakistan is being repeatedly accused of helping terrorists. The truth is that Pakistan has no interest in East Punjab. This problem was started by the Indian Government, and with time, the Indian government itself has further complicated these affairs. It is obvious that when Indira Gandhi's government, at her order, sent heavy artillery into Darbar Sahib, the holiest shrine in Amritsar, India became involved in a horrible act of murder and gore. There is no way that Pakistan could be responsible. Pakistan never told Indira Gandhi to initiate this attack. This problem belongs wholly to the Indian Government and its treatment of minorities. Not only the Sikh minority, but Muslim minorities are also being targeted in India. The Hindu Mahasabha is fully showing its true colors in connection with the Babri Masjid. The prejudicial attitude of the Indian Government is evident in Assam, Nagaland, and Gurkhaland. If anybody is to blame, then it is the Indian government and its treatment of its minorities. In response to the Indian Government's attitude, the minorities are using all their resources to get their rights. It is especially noticeable in the assassination of Indira Gandhi and her son Rajiv Gandhi. These are all results of retaliation. The Indian Government will have to reap what it sows. The facts will not be changed by accusing Pakistan. The Indian people cannot be fooled this way. The world should also not be so foolish that it closes its eyes to Indian terrorism in various states and its violations of various human rights laws. The world should not limit itself to accusing Pakistan of everything.

As for the Kashmir issue, it has been going on between Pakistan and India for a long time. According to the formula for dividing India, Kashmir had to join either Pakistan or India. This decision rested with the people of each state; however, India sent its armed forces to Kashmir and forcibly occupied it. Pakistan had to take action in retaliation, which turned into a war. India, on seeing the results of the war, complained to the United Nations, where it was decided that both parties should cease fire and resolve the Kashmir issue under U.N. supervision. It was decided that a referendum be held to find out what the Kashmiri people wanted. They would have the right to try their fate with either Pakistan or India. Pundit Nehru, India's prime minister at the time, supported the U.N. decision; however, he later backed off and sent even more troops to strengthen India's control in Kashmir. India began to send more Hindus to Kashmir. Similarly, the Jews have changed the Arab-Muslim majority into a minority in Palestine. India forcibly took over Kashmir; however, it could not win the hearts of Kashmiri Muslims. It treated them the same way it treats other minorities. Thus, the Kashmiri Muslims were finally forced into a jihad. They are making one sacrifice after another, and the Indian Government is committing atrocities on them. Pakistan supported the United Nations' stand on the Kashmir issue, and also supports the formula agreed upon at the time of India's partition. Kashmir is a neighbor of Pakistan, and a small part of it is independent. Muslims are being killed in Kashmir, they are being humiliated, and their homes and fields are being destroyed. Pakistan, as an Islamic nation and a neighbor, is very disturbed by this situation. Kashmir is a question of life and death for Pakistan. According to Quaid-i Adam, Kashmir is the financial jugular vein of Pakistan. The agricultural and industrial economy depends on water and hydroelectricity which comes from Kashmir. The agenda of India's partition will remain incomplete until the Kashmir issue is resolved. Therefore, Pakistan wants to resolve this issue as soon as possible. However, at present, Pakistan is not involved in the issue as actively as India is. Over 500,000 Indian troops are present like daylight in Kashmir. India has banned entry to foreign media and other international organizations and representatives into Kashmir. Human rights agencies are not permitted to enter Kashmir. After all this, Pakistan is still being accused of terrorism. This is an mockery of truth. Pakistan should be alert and prepared to counter this new campaign. The United States had started similar propaganda against Iran and Libya before taking action against them. Noriega was also kidnapped after the smokescreen of a similar propaganda campaign was raised. The truth is that the United States, the non-Muslim world, and the Hindu-Jewish lobby simply cannot tolerate the existence of a Muslim Pakistan. They are looking for such lame excuses as "water flowing from lower levels to higher levels" to make Pakistan their target. Pakistan must destroy this campaign and, at the same time, ensure defense of its borders and the establishment of law and order in the country. To this end, the Pakistani people should forget their own problems and unite in order to thwart the ambitions of their enemies. The government and the opposition should give up their daily bickering and

work toward the removal of racial, communal, regional, and group prejudice and differences to form a "Pakistani race." Such unity of Pakistani nationals will foil the ambitions of our enemies.

Government Criticized for Attitude Towards U.S.

*92AS0403D Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
8 Dec 91 p 11*

[Editorial: "National Pride a Consideration in U.S.-Pakistan Relations"]

[Text] Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has considered it important to make it clear once again to the United States that Pakistan will not compromise its national pride just for the U.S. aid. The prime minister emphasized during the U.S. deputy secretary of state's visit that Pakistan desires friendship with the United States without any consideration for aid. Mr. Sadiq Kanju, Pakistan's minister for foreign affairs, has also said that "we want trade and not aid from the United States of America." The relationship between Pakistan and the United States cooled after the end of the Afghan affair. Pakistan is not important to the United States from a geographical, political, or defense perspective. Since the Soviet empire has come asunder, only China remains a strong power in this region. To deal with China, the United States needs India, and not Pakistan. Pakistan, because of its friendship with China, is also in the camp against the U.S. plans for a new world order. The United States does not accept Pakistan's nuclear program either, and is pressuring it to abandon its program. It has stopped aid to Pakistan in order to punish it. Pakistan is also being condemned worldwide for its Islamic fundamentalism. The fact is that the United States has not followed the same standard of friendship with different countries. The basis of its friendship is its own interests. The U.S. attitude has caused third world countries to feel being interfered with. Pakistan has clearly indicated that it will not jeopardize its national independence and pride just to be a friend of the United States. The present elected government has initiated a program for economic self-sufficiency after being deprived of U.S. aid. We hope that this will help free us of dependence. The U.S. ambassador is not considered a viceroy in Pakistan any more; however, our government has gone to another extreme and has established a policy of distancing itself from the United States. Foreign Affairs Minister Sadiq Kanju said that relations between the United States of America and Pakistan will be limited to embassies only. Our government's attitude can anger the United States. International media have hinted toward this in commentaries, and have said that the U.S. has reacted to the cool attitude toward the former U.S. ambassador by its treatment of Mr. Wasim Sajjad, chairman of the Senate, during his visit to the United States. In the beginning of the year, during the Gulf war, Pakistan's Government gave the impression that it supported the allied forces. Because of ambiguity in the government over this issue, however, it gave the United States the opportunity to be suspicious about Pakistan's stand. As a result, Pakistan did not benefit like the other allies. The fact is that annoying the United States without any reason will not help Pakistan. It

is not smart politics. An appropriate option for Pakistan would be for it to give up its discriminatory attitude toward the United States, and emphasize fair and cooperative bilateral relations. Pakistan should also make it clear that an unnecessary nuclear race has started in this region because of India. If India is restricted in this area, then as Pakistan has already proposed, Pakistan will agree to these restrictions. Pakistan should try to get a respected place in the U.S. new world order. This requires that Pakistan ignore U.S. aid and pay attention to increasing trade with it. It should give up complaining again and again.

Interior Minister Accuses U.S. of 'Interference'

*92AS0403A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
8 Dec 91 pp 1, 5*

[Text] Islamabad (Monitoring Desk)—Interior Minister Chaudhary Shujat Hussain has accused the United States of America of interfering in Pakistan's internal affairs. He made this statement in reference to a letter mailed by eight U.S. senators requesting the release of Benazir Bhutto's husband, Asif Ali Zardari. Mr. Zardari has been in jail for over one year, and even though he was elected from Karachi to the National Assembly, he is being tried in a special court for corruption and murder. According to ALL INDIA RADIO, the government is preparing a letter in response to the appeal of the U.S. senators. Pakistan's reply is of a legal nature.

VOA Alleged To Confirm Indian Terrorism

*92AS0335B Karachi JANG in Urdu
18 Nov 91 p 3*

[Editorial: "RA's Involvement in Terrorism"]

[Text] The Voice of America (VOA) revealed in one of its broadcasts that RA, the Indian intelligence agency, has established a special wing in Pakistan. Its goal is to spread terrorism, fear, and chaos in Pakistan. This wing has established training camps in various parts of India. The VOA broadcast further revealed that RA has close ties with KHAD, the Afghan intelligence agency. Serious circles in Pakistan believe that India has been behind bomb blasts, terrorism, and other serious incidents of arms smuggling in various cities of Pakistan. Even the U.S. State Department once revealed in a report that trained agents were being sent to Pakistan for the purpose of creating unrest there. Related agencies in Pakistan have indicated that India has been involved in these incidents. India is Pakistan's traditional enemy, and it knows that Pakistan is the only country in south Asia that is a major hurdle in its expansionist designs. Therefore, instead of improving relations or keeping the subcontinent free of tension, India has even thwarted all of Pakistan's efforts in this direction. Keeping all of this in mind, and to curb terrorism, we must increase security on our borders and make the related agencies more effective. We should also warn India that Pakistan will not tolerate such developments. The issue should also be raised with other nations at government levels that India is breaking all international laws and is involved in spreading terrorism in neighboring nations. It is the duty

of these countries to put diplomatic, political, and economic pressures on India to stop it from becoming involved in instigatory and terrorist activities.

China Said Asking Protection of Karokoram Highway

92AS0403B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
8 Dec 91 p 4
[Editorial: "China's Timely Advice"]

[Text] According to a special report, Pakistan's extremely trusted neighbor, the People's Republic of China, has asked Pakistan to keep an eye on the Karakoram Highway, because it can be used by people trying to enter China. It is said that after the U.S. secretary of state's comments about civil liberties in China, China considers this precautionary measure important. International media personnel would be aware that the recent crises in the Soviet Union are the result of American efforts which were started during President Ronald Reagan's time. The basis of these activities were the lack of civil rights in the Soviet Union, neglect of human rights, and other events taking place behind the iron curtain. Thus, making the Soviet citizens agree with their views, paths were paved for the downfall. This situation is not limited to the Soviet Union. Whenever the "crownbearing" United States gets annoyed at Pakistan, it spreads stories about its half-baked democracy and neglect of civil and human rights. Now, after taking care of the Soviet Union, China is the most important target of the United States. Indian leaders have also been primed to target China. The United States' one desire is that the Chinese government use Indian air and sea ports instead of using Pakistan's. This way, China would be required to change its international trade routes. China has been aware of such dangers from the very beginning, and this is a very fine defense point. Now that China has advised Pakistan to keep an eye on the Karakoram Highway, it would also be beneficial to Pakistan. The fact is that the security of the Karakoram Highway should be very well organized. Such a precaution is a national need. We believe that China has given us timely and good advice, and we feel that Pakistan's Government should react to it appropriately.

Defense Cooperation With Iran, China Detailed

92AS0403E Islamabad HURMAT in Urdu
28 Nov 91 pp 33-34

[Article by Fazal Rabi Rahi: "Defense Cooperation Between China, Iran, Pakistan"]

[Text] The People's Republic of China is our great neighbor, trustworthy ally, and a friend we should be proud of. The recent visit by Chinese President Yang Chang Kun is a cause of pride and happiness for the people of Pakistan. It also reflects China's sincere friendliness to Pakistan. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan invited President Yang Chang Kun to Pakistan during his trip to China. The Chinese president's visit to Pakistan shows China's never-ending friendship and sincere relations with us. This trip is also very important in the changing world situation. The balance of power in the world has been disrupted after the

fall of the Soviet Union. Efforts are now being made to establish U.S. supremacy worldwide in the form of the new world order. In this situation, it has become very important to further strengthen and stabilize the friendship between China and Pakistan. After defeating the Soviet Union, the United States views China, Pakistan, and Iran as hurdles in its path to total supremacy. It will not be easy for the United States of America to remove these hurdles. Therefore, the United States has started to improve its relations with India to achieve this goal. A defense pact has been signed between the two countries. According to this pact, the United States will provide extraordinary assistance to India in the area of defense. It will try to increase India's military power by holding joint military exercises. India still has its military pact with the Soviet Union; however, the United States, in spite of its knowledge of India's nuclear weapons, has provided it with extremely sensitive supercomputers. In addition, cooperation between the Indian and American navies can mean nothing but a desire to control all naval routes in this region. This situation can be dangerous to Far East countries also. It will directly affect the interests of Pakistan, China, and Iran. If these three countries do not prepare to counter this danger in a timely manner, then in addition to the Middle East, the whole region around the Indian Ocean will come under Indian attack. Therefore, Pakistan, Iran, and China should keep an alert eye on the results of these developments and take necessary action to protect their interests and regional peace and security. It is important that Pakistan, China, and Iran sign a defense pact. This pact should make an attack on one country be the same as an attack on any of the other two. In this context, the Chinese president's visit to Pakistan is very important, and the BBC, while giving the ramifications of his trip, commented in a report that "the Chinese president's visit to Pakistan is extremely important, because the United States is pressuring China over Pakistan's purchase of weapons and its nuclear program, and the United States has stopped aid to Pakistan." According to this report, the Chinese president was holding talks with Pakistani officials over the situation in the Gulf, the Afghanistan issue, and military cooperation.

China and Pakistan have had close military relations for the last 40 years, and General Asif Nawaz, commander-in-chief of the Army, is also visiting China now. This trip is very important. It is important to mention here that the Chinese president will go to Iran after his visit to Pakistan, and General Asif Nawaz will arrive there directly from China at the same time. According to this report, the new relations between China, Iran, and Pakistan have strengthened the rumors that they are considering establishing a three-nation defense pact. The observers believe that a joint pact among the three nations involving cooperation in the areas of politics, economics, and defense.

In addition to this BBC report, some reliable sources in Islamabad have revealed that a decision has been made to finalize a defense pact between Pakistan, China, and Iran. As a result of this pact, they expect to find ways to alleviate the problem that will be caused due to the power vacuum created by the fall of the Soviet Union. The United States

will not be able to use its new world order to harm Pakistan, Iran, and China's defense and interests.

The increasing cooperation among the three countries must be causing serious concern for India and the United States of America. Therefore, the leaders of Pakistan, China, and Iran must be very alert and be prepared to face the problems in the future. They must take solid steps with full awareness and mutual trust to protect their interests. In addition, the leaders of the three countries should also keep an eye on the situation in Afghanistan. They should try to help establish the government of the real representative of the Afghan people. It is feared that imperialist powers will try to impose a government of their liking in Afghanistan in order to weaken the unity of the nations in this region. Therefore, the three countries must be very careful in any steps they take, and must keep a close eye on the developments in Afghanistan. If the Afghan mujaheddin come to power in Pakistan, then China, Iran, and Afghanistan will greatly benefit. This will also help in the establishment of relations with the Muslim republics of the Soviet Union. All this will aid in the building of cordial relations in this area in the future.

Now China, Pakistan, and Iran should work together to make sure that the new world order of the United States is established peacefully and according to the principles of supporting each other's existence, and any negative effects to third world countries as well as Pakistan, Iran, and China, must be stopped. They should work together and pressure the United States to abandon its evil designs to harm weak countries and hurt their independence under the guise of the new world order. This will help stop it from making the world a place of destruction and instigation, and instead make it a cradle of peace and faith.

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Article Views Repatriation in Biharis in Bangladesh

Living Conditions 'Deplorable'

92AS0382A Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
(Supplement) in English 22 Nov 91 p 1

[Article by Nadeem Fazil: "Biharis: No Man's Burden?"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Nadeem Fazil recalls his visit to the 'stranded' Biharis camps near Dhaka where living conditions are deplorable...He argues however, that Pakistan cannot afford the political cost of their 'repatriation'.

Office of the SPGRC (Stranded Pakistanis General Resettlement Committee) in Geneva Camp at Muhammadpur, Dhaka is the only place in the vicinity where you can find some space unoccupied by homosapiens. No wonder dwellers of this Bihari camp prefer to spend their time at this office rather than at their 'homes' despite best efforts of the incharge of the office to keep them out of the room. And do not mistake 'homes' for houses. In this case, it stands for a series of cubicles barely 6-7 feet in each direction.

Each family has been allotted a set of two such cubicles, one leading to the other. There are no beds—people sleep on the bare floor under the tin roof. One is perplexed rather than pained when one realizes that more than anyone else, the Biharis themselves are responsible for their present state of affairs.

"We are 258,000 in total, residing in similar camps in various parts of Bangladesh," Haji Naseem Khan, Chief Patron of SPGRC informs me. If you argue that this was their count in 1985 and the number must have risen in six years, he has a shrewd answer, "Our number is about the same even now, deaths equal births, sometimes outnumber them. Growth rate is a worry in Pakistan, we are dying here, our problem is survival."

Haji Naseem Khan is a devout Muslim with Jamaat-e-Islami training behind him. He represents these 2.5 lakh Biharis who have been living in camps in Bangladesh since 1971 when they refused to stay in Bangladesh and showed their eagerness to move to Pakistan. Haji Sahib was recently in Pakistan on August 14, to attend the inauguration ceremony of Bab-e-Pakistan, commemorating the martyrs of migration of 1947.

"I had a meeting with Mian Nawaz Sharif and he invited me to the ceremony on August 14 where he announced his plans for our repatriation." According to Haji Naseem, Mr. Ghulam Haider Wyne Chief Minister of Punjab, also called on him at Mansoorra.

It appears that Mr. Wyne wants the credit of being host to the 'Biharis' without realizing the cost that the Federation will have to pay for their settlement. The monetary cost of the proposed settlement is to be shared by some international organisations and then apparently a government which can spend 35 crore to commemorate martyrs of 1947 can part with any amount of money to accommodate the 'ghazis' of 1971. But it is not the monetary cost which the people of Pakistan are really concerned about.

On partition about a million Biharis moved to the Eastern wing where they remained aloof and never tried to integrate themselves with Bengalis. They were mostly urban people, skilled and comparatively more educated than the common Bengalis. Lack of communication due to different languages also played its part in distancing Biharis from Bengalis.

The second factor was economic. The country was ruled by a strong centre. All major affairs of the government in East Pakistan were looked after by officers from West Pakistan who were predominantly Urdu-speaking. This pattern gave Biharis a privileged position in terms of government jobs. Investors from West Pakistan also preferred Bihari labour for its skill.

In the 1970 elections to the national assembly, Jamaat could not win a single seat from East Pakistan. In the provincial assembly of East Pakistan it won a solitary seat. But in September 1971 when A. M. Malik was made governor of East Pakistan, he included four Jamaat ministers in his cabinet! This at a time when Bengalis were already dying to get the election results accepted.

Jamaat-e-Islami and its student wing Islami Jamiat Tulaba in East Pakistan was essentially a party dominated by the Urdu-speaking community. Islami Jamiat Talaba could not find a Bengali head in East Pakistan until 1955. When in March 1971 Pakistan army started action against Bengali nationalists, Jamaat immediately joined hands with it and with the help of its student wing formed two groups named as 'Al-Badr Bahini' and 'Al-Shams Bahini'. The two groups were trained on Pakistan army's lines and committed no less atrocities against Bengalis than the Indian trained 'Mukti Bahini' was committing against non-Bengalis. And these two groups mainly consisted of Biharis.

After gaining sovereignty the Bengalis started the obvious wave of revenge. Pakistan army by virtue of its surrender was in safe hands of Indians as POWs.

It was the Biharis and some stranded West Pakistanis who suffered the onslaught. When things cooled down a general amnesty was announced for people committing war and civil crimes against Bengalis and the government of Bangladesh gave an option to non-Bengalis to become citizens of Bangladesh. At that time there were some seven lakh Biharis in Bangladesh out of which four lakh decided to accept Bangladeshi citizenship while the remaining three lakh wished their intent to move to Pakistan.

Unfortunately it wasn't a matter of their volition alone. Their right to citizenship of Pakistan was to be decided according to standard rules. The matter remained unresolved till August 1973 when under the Delhi Agreement release of prisoners of war and exchange of stranded citizens of respective countries was decided.

Under this agreement all Bengalis stranded in Pakistan were to go back to Bangladesh. Reciprocal arrangements were to be made to bring a limited number of people from Bangladesh to Pakistan. In this respect, Pakistan government agreed to repatriate: people having a West Pakistan domicile; employees of the federal government of Pakistan; and people who had family members in West Pakistan.

In addition to the above three categories Pakistan also consented to grant Pakistani citizenship on grounds of hardship to 25,000 non-Bengalis residing in former East Pakistan.

It must be kept in mind that whereas the first three categories comprised people whose citizenship was considered not to have lapsed after independence of Bangladesh, the fourth category—25,000 non-Bengalis—was conferred Pakistani citizenship on grounds of hardship.

Some 120,000 people were brought to Pakistan from Bangladesh in the next 8 months. Another 25-30 thousand people also came to Pakistan through Burma and Nepal. That put an end to people coming to Pakistan from Bangladesh legally.

For Bangladeshis Pakistan is a land of hope and opportunity. Even after the official announcement that repatriation process had been completed and no more citizenship

rights were to be given to people coming from Bangladesh, trickling of Biharis and Bengalis continue through illegal entry into Pakistan borders.

These illegal immigrants fought their case for a right to Pakistani citizenship on various grounds and their strongest claim was that they were residents of the province of East Pakistan. Government of Pakistan issued Pakistan Citizenship (Amendment) Ordinance 1978 in March 1978 through which a new Section 16-A was inserted in the Citizenship Act which may be reproduced as under:

"16-A Certain persons to lose and to retain citizenship.—

(1) All persons who, at any time before the sixteenth day of December, 1971, were citizens of Pakistan domiciled in the territories which before the said day constituted the Province of East Pakistan and who:—

(i) were residing in those territories on that day and are residing therein since that day voluntarily or otherwise shall cease to be citizens of Pakistan:

(ii) were residing in Pakistan on that day but after that day voluntarily migrated to those territories shall cease to be citizens of Pakistan:

(iii) were residing in Pakistan on that day and are voluntarily residing therein since that day shall continue to be citizens of Pakistan:

(iv) were residing in those territories on that day but voluntarily came to Pakistan after that day with the approval of the Federal Government shall continue to be citizens of Pakistan.

Provided that any persons referred to in clause (i) whose repatriation to Pakistan has been agreed to by the Federal Government and who have not been so repatriated before the commencement of Pakistan Citizenship (Amendment) Ordinance, 1978, shall continue to be citizens of Pakistan.

(2) Any person who, at any time before the sixteenth day of December 1971, was a citizen of Pakistan domiciled in the territories which before the said day constituted the Province of East Pakistan and who being under the protection of Pakistan passport, was on that day, or is residing in any country beyond those territories shall not be deemed to be a citizen of Pakistan unless, upon an application made by him to the Federal Government in this behalf, the Federal Government has granted him a certificate that at the date of the certificate he is a citizen of Pakistan."

In light of above mentioned constitutional amendment two deductions can be made:

(1) People who were residing in East Pakistan on or after December 16, 1971 lost their claim to Pakistan citizenship unless their repatriation to Pakistan was agreed upon by government of Pakistan. This comprises the people not falling in the four categories of people mentioned above and whose repatriation has since long been completed.

(2) Any person from Bangladesh, whether Bihari or Bengali applying for citizenship of Pakistan after the commencement of Pakistan Citizenship (Amendment) Ordinance 1978 on March 14, 1978 should undergo the same process which is required for any non-Pakistani aspiring to be a Pakistan citizen.

Bitter it may be but the fact remains that Biharis presently residing in camps in Bangladesh have no legal right to be considered Pakistani citizens.

Next comes the question of Biharis' settlement in Pakistan on humanitarian grounds. Here the material cost of transporting them to Pakistan and arranging for their subsistence is irrelevant.

The real cost is the political and social turmoil which the settlement of these Biharis is likely to ignite—particularly in Sindh where they will surely fuel the ongoing war between ethnic groups. Early experiences of settlement of refugees from Bangladesh should be viewed in an entirely different perspective; that was 15-20 years ago at a time when ethnic differences did not turn into bloody clashes and, more importantly, the number of people settled was far less. Even though the economic compulsions and resulting fight for survival were not as fierce as they stand today, still more than half of the refugees left for greener pastures, mainly Karachi.

The ones left behind were absorbed in petty professions in the vicinity. Only a small fraction took up farming to make a living. One does not know how much land is available with government of Pakistan in the Seraiki belt—but it is highly unlikely that it would be enough to be distributed among 50,000 households. Allotment of this land to Biharis will definitely develop a feeling of resentment among Seraikis.

The Seraiki people are already speaking in bitter tones. All major political groups of Seraiki people—with the one exception of Taj Muhammad Langah's Seraiki Party—have resolved to resist the settlement of Biharis in their area. They have made it very clear that this time the Seraikis would not accept any "aliens".

With chances of making their living through farming so limited and other options also numbered given the commercial status of the area, these Biharis will end up in the major urban centres of Pakistan—Lahore and Karachi. In most cases Biharis ethnically will be attracted towards Karachi where their community is much more likely to assist them in getting jobs etc., and also, despite all the disturbance, Karachi still remains the largest and the most prosperous commercial and industrial centre of the country.

Not only would it be impossible administratively to restrict them to their colonies but the policy will kill the very purpose of bringing them to Pakistan. Not allowing them to move freely in the country, as the government envisages, would mean that they are not given the full status of citizens of Pakistan and that defeats the rationale of bringing them all the way from Bangladesh to be settled in Pakistan.

Sindhis will be threatened in terms of their numerical strength in the province. In urban Sindh—where the Biharis are likely to have their concentration—the problem would be two fold.

By ethnicity every Bihari was an automatic eligibility to come in the fold of MQM [Muhajir Quami Movement] and through their leadership Biharis are pro-Jamaat-e-Islami—the only groups in Pakistan supporting their cause. In order to find some means of subsistence, they will turn to their mentors and the MQM is in a far better position to entertain them with its influence in urban Sindh. That is the point where their exploitation is feared. For their past indebtedness and for the future promises Biharis will dance to the tune of MQM. It will need little persuasion on the part of MQM to use them for its rallies, meetings and other activities. On the other hand, Biharis will split among themselves to choose between MQM and Jamaat. This will sharpen the enmity between MQM and Jamaat, which has already claimed many lives in Karachi.

Politically the issue of Biharis is not a popular one and if Biharis are brought to Pakistan it would be another example of decisions being taken which are unpopular with the masses but dear to pressure groups. On the part of the political parties the lack of a clear position on the issue is due to a lack of awareness. Pakistan People's Party has no firm party line in this regard and seems to be as ignorant of the facts of the case as are most of the parties in IJI.

Benazir Bhutto until recently believed that there were 2 million Biharis in camps rather than 2.5 lakh. When in power Ms. Bhutto constituted a committee to consider the settlement of Biharis in Pakistan. This committee soon realised the implications of such settlement and lost the initiative if it had any.

Zia handled even this issue in his usual manner—with delay and deception—and also used it whenever it suited him. Some people even go to the extent of saying that 1979 Bihari riots in Karachi were started on the instigation of Jamaat-e-Islami (which they considered to be the B-team of martial law at that time) to give martial law government another reason to declare that circumstances were unsuitable for elections in November 1979.

In 1982 when Zia and Co. were fostering other, stronger allies in Sindh and the Bihari issue for the time being had lost importance for them, Zia is on record to have said that Biharis were entirely Bangladesh's problem and that "although Pakistan is a fortress of Islam and Muslims of any country are our brothers, we don't want to add to 'mohtajeen' (destitutes) in Pakistan (by bringing Biharis here)."

Later, Zia brought out this issue from cold storage in July 1988 when, after dismissing Junejo's government, he seemed to be losing his composure for the first time. He reactivated the Rabita Trust formed in association with Rabita al Alam al Islam for settlement of Biharis and became its chairman. If SPGR office in Dhaka exhibits

his photographs all over the walls it is not without reason. He died before disappointing them yet again.

All said, one must concede that Biharis are suffering. They are Muslims and above all they are human beings. Whether they were misled by their leaders or by their own perception they ought to come out of the camps and start a normal life with the mainstream of Bangladeshi people.

Today three distinct categories of people can easily be identified among them. There is the small group which has strong ideological links with Pakistan. Then there is the majority group which like many Bangladeshis, finds Pakistan a land of immense promise economically. There also is a small group which is fed up of the life in camps and wants to join the mainstream of life in Bangladesh accepting Bangladeshi citizenship. Though after Mujib and Ziaur Rehman's offers to grant them citizenship Ershad kept quiet, if Biharis show their willingness, Khalida Zia's government can be persuaded by the Muslim countries to accept them as citizens.

Lord David Ennals, Labour MP [member of Parliament] and his Bihari friends in UK have raised 278 million dollars (as in 1985) for Bihari settlement in Pakistan. Rabita al Alam al Islami has another 22 lac dollars allocated for the same purpose. The Pakistan government and some other Muslim countries can also chip in with some millions. If all these parties are really sincere to Biharis, they must try to rehabilitate them in Bangladesh with the means available.

Face Ethnic Rage

92AS0382B Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
(Supplement) in English 22 Nov 91 p 1

[Article by Khaled Ahmed: "A Sad Tale of Ethnic Division"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Biharis must be the most unfortunate people in the world. Iron was discovered in Bihar at the turn of the last century and industry was in full swing in Bihar and West Bengal by the time 1947 came around. Biharis were the first 'workers' in a vast country populated by villagers. Their consciousness was different, their mode of existence in regard to means of production was different. All of India used them as workers, and railways were born out of the rib of the steel industry in Bihar.

Bihari Muslims went to East Pakistan after 1947. East Pakistan was old East Bengal whose agriculture produce was processed in West Bengal. It was a poor country known to repeated famine. Its people were new to industrial enterprise and resisted the new mode of production. The Bihari entered an economically deficit province and was absorbed in the nascent railways and all the city jobs opened by industrialisation.

After the fall of East Pakistan, Biharis, together with educated and office-trained refugees from India's UP [Uttar Pradesh], landed in another deficit province, Sindh. The people of Sindh, the majority population, did not exist. Like Gogol's 'dead souls', they lived under the world's most rigorous feudal system. Only the 'wadera'

represented Sindh. With the rise of industrialisation in the port city of Karachi and other adjacent towns, the refugee spread out into the urban centres while the Sindh remained enslaved to their fellow-Sindhis.

The Bihari has had to fight wherever he has gone. Even in Bombay, the Bihari has had to fight harder because of his 'different' consciousness. There are Bihari film actors in India who do exclusively aggressive roles (the noble gangster) of survival in pursuit of justice. In Karachi, the early aggression was expressed in the fight with internal migrants from NWFP [North-West Frontier Province]. Then, as the refugees tended to join up organisationally to seek jobs, the conflict spread. Sindh leadership, which was so far ideologically trained to fight Punjabi hegemony alone, was under the unfamiliar obligation of expressing the rising Sindh middle class demand for jobs.

The ethnic strife between the 'mohajir' and the Sindh is a case of a deficit province under pressure to apportion scarce resources between two communities. The common man is the victim of the economy and the politics that has developed over the issue. Leaders are locked into a polarised struggle in which the Sindhis have less and less voice. The feudal leader is under compulsion to join up with the urban leadership to safeguard his personal interests. The city is fighting the village in Sindh; and unfortunately, this conflict is defined by ethnicity. A similar conflict in Punjab is not thus divided and therefore can be tackled through economic instruments.

There are over 250,000 Biharis in Bangladesh that have to be taken in as per Pakistan's commitment; but after the commitment was made to Dhaka, Pakistan has become a vast refugee land where those who have sought shelter from wars or economic adversity will probably never leave. Compared to the Afghans now in asylum in Pakistan, the number of Biharis waiting in inhuman conditions in Bangladesh is miniscule. There is economic recession in Pakistan and foreign assistance has dwindled. The ethnic rage in Sindh is at such a pitch that the entry of this small number is bound to touch off more trouble. Sindhis are nursing emotions of separatism too, and are seeing parallels between themselves and the Bengalis still trying to push out the Biharis from Bangladesh.

If it were certain that Punjab could keep the new entrants, the problem could be resolved. But the Biharis are workers who will not accept jobs as domestic servants. Sindh is still home to 80 percent of Pakistan's industry. The city-dwelling Bihari will soon gravitate to urban Sindh and exacerbate the conditions prevailing there at present. Just as in Bangladesh where ethnic hatred will not allow rational solutions, in Sindh too the rational argument has long died with the steady death of innocent people.

To Return in Phases

92AS0382C Karachi DAWN in English 16 Nov 91 p 3

[Article: "Stranded Pakistanis To Return in Phases"]

[Text] Karachi, Nov 15: Secretary General, Rabita Trust for Rehabilitation and Repatriation of Stranded Pakistanis

in Bangladesh Amin Aqeel Attas, said here on Friday that the stranded people will be brought to Pakistan in phases.

The Rabita official who was part of the delegation which held talks with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, in Islamabad on Monday, said that it had been decided to frame a timetable and look into the modalities of the issue for which three committees have been constituted.

Speaking at a luncheon hosted Mr. Attas said that a high-powered Implementation Board is in the offing under the chairmanship of Punjab Chief Minister Ghulam Hyder Wyne.

The Trust meeting had taken important decisions to fulfil the objectives of Rabita Trust the trust unanimously agreed that the problem should be tackled expeditiously on account of its Islamic and humanitarian aspect, he said.

He expressed his appreciation for the government's policy and support in this regard and assured that procurement of money would be no impediment because people are willing to contribute.

He urged all sections of the Muslims community and other well wishers to give a helping hand in the Rabita Trust's endeavours to complete the programme.

The Rabita being an international forum of Muslims operating from the Baitullahil Haram has been looking after numerous Muslim issues, social, religious and ideological throughout the world.

For the past six years, the Rabita has been engaged in the task of trying to rescue Pakistanis left behind in Bangladesh. It was able to form an international trust in close cooperation with the Government of Pakistan in July 1988 and have since covered a lot of ground through vigorous support and cooperation of various elements in the international arena.

Earlier, Mr. Qamar-uz-Zaman speaking on the occasion said that the Rabita is internationally involved in human causes all over the world.

He praised the Rabita for this efforts to bring back the stranded people and assured him that the people of Pakistan will make sure that his work is made easier.

The luncheon was attended by Federal Minister for works and Housing, Mr. Tariq Mahmood, Speaker of the Sindh Assembly, Mr. Abdul Razique Khan; Chief Secretary of Sindh Syed Sardar Ahmad, Housing and Works Secretary G. A. Jehangir, the Provincial Ombudsman S. M. Waseem and Hakim Mohammed Saeed.

Repatriation Before July

92AS0382D Karachi DAWN in English 17 Nov 91 p 1

[Article by Hasan Saeed: "Repatriation Before July Likely"]

[Text] Dhaka, Nov 16: Repatriation of nearly a quarter million stranded Pakistanis will begin before July, Nasim Khan, leader of the stranded Pakistanis, said on Saturday.

Mr. Khan made the statement after his meeting with Rabita Alam Al-Islami Secretary-General Dr. Abdullah Omar Bin Nafees. "I am confident about repatriation to begin before July," he said.

Dr. Nafees left Dhaka on Friday after talks with Bangladesh Prime Minister and top officials on repatriation of 250,000 Pakistanis stranded in Bangladesh since the country split in Dec. 1971 from Pakistan.

In a Press interview Khan said "There is little doubt that Pakistani leadership was sincere about the repatriation and rehabilitation of the stranded Pakistanis."

He praised Bangladesh Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia "for her personal interest and initiative for an early solution of this humanitarian problem."

Begum Zia raised the issue of repatriation of the Biharis with Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif when she met him in Harare during the just concluded Commonwealth conference. Mr. Nawaz Sharif had assured Begum Zia of his Government's determination to work for early repatriation and rehabilitation of the Biharis.

Last week he had a meeting of Rabita where decision was taken for accelerating the process of repatriation. Rabita along with Pakistan is to raise 350 million U.S. dollars for the project.

Dr. Nafees visited the Biharis camp in Dhaka and assured the inhabitants of Rabita's total commitment for their repatriation to their homeland.

Khan said the survey to identify and categorise the stranded Pakistanis will begin soon and a committee had already started working.

According to a government survey conducted in 1984 there were 258,000 Pakistani nationals stranded in Bangladesh.

Most of these people are living in 60 camps dotted all over Bangladesh which are ridden with disease and hunger.

Pakistani High Commission in Bangladesh is keeping mum over the issue. When contacted a junior official said "I have no comments to make."

Will Inflare Tensions

92AS0382E Lahore THE NATION in English
21 Nov 91 p 7

[Article by Hasan-Askari Rizvi: "The Bihari Problem"; figures, quotation marks as published]

[Text] Rabita Al-alam-al-Islam, which agreed in July 1988 to cooperate with Pakistan for the repatriation of the Biharis (non-Bengalis) stranded in Bangladesh, decided in November 1991 to set up three committees "to plan, oversee, and facilitate" their repatriation. The Government of Pakistan proposes to settle them in the Punjab. New housing colonies will be set up and self-employment opportunities will be created to enable them to earn their living.

The Bihari problem is a legacy of the 1971 East Pakistan crisis. Most of them stood by Pakistan's military administration during the troublesome period of the civil strife in that province. The Bengalis therefore targeted them for revenge after the establishment of Bangladesh in December 1971. They were deprived of their immovable property and were shifted to camps, ostensibly for their personal security. The UNHCR [UN High Commission for Refugees] and the Government of Bangladesh extended humanitarian assistance. Some of them crossed over to Burma while others fled to Nepal.

Given such a hostile environment, it was not surprising that almost all Biharis languishing in the camps opted for Pakistani citizenship and asked for their repatriation to Pakistan. However, the Government of Pakistan maintained from the beginning that it would not accept all Biharis. It laid down a three-point criterion to determine their eligibility for repatriation to Pakistan: (i) Those domiciled in the former West Pakistan and their families; (ii) the employees of the Federal Government and their families; and (iii) the members of the divided families. A little over 1,19,000 Biharis were airlifted from Dhaka and Katmandu as a part of the three-way repatriation involving Pakistani POWs from India, Bengalis from Pakistan, and Biharis from Bangladesh and Nepal, that began in September 1973. Pakistan made a gesture in the Pakistan-India-Bangladesh Tripartite Conference, held at New Delhi in April 1974, by agreeing to review the cases of those Biharis who provided new information enabling them to fall into the above-noted categories. A good number of them were also allowed to come to Pakistan as hardship cases. By 1982, the total number of officially repatriated Biharis rose to 1,69,000. Besides, some of them were quietly allowed to come to Pakistan in the eighties. A small number of them either came to Pakistan on visit but did not return or they entered illegally. We do read in the Press from time to time about the arrest of Biharis on charges of illegal entry into Pakistan.

The unofficial sources claim that approximately 2,50,000 Biharis are still living in Bangladesh who want to be repatriated to Pakistan. After waiting for their repatriation for such a long time, they have started small jobs and petty business outside their camps. However, if given a chance, most of them would like to come over to Pakistan because they have the erroneous impression that they will have a better and prosperous future in Pakistan.

The Bangladesh Government demands that Pakistan should repatriate all Biharis who had expressed their willingness to go there. This issue came up for discussion for the first time in the April 1974 meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh. The two governments deliberated on this issue during Z.A. Bhutto's visit to Bangladesh in June 1974. Subsequently, this question was taken up for discussion from time to time but they could not agree on repatriation. Pakistan insisted that it could not accept all Biharis and that Bangladesh should also accommodate them as equal citizens. Pakistan also maintained that it did not have resources to undertake the gigantic task of their repatriation and rehabilitation.

In July 1988, Pakistan and Rabita Al-alam-al Islam established a Trust for raising funds for repatriation and rehabilitation of the stranded Biharis. Pakistan agreed to contribute Rs.[rupees]250 million to the Trust and the Rabita committed Rs. 50 million, with a promise to raise U.S. \$500 million from other sources. General Ziaul Haq was appointed its Chairman, and after his death, Pakistan's Foreign Minister took up this position. In November 1991, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif presided over the meeting as Chairman which took policy decisions about repatriation. In addition to setting-up three committees, the government of Pakistan promised to match the funds raised from overseas by the Rabita Trust. Finance Minister Sartaj Aziz and the Punjab Chief Minister Ghulam Haider Wane were elected Vice-Chairman and member of the Trust respectively.

These decisions are no guarantee of their early repatriation. The newly appointed committees will have to do a lot of spadework before repatriation can be resumed. They will have to collect necessary funds for repatriation and rehabilitation which is not going to be an easy job.

The shifting of such a large number of people from Bangladesh to Pakistan involves logistic problems. Looking at the performance of the Rabita Trust in the past, such a horrendous work cannot be completed in the near future.

It seems that the latest move is more of an attempt to appease the MQM [Muhajir Quami Movement] whose support is crucial to the survival of the Jam government in Sindh. The MQM circles were complaining that despite the promises, the Federal Government was not doing anything to repatriate the Biharis. The Trust meeting will deflect such pressures, at least for the time being.

The IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] played up this issue during the Prime Ministership of Benazir Bhutto as a part of its strategy to embarrass the government and to win over the MQM. Nawaz Sharif, who was Punjab's Chief Minister at that time, vowed to accommodate Biharis in the Punjab. However, this issue was pushed to the background after Nawaz Sharif assumed Prime Ministership which caused bitterness in the MQM quarters. Now, the offer of Bihari settlement in the Punjab has been revived, although concrete steps in this direction are still awaited.

The Mohajir populace and especially the Biharis already settled in Sindh strongly favour their early repatriation for understandable reasons. They have family and linguistic ties with the Biharis and the latter's repatriation will add to their numerical strength in Sindh where language and ethnicity have become the major symbols of political identity. A number of right wing and conservative Islamic groups also favour their repatriation on emotional and religious grounds. As the Biharis are Muslims, one-time citizens of Pakistan, who supported Pakistan in 1971, they have a moral, Islamic and legal claim on Pakistan. If Pakistan can accommodate over three million non-Pakistani Afghan refugees, it should accept its former citizens, it is argued.

Unlike the early seventies when the first batch of Biharis reached Pakistan from Bangladesh, the new influx faces opposition. As long as economic opportunities do not increase to a significant extent, repatriation of such a large number of people is going to cause much problems. At a time when ethnic and linguistic tensions are high in the backdrop of escalating economic strains, the induction of a specific language group in the polity will adversely affect population balance. That is why, Sindhi nationalist groups are opposed to their repatriation because their settlement in that province will work towards their disadvantage.

Their settlement in the Punjab does not help much. Most Biharis settled in the Punjab in the early seventies quietly migrated to Karachi and other urban centres in Sindh where the Biharis live in a large number. Climatically Punjab is quite different from Bangladesh and it does not have sufficient resources to offer housing facilities and jobs to keep them here permanently. Therefore, the fear that most, if not all, will ultimately migrate from 'alien' Punjab to Sindh does not appear unfounded.

The proposed settlement of Biharis in the Punjab faces Opposition from within the province. Several leaders from the Seraiki speaking districts have opposed their settlement in their area. The leaders of opposition in the Punjab Assembly, Ikram Rabbani, has also expressed strong reservations on the Bihari settlement in the Punjab, describing it 'unrealistic and impracticable'.

It is imperative to examine the Bihari question in the totality of Pakistani political context. They do deserve sympathetic treatment but the hard realities obtaining on the ground should not be ignored. Their induction into Pakistani polity in disregard to the ethnic and linguistic consciousness and economic strains will not lessen their agony. Rather, it will have negative implications for the body-politic. The government should discuss this issue with the leading political groups and leaders and develop a consensus before taking any decision on repatriation. Another option is the settlement of most Biharis in Bangladesh with financial assistance from Pakistan and the Muslim world.

Indian Combat Capabilities, Orientation Examined

92AS03751 Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST* in English
21 Nov 91 pp 10-11

[Article by Air Marshal Ayaz Ahmed Khan: "Update on India's Light Combat Aircraft"]

[Text] India's Light Combat Aircraft [LCA] programme is a massive indigenous venture, which if successfully accomplished, will pose a serious air threat to Pakistan's national security during the first quarter of the 21st century. But while Indian media reports do reveal progress in some aspects of the LCA programme, other reports indicate very serious and unacceptable time and cost overruns.

On June 4, 1991 *TIMES OF INDIA* reported a major leap forward in the LCA related technology programmes. Major advances had been made in metallurgy, and 85 percent airframe parts of this prestigious multi-role fighter are now

being fabricated locally in India. This was achieved without any major capital investment in any of the LCA units. It may be noted that from the beginning the US Air Force has played a key role in helping India make the LCA. A joint USAF-IAF [Indian Air Force] project office was formed in Washington to co-ordinate the work of all participating government and private corporations required to supply technological know-how for the LCA to India. The Indo-American LCA collaboration stipulates close co-ordination in the design and manufacture of avionics, electronics, control systems (fly by wire), engine and engine components, radars, computers, etc. Airframe design and development was to be pursued with French help. Several US Air Force laboratory facilities have since then been made available to India for the testing of LCA airframe parts and electronic and engine components.

Dr Kota Harinpara, LCA programme director, said recently that the LCA project had crossed another major milestone with the cutting of the metal parts for the two LCA prototypes. LCA has been in the news since 1980. The LCA project was started that year. It is, therefore, perplexing that it has already taken 10 years to begin cutting of metal for the two LCA prototypes. But the news that mission computer, head-up displays and environmental fuel systems were under laboratory tests in India, and with the USAF in America, provides evidence of progress in some important sectors of the programme. The programme director assured the press that the first LCA prototype would be rolled out in 1994 i.e., after 14 years, and the second in 1995, i.e., after 15 years. The first Indian LCA is expected to fly in 1995.

The programme for the use of advanced composites, fly by wire system, advanced glass cockpit, the utility management system, the new multi-mode radar, weapon software, and the integrated avionic software, are progressing well, thanks to US collaboration and assistance. These major systems will hopefully be tested in 1995. The negotiations for collaboration between India and United States started in 1985, when a team of Indian defence and aviation experts, headed by the Defence Science Advisor, Dr. Arunachalam visited the United States. In February 1986, a US team of experts visited HAL [Hindustan Aeronautics Limited] and the LCA offices in Bangalore. The negotiations were concluded in 1987 and in December of the same year a team of USAF experts visited India. An agreement was concluded to identify and supply to India the technologies needed for the LCA and other advanced fighter programmes. A number of large and small American defence contractors agreed to play an important part in the LCA programme, notably Allied Sagour, Lear Siegler, General Electric, Northrop, Honeywell and Varian. These American companies agreed to provide technology for the design and manufacture of display systems, actuators, engines and engine components; in fact for the entire spectrum of systems and components required for such an advanced project. The Indian LCA is a multi-role fighter interceptor of far greater sophistication than the much acclaimed F-16 with the PAF [Pakistan Air Force] and dozens of other air forces around the world.

While the LCA high tech programmes and the LCA Complex has been located near the Aeronautical Development Agency at Vighutipara, the metal parts for the airframe and components are being fabricated by Bharat Aluminium, and at the Nuclear Fuel Complex at Midhanj. Presently 1,000 aeronautical and design engineers are working in the 90 LCA laboratories and workshops. Another 50 establishments are being prepared for work on special LCA applications. At the Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd. (HAL) Bangalore, one sixth of the LCA project is being handled; and some vital systems are under integrity tests since August 1991. Several parts and components are undergoing test trials in USAF laboratories. Indian Institute of Science in Bangalore is directly involved in test co-ordination and evaluation.

One-seventh of LCA parts of high sophistication are being sent to France. Engine intakes and fuselage aerodynamic testing is being done in France under a long-term Indo-French agreement.

A 500 metre "towing tank" is under construction at the Indian Naval Science and Technology Laboratory of the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) at Vishikapatnam for testing the landing characteristics of this supersonic fighter. The LCA's "fly by wire" programme is being developed and fabricated jointly by the Aeronautical Development establishment and HAL in close collaboration with Allied Signals of USA and the USAF.

Interestingly the Indian LCA has a shielded air intake of very advanced design, which should considerably reduce bird injection, which takes a heavy toll of IAF pilots every year. This presently secret innovation would be of high interest worldwide.

As regards armaments and weapon load, the Indian LCA has seven "stations," for carrying a weapon-bomb load of 4,000 kg. This is a fairly substantial weapon load for a fighter interceptor optimised for air superiority role and deceptively called the "LCA." Of special interest is the news that the gatling type cannon would be Soviet made.

From October to December 1991 several LCA systems are being jointly evaluated under a high intensity test programme by the Aeronautical Development Agency, the Indian Institute of Technology and by the USAF. The deep involvement of USAF and other major US aircraft industries would be a cause of worry for the Pakistan Air Force. The vast national and international effort, geared to step up the LCA programme, is in sharp contrast to the lack of serious thought and effort by Pakistan even in the development of Karakorum 8 trainer for the PAF. Though an agreement was signed in 1986 with CATIC [expansion not given] of China to co-design and co-develop a basic jet trainer for the PAF, so far only two pilots, 23 engineers and 24 technicians have been trained for participation in this joint project. To say the least Pakistani participation in this joint project is minimal and stalled because of lack of interest, competence and vigour of the concerned authorities.

In spite of major strides of the LCA programme, there has been sharp criticism by defence analysts about the untoward delay of the LCA project. N.C. Menon, the Washington-based defence correspondent of the STATESMAN recently wrote that, "India has been trying to build its light combat aircraft, but the painful fact is beginning to sink in that it is economically inefficient for any nation to build a new fighter plane from scratch. The costs are too high, and the delays are unacceptable. The Israelis tried to build their own "Levi" fighter, but failed despite the fact that they were using US money. The Japanese decided to build their own FSX fighter. It never got off the ground. The recent Anglo-French-German- and Spanish effort to build the European fighter aircraft (EFA) started evaporating, when Spain pulled out. Britain started complaining about cost over-runs and Germany after unification and Soviet collapse sees no need to spend billions on a system of marginal future use. There is a debate in the United States to scrap the multi-billion B-2 Stealth bomber programme. But the Indians have greater grit and resolve and are determined to continue with the LCA which is decades behind in time schedules and billions ahead in expenses.

Indian Prime Minister Chandera Shekhar before stepping down defended the delayed development of the LCA on the floor of the Rajya Sabha (the Indian House of Lords) by stating that, even if there were over-runs of costs and time, the project would be pursued with all vigour. India was committed to achieve self-reliance in defence production, and LCA the proud achievement of our scientists cannot be given-up." He rejected the assertion of several Congress-I members that by the time the LCA went into regular production, it would have become obsolete. The former Indian prime minister said that, "the needs of Indian Air Force for another aircraft while the LCA is under development would also be taken care off, but the LCA shall be produced."

Several Congressmen, among them Kalmadi said, "that the LCA project is far fetched and too ambitious, and should be scrapped." He said that, "the LCA project was initiated in 1980, and now the target date for prototype completion is 1995, which meant that the production may not start before 2005 or 2010. By then, i.e., after 30 years the LCA project cost would have escalated to Rs. 60 billion with unit LCA cost of about Rs. 1.5 billion and with 30-year-old technology, the LCA would be the most expensive fighter of doubtful performance." The Indian MP [member of Parliament] questioned the logic of mad pursuit of such a defence project.

There are strong arguments for scrapping the project which has been termed as "disaster," by JANE'S, the prestigious British aviation magazine. The latest estimates indicate that the cost of production of six prototypes may be in the order of Rs. 32 billion against the initial estimated cost of Rs. 5.6 billion only. On February 27, 1991, former Prime Minister Chandera Shekhar had said that, "self-reliance was more important than the money spent." But due to the financial crunch in which India finds itself now, Defence Minister Sharad Pawar is under tremendous pressure to scrap the prestigious project to manufacture the LCA,

because of run away cost and runaway time schedules. The two prototypes to be built by 1995 are likely to cost Rs. 16.7 billion, i.e., Rs. 8.5 billion each which poverty stricken India cannot afford without heavy doses of aid from Uncle Sam. With the reduction of the defence budget by Rs. 5 billion and very attractive offers from Soviet Union for the supply of SU-37 an advanced multi-role fighter as replacement for the MiG-21 and MiG-27, and the pressure from the Indian Air Force for the immediate and urgent replacement of the accident prone aged MiG-21, continuation of the LCA project is becoming a big question mark.

The Indian Air Force is especially concerned with the degraded performance of the indigenously developed GXT-35 Vs Kaveri engine for the LCA. For the present the LCA programme is totally dependent on the United States for the supply of General Electric F 404 engine. Eleven have already been received from the United States. The first six prototypes are likely to be tested with the US GE 404 fan-jet engines, to prove and evaluate the airframe parameters. If the Indian Kaveri engine does not produce 7711 Kg thrust or more, and the runaway cost or time schedules cannot be met, the chances are that both HAL and the IAF will opt for the proven and highly reliable GE F 404 engine to power the under production LCAs.

The Indian LCA is planned to be in the same class if not better than the French Rafale, the Swedish JAS-39 Gripen, Soviet MiG-35 and SU-37, Chinese B-7 and the Taiwanese Ching-Kuo. With an engine thrust of 18,740 Lbs and max take-off weight of 5,365 Kgs its power-weight ratio will be well in excess of 1:1. This delta wing air superiority and close-support fighter, embodying 35 percent composite materials, with fly by wire flight controls, and with Ericson-Ferranti PS-05 multi-function radar, ring laser gyro systems, digital data bus for engine controls, and computer controlled weapon management system if kept updated will be one of the best fighter aircraft of the 21st century. Its performance parameters and armament capability make it a highly lethal and air weapon platform. It is planned to be equipped with air-to-air refuelling capability to enable it to operate from deeper airfields, making it less vulnerable to destruction by deployment at forward airfields. PAF already under US aid cut blockage strain, will be faced with an extremely serious situation if nothing is done to counter this very serious emerging threat in the coming decade.

The IAF would need to replace its entire fleet of MiG-21s and Ajeet aircraft during the coming years. This implies new fighter/interceptor aircraft for 20 combat squadrons i.e., 400 aircraft. Though the Indian Air Force is making lot of noise for the immediate procurement of fighter-interceptors to replace its aging fleet of MiG-21s and Ajeets, the government of India having invested very heavily in the LCA project and determined to further this highly prestigious self-reliance programme is unlikely to give in to pressure from the Indian Air Force or the anti-LCA lobby. The LCA programme is likely to stay on track, because of deep American involvement. Besides the key role being played by the United States Air Force in helping India make the LCA, major American aerospace

corporations are now involved in manufacture and supply of avionics, control systems, computers and engines for the LCA. The fact that the first prototype LCA is being sent to America for wind tunnel testing establishes firmly Indo-US collaboration for the early completion of the project.

Besides the six US aerospace corporations mentioned above, Bendix Aerospace Corporation, Lear Astronics and Moog have a key role in the design, production and supply of advanced avionic, and high technology critical material and equipment. With the resources of so many US aerospace establishments involved, the Pentagon and the State Department will see to it that the project does not collapse for shortage of funds.

The cross dialogue and the growing rapport between the American military establishment, i.e., Pentagon and the government of India is indicative of Delhi's heavy tilt towards Washington. The joint exercises planned to be conducted between the United States Air Force and the Indian Air Force, and the United States Navy and the Indian Navy are proof enough of very close co-operation between the global super power and the regional super power. The LCA project is being used as a glue by New Delhi to tie India to American purse strings. Taking advantage of the concept of new world order, India is planning to push its hand deep in American coffers. The Indian LCA is just the beginning.

Increased Publicity of Kashmir Situation Urged

92AS0375J Lahore *THE NATION* in English
15 Nov 91 p 7

[Article by Brig. M. Shafi Khan: "Kashmir Situation—The Climax"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The freedom movement in Kashmir has reached a very critical stage. Though the issue has been somewhat internationalised—credit to Kashmir-American Council (Dr Fai) and World Kashmir Freedom Movement (Dr Ayub Thakhur) who rendered great services in attracting the attention of some important people in the United States and Britain. Salute to Indian human-rights activists and the "New Track" for their eye witness accounts of atrocities in Kashmir. These great men and women of courage are a pride of the humanity at large. I wish Indian power hungry hawks could see the difference between right and wrong for their own good. The IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] Government showed courage and initiative in raising the issue at the international fora yet the thrust is feeble.

It has not shaken the enemy. Raising of the issue at NAM [Nonaligned Movement] and the OIC [Organization of Islamic Conference] was encouraging but during the speech of Minister of State for Foreign Affairs at the UN General Assembly most of the seats were vacant. There was no resolution or any discussion to expose India's misconduct and treachery. During the Harare Commonwealth Conference the Prime Minister [PM] of Pakistan and the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs openly invited mediation, but Indian PM rejected the idea. He also

divulged that Kashmir was not even mentioned by Pakistan at the Harare meeting. What a fling to degrade our leaders in the eyes of our people? India knows what to do: to gain time to crush the movement so that there is nothing left to discuss. India had launched an intensive 'search and kill operation' in Kashmir when it was busy showing to the world its effort to solve problems peacefully. Why are we bending backwards so much when India is on a weak wicket and surely ineffective in controlling the situation in Kashmir? Mr Saxena, the crafty Governor of Kashmir, said to a foreign correspondent that it is good the Mujahideen are not disturbing Indian line of communication.... Strange, why the Mujahideen are not doing what could hurt the enemy, at a low cost of life and resources.

Indians have been claiming to have the proof of Pakistani supported, inspired and directed terrorist operations in East Punjab and Kashmir. They named handlers and also the camps in Azad Kashmir and Pakistan. Some of their hawks had recommended hot pursuit operations and teaching of befitting lessons to Pakistan yet the threats were not translated into action, why? If India can secure Kashmir (Pakistan's jugular vein) due to our failure it does not have to attack Pakistan. For achieving its aim, India will employ threat in various degrees of intensity but the war will be the worst thing for India to choose. To improve the prospects of settlement, Pakistan must move international agencies like the United Nations, Red Cross, Amnesty International and human-rights organisations of various countries to put Indian brutalities in limelight to prevent the genocide in Kashmir. Kashmiris must receive immediate relief through international agencies. They must be supported properly in their struggle which is indigenous by all counts. Pakistan has nothing to fear if we are on our toes, ready to deploy from one end to the other. India has no record of penetrating our defences—East Pakistan was quite a different situation as all prudent men will understand.

Lately we have become too keen to go more than half way to improve relations with India linked with confidence building measures. Submissive approach will make the Hindus more demanding and menacing. India never thought of helping us during bad times—earthquake in Kohistan, etc., but we have rushed trains and aircraft to help earthquake victims in UP [Uttar Pradesh]. This noble gesture has been blacked out in India. Even clearance to 'mercy flights' became a problem. India does not tolerate being obliged: Good gesture from a position of strength is honoured but a gift from a weak position attracts scorn and degrading treatment. Would our leaders realise that?

Mr Robert Gates has taken over the CIA. He had visited the subcontinent in May, 1991 as special emissary of Mr Bush to defuse tension. He visited Pakistan first and India later. In Delhi, he made a very significant statement:

- There were no training camps in Pakistan.
- He was not allowed to visit Indian-Occupied Kashmir.
- He advised Pakistan not to support secessionists (not freedom fighters) as if Kashmir was an Indian territory.

—He recommended that India should provide relief and also allow more political rights to Kashmiris.

The US policy has been dubious in many ways but indicative of recognition of dispute yet the prospects of plebiscite are viewed as not practicable. Measuring all the factors, the United States seems to be inclined to arrange/guide a settlement along the Line of Control with some adjustments. The latest concept of New World Order has brought to the fore the Indo-US strategic alliance or mutual cooperation. A senior US General along with a large group visited IHK [Indian-held Kashmir] on or about October 25, 1991, perhaps not so much to see the violation of human-rights by India but to pronounce the proof of Pakistan's involvement in Kashmir—hence grading it as a terrorist country deserving special treatment. It may come to that!

During recently organised international conferences in the United States and Britain it crystallised that a good number of Senators, and British MPs were convinced of violation of human-rights by the Indian forces in Kashmir hence some moral pressure on India. They, however, speak more about the right of independence to be given to Kashmiris. The concept of mediation has been introduced by them and is now being advocated to ignore the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir who do not figure anywhere.

During the last two months Mr Saxena, the Governor of Kashmir, has been advocating the role of Pakistan in the negotiations. On one occasion, he said that Pakistan has a vital and decisive role. Wonderful. But what are we going to say? Have we been gazing at the crystal ball? Have we been mediating? The men at the helm of affairs must know that leaving rivers Chenab and Jehlum in control of India will mean certain death for Pakistan. The final say, of course, must rest with the Mujahideen who demand their right of self-determination: they have not wavered despite the hell let loose on them.

A crucial point must be understood: that Mujahideen cannot be ignored either by India or by Pakistan. The authorities in Pakistan must put the correct tag of weightage on them. It is our failure in presentation of correct perspective to the world that Kashmiris are losing sympathy of the West because of Indian version of fundamentalism planted on them. We had/have to prove that it is a case of political and human-rights of people. Mujahideen by their own efforts have put India on stakes and any lackadaisical approach by Pakistan can be fatal both for Pakistan and Kashmiris. As the kite flying goes on, what if India offers total autonomy or near semi-independence to Kashmiris? Left in a lurch, helpless Kashmiris can turn their back on Pakistan. Then, it will be no use to compile the list of guilty men.

Ideas like independent Kashmir, regional plebiscites, valley treated in the manner of 'Trieste' and remaining areas going to the parties having de facto control, Hindu districts of Jammu and Leh going to India as Switzerland or a UN mandate territory for some years prior to free expression of verdict, etc., etc. A wiseman and a research

scholar suggests solution on Russian lines (breakaway republics becoming independent countries) as if Kashmir was part of India. He also recommended a dialogue between India and the militants to evolve a mutually acceptable solution. These are the stray thoughts of men without commitment and faith in our destiny. Some want to favour India; others want to see Pakistan in difficulties. The fact is that 90 percent of freedom-fighters authenticated even by Western journalists stand committed to Pakistan and Islam—celebration of 14 August (Pakistan Day) and other national days, even victory in cricket matches between arch enemies and raising of Pakistani flag everywhere in face of the enemy and burning of Indian flag on August 15, every year, adoption of Pakistan Standard Time, Friday observed as holiday in the valley and dead bodies buried wrapped in Pakistani flag prove the real spirit, orientation and the power which calls shots in Kashmir. On May 4, 1991, a secular group, JKLF [Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front], which breathes here, prospers here and the "Hope of India" (N.V. Subramamium SUNDAY MAGAZINE, 11 - 17-8-1991) staged a small size demonstration in Srinagar. The demonstrators were treated by the Indian security forces with cold drinks and tea at the end of their performance. This group burnt Pakistani flag and shouted slogans against Pakistan and for India. Following this event lacs of Mujahideen came out in the streets for days. They demonstrated their love for Pakistan and Islam beside hanging the man who had burnt Pakistan's flag. Kashmiris are determined to see Kashmir as part of Pakistan.

The bilateral settlement between Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan on Kashmir and other disputes, as being reported in the Press, will identify:

a. The settlement in Kashmir without participation/consultation/negotiation of the people of Kashmir will prove that the issue was actually a territorial dispute between two warring states and not the question of political rights of 12 million people, who have demonstrated through their freedom movement their rights to freedom and their orientation.

b. The case of right of self-determination of people of Kashmir to be settled through plebiscite under the UN Resolutions of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, will look relegated as a side show: the will of the people as being presented to the world was not the real determinant.

c. The construction of Wullar Barrage by India has already been discussed. If Pakistan concedes concessions to India then there will be no room left to claim protection of rights on western rivers, in accordance with Indus Basin Treaty. The people of Kupwara had destroyed the groundwork of this project in April, 1990—they had done it for Pakistan. Pakistan trusting India with "some other arrangements to provide regular supply of water" is a promise which India is known not to have kept be it Indus Basin Treaty on UN Resolutions.

d. Kashmiris by waging their freedom movement unaided, have established their own identity. It will be impossible and also a betrayal to seek/or arrange a settlement without

their taking part in decision regarding their future. India claiming Kashmir as its integral part can take any decision, but Pakistan supporting the cause of right of self-determination cannot use discretion as if the territory belonged to it.

Knowing that India dismembered Pakistan out of spite for the two-nation's theory and that Pakistan is the only obstacle in its way to imposing hegemony in the region, we have to be doubly smart.

An Indian analyst who saw the brutal treatment of unprotected Kashmiris by Indian security forces in Occupied Kashmir said that "Pakistan is going to fight India to the last Kashmiri." It is a very cruel joke in style and intent. It will be a monumental tragedy if it comes true. For Pakistan, it is the question of do or die—to live with honour or to die with honour.

Finally, the wily Indians laboured hard with men and resources for 44 years to bring docile Kashmiris to an unchallengable rage. Indians may have resources to fight for decades, but Indians troops frequent request at medical stores if for tranquilisers—the crutches American troops needed before their rescue from South Vietnam. Who would lose such an opportunity?

Arms Worth \$2 Million Exported to Saudi Arabia
92AS0333A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 27 Nov 91
pp 7, 8

[News Report: "Saudi Arabia Bought Arms Worth \$2 Million from Pakistan"]

[Text] Islamabad (Correspondent)—It has been learned that Saudi Arabia has bought more than \$12 million [as published] worth of weapons from Pakistan. These weapons were manufactured in Pakistan's ordnance factories and some other related agencies. The sale of these weapons has been completed. These weapons include anti-tank missiles, machine guns, rifles, and other weapons. Meanwhile, the United Arab Emirates has signed an agreement to purchase weapons and ammunition worth \$4 million from Pakistan's ordnance factories and other defense agencies. According to this agreement, Pakistan will sell modern light weapons to the United Arab Emirates. Pakistan ordnance factories exported 750 million rupees worth of weapons to other countries. This information was revealed by Lieutenant General Sabih Qamar Alzaman, chairman of the POF [Pakistan Ordnance Factories], in a seminar today organized by the Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation. He said that the POF has been designing weapons for the last three and one-half years, and added that Chinese-designed tanks are fully rebuilt in the Heavy Rebuilding factory. They have also started manufacturing APC's here. He further said that this was a significant achievement. In the Pakistan aeronautical complex, the engineers have started to rebuild Mirage and Chinese airplanes. "Shock" airplanes are also being manufactured here. Instruments necessary for night warfare are being manufactured in the Institute of Electronics. Pakistan has also started making laser range finders. He also said that in addition to POF, SUPARCO [expansion not

given], Pakistan Machine Tool Factory, Daud Armory, and several other railway organizations are making military weapons.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS

President-Prime Minister Relationship Examined *92AS0333D Karachi AMN in Urdu 12 Nov 91 p 2*

[Editorial: "President, Prime Minister, and the Opposition"]

[Text] President Ghulam Ishaq Khan has said that the currently elected government is "strong and stable," and that "it has the support of the majority of the House. In such a situation, there is no reason to establish a new national government." Meanwhile, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has declared the demand for his resignation and the opposition policy to be based on a desire for retaliation. He stated that he "was elected by the people and not by the opposition." President Ghulam Ishaq Khan rejected the demand for a new national government, stating that the opposition "should investigate its own affairs first." He claimed that those who demand the resignation of the government never did anything when they were in government themselves.

The opposition has demanded the establishment of a new national government because of the deteriorating situation of the country, and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's reaction to this is understandable. No one is willing to give up one's position of authority. His comment about being elected by the people rather than the opposition reveals that he is not willing to pay attention to such demands. At this time, our nation is facing a situation in which new political upheaval is not possible. The government and the opposition should avoid the politics of agitation. They should pay more attention to improving the government and controlling the worsening situation.

The opposition parties are in a position to bring the people into the streets. They have avoided taking such an action, however, and are following democratic measures within the House. These parties are trying to change the government. The opposition's demand for a new national government indicates its desire to shield the country from the politics of agitation and to resolve various issues with talks. They had contacted the president for this purpose, and the president showed his open-mindedness by agreeing to meet with them. Just before this meeting, however, ignoring the state of affairs in the country, he lashed out at the opposition leaders and told them to "mind their own business." This made his objectivity suspect. Now the opposition leaders have started to wonder if their meetings with the president would have any benefits. They wonder if they can force the president to make an objective decision for the sake of the country and its people. It does not appear to be possible now. If they are unable to make the president change his mind and accept the facts, then this meeting could be useless. Such meetings, instead of increasing understanding, would only

increase bad feeling on each side. Therefore, the opposition leaders have decided to forego this meeting and think of another strategy.

There is no doubt that the present government is an elected one; it has a two-thirds majority in the Parliament. It has demonstrated its majority by having the Shariat Bill passed. It can also get the 8th Amendment to the Constitution passed, and deprive the president of his right to break up the assembly. But it did not do this because of pressure from the president or its relationship with him; however, Mr. Ghulam Ishaq, as the president, should keep in mind the interests of the nation and the people. He should not allow his personal likes and dislikes to interfere in this context. Instead of blindly supporting the present government, he should review the facts and make decisions justly after analyzing the whole situation. As for his insistence that the present government has the majority in the House, we respond that the Benazir government that he dismissed also had a majority in the House. In addition, the assembly session was to begin in only a few days, and the people believed that the Benazir government was in a position to throw out the Eighth Amendment. At that time, the country did not have as much unrest and problems either. Therefore, if the president could axe the whole democratic system based on a few imaginary problems, then why is he avoiding using his office to improve the situation in the country and avoid political agitation?

President Refuses To Deny Military Nature of Nuclear Program

92AS0378B Lahore THE NATION in English 4 Dec 91 pp 1, 8

[Text] New Delhi—A visit by a senior US official to Pakistan and India appears to have got both the countries to agree to discuss possible steps to limit any South Asian race to develop nuclear weapons and delivery missiles. Although both remain entirely noncommittal, their Foreign Affairs department heads separately will visit Washington early next year for detailed talks on several US proposals, says a report published in FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW.

What was underscored was that Washington would not be easily deterred from involvement in the arms control issue in South Asia, which stands out along with the Middle East and North Korea as a focus of concern about instability. The earlier US doubts generally about Nuclear-Free Zone (NFZ) proposals, as shown in the South Pacific NFZ case in the 1980s, have dwindled as understanding with the Soviet Union deepens.

In the South Asian case, the changed international setting of the 1990s has allowed the United States more scope to play a broker's role. This saw US Under-Secretary of State for International Security Affairs Reginald Bartholomew delivering stiff cautions to long-term US ally Pakistan about sponsoring unrest in India, while getting down to talks with formerly stand-offish India that officials from most sides described as free of rhetoric. Bringing further attention to the nuclear arms control question were coincidental visits by US Central Command Chief General

Joseph Hoar to Pakistan, and International Atomic Energy Agency head Hans Blix to India.

Bartholomew's chief focus was the covert nuclear weapons programmes both India and Pakistan are thought to be engaged upon. Along with this is concern about the development of medium-range missiles which could be delivery systems. India has already carried out test-firings of its own missiles, called the Agni. Pakistan has been getting some short-range missiles from China to help its own programme. Ideally, the United States would like India and Pakistan to join the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), but short of this wants them to consider the idea of a South Asia NFZ or at least take steps towards it.

The sequence of Bartholomew's trip was carefully planned. The first stop was China, where he talked about proposals for controlling the spread of missiles. Islamabad was the second, where as well as discussing the nuclear concerns that led to a military aid and equipment cut-off a year ago, Bartholomew delivered what the US officials called a "stiff message" that it could not countenance cross-border operations in Kashmir and Punjab—though Pakistan Foreign Secretary Sheharyar Khan denied Bartholomew had warned that Pakistan might be declared a "terrorist nation" because of them. On Kashmir, the US line was tempered with the opinion that this problem was fundamentally a political one, not a security issue and should be solved bilaterally.

On the nuclear arms question, Islamabad showed little inclination to come out from its corner. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan complained to Bartholomew about discrimination against Pakistan. He said the United States should respect Pakistan's sovereignty and its national policies formulated as an independent nation to meet its security concerns and geopolitical compulsions. Bartholomew was quoted as saying that the US policy was not to make India into South Asia's leader and did not wish to give up 40 years of friendship with Pakistan.

Ishaq Khan's assertions are seen widely in Islamabad as a refusal to certify to the United States that Pakistan was not engaged in military application of its nuclear programme. Nor would Pakistan agree either to any capping of its programme, at least not without India agreeing to do so.

But US leverage is formidable. Pakistan is in desperate need of spares to keep its US-supplied military equipment serviceable. It also needs Washington's clout in multilateral aid institutions and investment circles. The IMF's current plan for Pakistan ends in December and Islamabad is counting on another structural adjustment programme for three years to be supported by IMF-World Bank coordinated foreign aid of some US\$9 billion. A World Bank director, Michael H. Wieken, who was in Islamabad at the same time as Bartholomew said the time had come when Pakistan and India could negotiate their defence spendings and divert money to the starved social sector.

The Peking and Islamabad visits positioned Bartholomew well for his talks in New Delhi, which were the most critical for progress. India cites China as a nuclear threat which makes a South Asia NFZ meaningless. It tends to

see the NFZ proposal, taken up by Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in June with his call for a discussion by five powers—the United States, Soviet Union, China, India and Pakistan—as a Pakistani propaganda ploy to divert attention from its nuclear development and its fueling of separatist insurgency across the northwest border.

Bartholomew met Indian Defence Minister Sharad Pawar, External Affairs Minister Madhavsingh Solanki and senior defence officials, but his substantive talks came in three sessions with retiring Foreign Secretary Muchkund Dubey. The US emissary took pains to take the "Made in Pakistan" label off the five-power proposal, pointing out that it pre-dated Nawaz Sharif's endorsement by two years. Although Bartholomew urged India to join the NPT in the context of a regional move, he listed other steps New Delhi could make "on the way" to accepting the NPT.

The public atmospherics suggested initially this would fall on deaf ears: the day before he arrived, the ruling Congress party affirmed its long standing policy that the NPT was inequitable as it banned only nuclear weapon ownership by latecomers. At a session with senior Indian journalists, Bartholomew is understood to have had a long and patient battle to get his points heard.

Analyst Favors Peace, Nuclear Disarmament

*92AS03781 Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST in English
20 Nov 91 pp 10-11*

[Article by Ambreen Zaman: "International Reality and Our Isolationist Dreams"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Imagine a South Asia devoid of military tensions: cordial if not brotherly relations with neighbouring India; trade and cultural exchanges; easy travel access to citizens of both countries who share a common history and culture; most importantly, a scaling down of lethal armories which not only eat into the taxpayers' hard-earned revenues in both countries, but are meant for their destruction in case of war. Above all, an atmosphere of peace so that both governments can concentrate energies and scarce financial resources towards the economic uplift and development of impoverished peoples rather than on gargantuan military buildups.

Surely it is an attractive proposition. Then why do most of us dismiss it as an impossible utopia? Around the world people are asserting their right to peace and economic progress. The Soviet people have rejected the Communist Party and the army who, by pursuing rigid, dictatorial policies, funnelled hard-earned resources into a destructive arms race leaving the state bankrupt and its people poor. The elected government in Iran, in spite of jingoistic pressures from its army and clergy, wants to give up its isolationist hostile posture and wants to enter into mutually beneficial trade with the capitalist world. The Palestinians have opted for peace at all costs, having realised that war, besides inflicting enormous hardships on all concerned parties, does not solve problems. The two Germanys, erstwhile enemies because of ideological differences, have chosen the human and economic benefits of

peace. Around the world these impulses for peace have accompanied the move towards greater democratic rights; once again highlighting the principle that it is non-representative, dictatorial governments and the armies that perpetuate themselves which create hostile foreign policies; the people if they are allowed their say opt for an economically and humanly beneficial peace.

In Pakistan 50 percent of our revenues go towards defence, the rest towards debt-servicing with the result that we are forced to depend on international loans and aid for developmental expenditure. During the cold war period we capitalised on our strategic position and became the third largest beneficiary of American aid. Similarly India's hostilities towards China and Pakistan made it a beneficiary of Soviet economic and military 'cooperation'. With the cold war now history, both countries have lost the military and economic umbrella extended by their respective super-power patrons, and the necessity for peace to solve economic woes has emerged as the clear writing on the wall.

Pakistan is presently doing without the 600 million dollars of American aid (50 percent of which went into defence expenditure). There is little chance of that being resumed, given the changed world scenario. India's facade of self-sufficiency has been punctured by its inability to return millions of dollars of international loans. And it has been forced to accept IMF assistance and conditionalities. Changing world perspectives suggest that it is the economic impulse which will regain supremacy in the new world order. Accordingly the West wants India and Pakistan to reduce hostilities, bring down their respective defence expenditures and join the global market. The point is not that we should adopt this course because it suits the West but because it is in our long-term national interest. We must evolve dynamic foreign policy initiatives to keep abreast of the changing international situation rather than taking rigid positions based on 43 years of mutual hostilities and suspicions.

Pakistan is presently keeping its economy afloat through loans from the IMF and the Aid-to-Pakistan Consortium comprising the G-7 countries. This monetary assistance is based on certain basic expectations on the part of the West. The release of the latest IMF tranche of 300 million dollars to Pakistan was an effort to retain leverage. That this was a political decision imposed by Washington was obvious because a recent IMF mission had found Pakistan unable to conform, even minimally, to its restructuring guidelines.

The success of the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government's economic policies based on the free-market model also depends on improved trade and diplomatic relations with the capitalist world. Then the self-sufficiency slogan may be politically expedient but it will require a miracle, given that we spend half our revenues on defence. If we reduce hostilities with India and reduce defence spending, self-sufficiency at some stage can become possible.

Presently one of the main stumbling blocks in our relations with the West and India is our nuclear ambitions. In the past it suited Washington to look the other way in this

regard because of their strategic interest in Afghanistan which gave Pakistan the frontline status. This 'mutual interest' exploited by General Zia-ul-Haq resulted in Pakistan becoming an instrument on prolonging the Afghan crisis which has bled our northern border and created enormous long-term problems for us internally. Three American presidents used the Pressler amendment to certify that Pakistan has no explosive device even though Zia-ul-Haq, as early as 1979, clearly implied that we have one. The past, the country's under importance now a thing of the past, the country is under pressure both from America and the capitalist world in general to give up its nuclear ambitions. Accompanied with this is the pressure to improve relations with India, so that both countries can adopt an economic rather than a militaristic posture.

It is imperative that we build an internal consensus on the nuclear issue based on our long-term national interest. The military minds who have long become accustomed to controlling foreign policy in Islamabad are lobbying for a confrontational approach. Locked in the cold war psychology, where small regional states gained military and economic benefits from opposing blocs by fighting proxy wars, they fail to see that this sort of policy is not only redundant, it is self-defeating in the changed international scenario. They want to create a counter-weight to America in the region, by aligning with China and Iran. A central feature of this policy is to explode a nuclear device and legitimise Pakistan's nuclear status, which according to them will add to its military clout in the New World Order. They argue that Pakistan's nuclear status will act as a deterrent against India's hegemonic designs in the region. The old argument that this will improve Pakistan's prestige in the Middle East and improve the Palestinians bargaining power against Israel is also extended. The idea that Pakistan should export its nuclear technology to counter its economic woes has already been raised in parliament. Unfortunately none of these arguments hold their ground and those who are extending them will merely push Pakistan into a hostile isolationist foreign policy posture which will spell economic disaster.

Firstly the exploding of a device will not act as a deterrent, it will land the two neighbours into an economically destructive nuclear arms race. The experience of the two superpowers tells us that once the nuclear race is entered into, it is unending and no specific number of bombs is considered an effective deterrent. In addition, a nuclear competition between a richer United States and poorer Soviet Union led to the ruin of the economy and society of the latter. The USSR, forced to spend a disproportionate percentage of national wealth on defence at the cost of the productive sector, has landed itself in an economic mess which forces it to beg its own sworn enemies for help to feed its people.

So far the world knows that we have the technical know-how that could produce the bomb whenever the green light is given by the government of the day. This position gives us a deterrent but saves us from the economic pressures of a nuclear arms race. Both Israel and South Africa are known to have nuclear capability, but have not exploded a

device. India on the other hand exploded the device in 1974 but has not owned up to making a nuclear arsenal. The world says it has over 20 bombs in the attic with missiles to deliver them over 1,500 miles. Pakistan is supposed to have 6 to 10 of them deliverable on F-16s and shortrange missiles it has bought from China.

Both India and Pakistan are facing pressures from the United States to sign the NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty] and Pakistan is facing pressures to open its nuclear facilities for inspection, which it says are only for peaceful purposes. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has extended the proposal that Pakistan is prepared to discuss the nuclear issue on a regional basis with India and proposed a conference in which China, USSR and the United States would be co-sponsors. This proposal spurned by India, has found favour in Washington and other international quarters. Most recently the Political Committee of the United Nations has ratified a proposal moved by Pakistan to create a Nuclear-Weapon-Free-Zone in South Asia. It is significant that although India voted against the motion, both USSR and the United States voted in its favour. If Pakistan launches a peace offensive in the region, it will be in a position to lobby with Washington to put pressure on New Delhi to consider the nuclear issue on a regional basis.

The jingoists at home are however arguing that Pakistan should explode the bomb to achieve parity with India. Suspicious of American intentions in the region, they argue that the United States will legalise India's nuclear status by making it signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and then amending it in its favour. The NPT defines a legitimate nuclear weapons state as one which has successfully exploded the device before 1967, precluding India which exploded the device in 1974. The fear that the NPT will be amended to favour India is premature. Firstly, the NPT can be amended only in 1995, and secondly if then the question of favouring India comes up, Pakistan can also change its policy on the issue. Until then the only economically viable policy for Pakistan is to pursue peace in the region.

Vigorous efforts must of course be made to increase trade and cooperation in areas of mutual interest with our neighbours China and Iran. But directing these efforts towards making this a hostile area to counter the united power of America, Europe and Japan in the new world order, can only be dismissed as unrealistic. It is the army, the communistic party in China and the clergy and military leadership in Iran, to whom these jingoistic views hold an appeal. China, around which this regional grouping must revolve, is experiencing the same sort of democratic pressures from its people that ousted the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, and made its army redundant. China is presently resisting these pressures in spite of western, especially American, pressures to the contrary, but it is fast moving towards opening up its economy and vying for improved trade relations with the capitalist world. It has also stated its intentions to becoming a signatory to the NPT, which will prevent it from exporting nuclear technology. In Iran President Rafsanjani, in spite of pressures from the clergy and the army, wants improved trade and

diplomatic relations with the West. Rational elements in both countries realise that in the new world order adopting an isolationist foreign policy would be economic suicide.

Then the argument that gaining nuclear status will increase our clout with the Arab states and an 'Islamic bomb' will improve the bargaining power of Palestinians is also misconceived. The key Arab states such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria and the Gulf states are far too indebted to the United States to adopt a policy which goes against the capitalist world. Recent developments in the Middle East show that the Palestinians have realised the futility of a rigid, hostile posture. A hostile realising with Iran will, in fact, hurt Pakistan's relations with Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states who are important allies, and where thousands of our citizens earn a living.

Efforts towards peace and nuclear disarmament do not mean selling our sovereignty or accepting Indian hegemony. They signify an assertion of our right as a nation to peace and economic uplift. Those who have made the nuclear issue the sole measure of our sovereignty or national assertion are shortsighted. Their argument implies that countries like Japan and Germany, having chosen to drop the military option, have given up their sovereignty. Nothing can be further from the truth.

It would be in Pakistan's national interest to solve both the Afghanistan and the Kashmir problems diplomatically. It is only by having peace on our borders that it will be possible to have a trading bloc with the Muslim Central Asian states; such a trading bloc would throw open the possibilities of increased trade and prosperity in the region. We must push for a regional solution to the nuclear question in the long-term. And in the short-term, cap our nuclear programme to substantiate our pacific intentions and concentrate resources towards the development of nuclear technology for the generation of power, crucial for our energy needs.

The nuclear question should be treated to constructive, informed and rational debate rather than making it a holy cow, the mention of which brings politically expedient cries of treason. The popular feelings of hostility with India, which have attained national identity status, force our political leaders to adopt an aggressive posture even though it is clearly not in our national interest. Highest public officials in both countries have implied that the two governments can get out of this mutually destructive bind if there is a favourable environment of pacific public opinion. The immediate necessity is to develop an informed lobby, which propagates the necessity and benefits of peace so that the two governments can refrain from making jingoistic political statements.

It is 43 years since we gained independence. It is time we evolved a rational and mutually beneficial relationship with our neighbour. In other words we must be prepared to grapple with economic realities or face eventual economic collapse.

Internal Conflict Seen Escalating

92AS0225A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
20 Oct 91 p 10

[Article by Iftikhar Ali Shaikh: "The Contradictions Within Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad"]

[Text] The other day, in the leadership conference of the Islamic Juamhoori Ittehad [IJI], it was decided to expel Agha Murtaza Poya and his party. According to Poya, the conference was held with the sole purpose of snatching his blanket from him [reference to a folk story about a bystander watching a dispute between two men who snatch the bystander's blanket and run away]. Poya was the information secretary of IJI and his designated job was to keep the nation informed of the party's policy irrespective of whether he disagreed with any of the party's decisions. It was not seemly for him to use the means of communication to bring before the public his own personal views and disagreements with the IJI. As the holder of a dignified and important office, he should not have behaved as he had been doing over the last few weeks. It would have been better if, before making speeches from the platform of the Pakistan Democratic Alliance [PDA], he had resigned and removed himself and his party from the IJI. But he might have thought that if he stayed in the IJI and used his office to criticize the party, its policy, and its leadership, he would gain a better reception among the people; or he might have wishfully thought that he would be more acceptable to the Pakistan Democratic Alliance. Whatever the reasons, he was expelled from the IJI. As things stand now, there are seven parties left in the IJI. A hot rumor was circulating that the present conference would be held against the backdrop of differences between the leaderships of Jamaat-e-Islami and the Muslim League but those who had an eye on realities conjectured that in spite of the recent open differences between the two parties, they would decide to stay together out of fear of a third force and that was what they did. Although to the leader of the Jamaat-e-Islami, Qazi Hussain Ahmad, this conference was nothing more than a get-together, nevertheless, when all the protagonists sat down facing each other, they realized that in the past, in spite of differences of opinion over important national issues, they had continued to support each other, not willingly, but because there was no other choice. Therefore, just as in the past, the cooperation would have to continue in the future as well. According to reports reaching the press, grievances were aired in the conference and bitter words were exchanged but everything stopped when it came to the question of where to go from there. After the proceedings against Agha Poya, fruitful discussions should have been held in the conference in regard to the past behaviour of Jamaat-e-Islami, national security, international affairs, and domestic confrontation. But perhaps this was not possible. Perhaps if Poya had demonstrated the street power of his party, he would not have been ousted from the IJI. But whereas Poya was expelled as punishment for speaking in the PDA meeting, Jamaat-e-Islami did not even receive a warning to be careful in the future. Such behavior is utterly unsuitable. The fact is that for the last 11 months, although a member of the IJI, Jamaat-e-Islami has been so

enamoured of the idea of preserving its own identity that it has not only made Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, the leader of the IJI, and the IJI government itself the target of criticism and ridicule, but has also created difficulties for the country in important international matters. During this period, Qazi Hussain Ahmad adopted a position contrary to the government's stand on Iraq. He wanted the people to riot and demonstrate against Pakistan's policy and strongly demonstrated his own street power. He represented Saddam Husayn as another Salah ud din Ayubi.

Qazi Hussain Ahmad's people forced citizens to display large posters of Saddam Husayn in their shops, kiosks, and cars. He protested against Pakistani soldiers who were sent to Saudi Arabia. He criticized the United States in a manner that suggested that Pakistan was at war with the United States. The Pakistani Government had gone so far as to condemn U.S. aggression but Qazi Hussain's attitude was entirely emotional and far from the truth. He presented the war in a light that managed to offend Saudi Arabia, the United States, and Iraq all at the same time. He sounded off over foreign affairs as though he was in charge of the foreign office. His protests against the IJI government did irreparable harm to the country. Inside the country, trade was affected and uncertainty increased. Intellectuals were left wondering. Those analysts and columnists who had pinned their hopes on the IJI as aopposed to the PDA and thought that the government of Ittehad [unity] would lead the country towards a better life, were disappointed to see the clash between the policies of the government and Jamaat-e-Islami. Public restlessness increased and the people realized that although they had voted for Ittehad and gave IJI full mandate for reform but at the first crisis, there was confusion brewing inside the Ittehad government. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was touring various countries in search of peace while inside Pakistan, Jamaat-e-Islami was expressing lack of confidence in his mission. This was the juncture at which Jamaat-e-Islami should have separated itself from IJI affairs but this was not done. Then Qazi Hussain Ahmad, leader of Jamaat-e-Islami publicized a parallel foreign policy on Afghanistan. When the mujaheddin captured Khost, naturally there was rejoicing in Pakistan but Jamaat-i-Islami tried to take credit for the victory. Qazi Hussain slung a Kalashnikov around his neck and went on a tour of Khost. As in the Iraqi matter, he tried to gain public praise but his tour did not prove popular in Pakistan's official circles and diplomatic circles outside the country. The pompous manner in which Qazi Hussain arranged to have his pictures taken in Khost and then had the pictures published conveyed the impression that he was the supreme commander of the victorious mujaheddin troops. He definitely paid no thought to the effect that his emotional actions would have on the country's foreign policy.

On the domestic front as well, his attitude was one of confrontation so much so that chief minister Ghulam Haidar Wain expressed disgust over it to the press and demanded that in view of the behaviour of Jamaat-e-Islami, the IJI leadership seek a neat turn in the road which would enable it to get rid of this alliance. But a

comical situation arose when the next day the chief minister retracted his statement unceremoniously and Qazi Hussain Ahmad demanded a meeting of the IJI leadership. Then the statement was issued that Muslim League, the party of IJI leader Nawaz Sharif, would have never won the elections.

The statement added that Jamaat-I-Islami by its votes brought success to IJI candidates connected with the Muslim League. The statements of both leaders were devoid of diplomacy. If the chief minister was so disgusted with Jamaat-i-Islami that he had decided that it should be expelled from the IJI and if Jamaat-e-Islami was laboring under the impression that IJI candidates could not have won without its votes, then the matter should have been referred to an IJI leadership conference. Instead, the verbal confrontation damaged the confidence of IJI supporters. In Sindh politics, Jamaat-e-Islami has been continuously expressing its disgust with MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement]; in the North-West Frontier Province, Jamaat-e-Islami does not want to associate with ANP [Awami National Party]. Perhaps this holier-than-thou attitude of Jamaat-e-Islami might be helping it to define its identity more clearly but it is not having a positive effect on national policy. In this conference, the IJI has passed several resolutions to express its stand on different issues. The resolutions confirm the government's past actions and project its plans for the future but no goals have been set. Everyone is concerned over the law and order situation and the high cost of living. The constant increase in taxes has created a permanent headache for wage earners and basic necessities of life such as water, electricity, gas and transport are now beyond the reach of the ordinary man. The IJI conference pondered over these issues but it did not put forth any plans that would give people in the various walks of life the hope of a decent life in the near future. The response of a prominent member of the IJI was worthy of note. A journalist asked him that why was it that after homicides or incidents of terrorism, the government always announced that the criminals would be hanged in public but these hangings were never carried out. The IJI member immediately replied that it was the task of the police to arrest the criminals and it was the duty of the courts to punish the guilty and that the announcements of the government could be carried out only if the police caught the wrongdoers and the courts found them guilty and pronounced sentence on them. In short, the expectations of the supporters and the opponents of the IJI from this leadership conference remained unfulfilled. It is commonly believed that the IJI is satisfied with the status quo and this is not a good sign. The country is passing through critical times. Aside from the internal dissension, we are alone in the world. King USA is angry with us and its followers Britain and France are not willing to help us. At the behest of the United States, the World Bank and IMF are insisting on such stringent conditions for helping us that discontent, agitation, and instability are bound to increase in the country. We have recently so angered Japan that there is no hope of any quick appeasement. The manner in which we cancelled the projected visit to Japan elicited the reaction from Japan that it had cancelled the

tour. The recent statement of the Japanese ambassador, which was contrary to diplomatic courtesy, demonstrated fully Japan's displeasure. The Japanese as a nation are very polite in their conversations and their diplomats are considered masters of the art. A comparison of Japanese diplomats with U.S. diplomats illustrates the difference clearly. The American manner of speaking demonstrates their cowboy past but Japanese diplomats reflect their several-thousand-year-old civilization. What the well-trained ambassador of this civilized nation told the chamber of commerce was extremely insulting. Although the matter was cleared up at the foreign ministry level, the upshot of the whole affair was that a very wealthy Far Eastern country, which was not only willing but also eager to help Pakistan, has now pulled back. As the Japanese ambassador said, when Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif postponed his visit to Japan, there was a strong reaction in Japan. The Japanese Government felt that Pakistan's domestic affairs had reached such a sorry state that the government would last only a few days. Their impression was derived from their observation of Pakistan's domestic affairs and Jamaat-e-Islami bears some of the blame for this. But this party is so involved in pursuing its own goals that it continues to air proudly the conflict in policies within the Ittehad and pays no heed to the hidden factors and results. Jamaat-e-Islami is avoiding the logical outcome of these conflicts. It appears as though there will soon be just six parties in the Ittehad and thus the internal conflicts will be soon ended. It would have been better if in the leadership conference of the IJI, they had spoken unambiguously to the Jamaat-e-Islami. The chief minister of Punjab read the charge sheet but the counter accusation was that the Muslim League also had acted against the IJI charter; thus with the counter charge that the other side also was guilty of the same crime, the matter came to naught. In other words, since both parties were guilty, they should forgive each other. The status quo road is full of obstacles. It would have been better if we had risen above compromise and personal stability, and keeping in mind the interests of the country, made some concrete decisions. The present situation is not a satisfactory one and sooner or later we will have to make the bitter decisions. We have refused to face the facts and this has led to negative results for both party and national politics. National circles have every right to expect that keeping in view wider national interests, the IJI will soon decide which of its friends it wishes to take with it in its progress forward.

Government Foreign, Internal Policies Reviewed

IJI's First Year Evaluated

92AS0287A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
7 Nov 91 p 10

[Editorial: "The First Year of the Nawaz Sharif Government: A Survey"]

[Text] The Nawaz Sharif government has completed its first year in office. The people gave the Islami Jumhuri Ittehad, the party of the government, a full majority mandate in the general elections last October. The post of premier was definitely a new experience for Nawaz Sharif.

He had gained political and administrative experience as a provincial minister during the martial government and, after the 1985 elections, as the chief minister of Punjab; but as a national leader and prime minister he has had to face entirely new situations both inside and outside the country. In the domestic arena, the first challenge his government had to face was to refrain from repeating the mistakes of the previous government and to prove itself a clean government. Earlier, the results of the 1988 elections had given Benazir Bhutto of the People's Party the opportunity to form a government; but after staying in office for only 20 months, her government was dismissed because of charges of incompetence and corruption and the assemblies were dissolved as well. The president of Pakistan filed special charges against the ousted prime minister, her relatives and other party leaders as a result of which pleasant relations were never established between the newly elected government and the leader of the opposition, the former prime minister. In the beginning, because of the president's charges, Benazir remained under some pressure and was exposed to certain dangers; but when the government showed no interest in pursuing those charges, Benazir was relieved of all fears and dangers and launched an aggressive policy. Since she is an experienced politician, she bore the trauma of her husband's imprisonment as though it was part of the routine. The presidential charges have not yielded any results so far but because of them the political atmosphere has remained tense and a pleasant working relationship has not been established between the government and the opposition as happens under democratic parliamentary traditions.

The new assembly included two other former prime ministers in addition to Benazir. The late Zia had dismissed the government of Mohammad Khan Junejo under various charges; Mr. Junejo, however, regarded himself as having been unjustly treated and the courts ruled as well that General Zia's order to disband the assemblies was unconstitutional and based on evil motives. Mr. Junejo is the leader of the Muslim League as well and certain circles have been telling him that the popular mandate was in reality given to the Muslim League and that contrary to the orders of former president Zia, the people had expressed their confidence in Junejo. He should, thus, step forward and as the leader of the parliament assume the office of prime minister. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, prime minister in the former caretaker government, was also a member of the assembly. The October 1991 elections were held by his government and Mr. Jatoi was certain that his term of office as prime minister would be for a longer period than three months and that the new assembly would duly elect him as premier. These two hopefuls or claimants to the premiership who were part of the ruling party have been the cause of the instability of the Nawaz Sharif government. Ejaz ul Haq, the son of the late Zia, is another claimant and those around him continue to whisper in his ear that he deserves the post of premier. Certain elements have now made national assembly member Hamed Nasir Chattha a hopeful for the premiership. These events turned the dinner parties over the last few days into a political tidal movement and these factors have created a

situation which has prevented the Nawaz Sharif government, in spite of its majority mandate, from demonstrating the kind of performance which the people rightfully expected.

In the beginning, the Nawaz Sharif government speedily made certain important decisions and took actions, and announced bold policies particularly for the promotion of a free economy. Fresh industrial incentives were offered; foreign exchange laws were softened; ways were found to use black gold for productive purposes; agreement was reached to distribute finances among the provinces; the long standing dispute over the division of river waters was resolved; privatization was started which received acceptance and praise from others as well. After these measures, there was no reason why domestic and foreign investment should not have started; but here as well, the country and the nation were dogged by misfortune. A favorable atmosphere was not created for investment and the deteriorating law and order situation created difficulties for the nation and the government. The situation in Sindh in particular placed obstacles in the way of the government's economic policies. That area has been the center of plunder and murder over half the last decade. Even Zia's martial law failed to control the situation. The "Sindhi" governments of Mr. Junejo, Benazir Bhutto and Mr. Jatoi failed to restore order in their own province. The new chief minister of Sindh, Jam Sadiq, appeared on the surface to be a smart man but also a tyrant towards his former party [as published]. But his position was that of the president's nominee and as a trouble shooter he was able to obtain the help of the president's son in law, Irfan Ullah Morawat. Thus, Nawaz Sharif's government had no opportunity to interfere in the law and order situation in Sindh. On top of all this, Jam Sadiq obtained the patronage of Pir Pagara Sharif who is pursuing the policy of keeping the prime minister away from the Muslim League policies. Prime minister Nawaz Sharif decided to stay close to Junejo rather than enter the circle of Pir Pagara's friends. Perhaps he thought it easier to get along with Pir Pagara's disciple rather than with the Pir himself.

As regards the other provinces, the chief ministers of the Frontier province and Baluchistan were also the president's nominees; hence, it was not possible for the prime minister Nawaz Sharif to interfere in these provinces in any major way. Only in Punjab was it possible to establish a government nominated by Nawaz Sharif. The prime minister thought that he would remain in charge of Punjab through Ghulam Haidar Wain and that he would be able to control the province's politics and administration. The irony of the situation is that Wain is not connected with Punjab's influential feudal landlords and landowners nor is he a major capitalist businessman; he has in fact proved himself to be truly an ascetic man of God. There was no chance of his personal success under such conditions; nevertheless, he is still in office but in accordance with the prime minister's own wishes, the law and order situation has been entrusted to the governor. Although this tug of war at the highest provincial level has not been fully revealed to the public, but it could upset matters in Nawaz Sharif's own province. The cooperative scandal in Punjab

has placed the prime minister in a bad position. However, the prime minister's business group claims that during the term of office of the Benazir government, it was vindictively deprived of government loans which forced the group to borrow from cooperative institutions at high rates of interest and that these loans had been repaid to the last penny. On the other hand, large sums have been borrowed under the names of the business organizations of Chaudhari Shujaat Hussain, minister of the interior. According to Parvez Illahi, he had returned 260 million rupees of the total loan of 630 million rupees. Other names are also being bandied about concerning the cooperatives' loans but no facts have been revealed in defense or in explanation. In the cooperatives scandals, it is feared that 17 billion rupees of people's savings may have been misappropriated and that black gold capitalists may be involved as well because, in an effort to avoid taxes and increase profits, they had placed their savings in these institutions whereas small scale investors fell victim out of the desire to obtain employment for their children or merely on the basis of acquaintanceship. The prime minister will be addressing the nation on the occasion of the completion of the first year of his term of office and he may clarify his situation in regard to the financial crisis or give details of future measures. Our readers will read about it with the publication of this material [as published]. At any rate, the government appears to be badly enmeshed in this crisis.

The present government's privatization policy deserves a separate review. No one denies the advantages of this policy but fingers are being pointed at the speed with which this policy is being carried out. The government claims that it wants to accelerate the process whereas experts and opposing politicians have been critical of the pace from the start. In view of the conditions in the country which have already been mentioned, the law and order situation and the deplorable condition of the private sector, it appears that the government will encounter difficulties in carrying out rapid privatization.

The government faced two major problems in foreign policy. One was the Afghanistan issue, which, two and a half years after the withdrawal of Soviet troops, continues to appear insoluble. The people of Afghanistan who made sacrifices over the past 10 years and Pakistan who sustained wounds in its support of the principles of truth and justice still have not received their due rewards. Nearly three million fifty thousand Afghan refugees still live in Pakistan. On the other hand, Kashmir remains a life or death issue for Pakistan but India is adamant in its demand that negotiations, and only direct ones, can be started with Pakistan on condition that Kashmir is first recognized as an indivisible part of India. No doors appear to be left open for outside or UN participation. The government has made no serious effort to highlight this issue in the international arena. Now Agha Shahi, a former foreign minister, and K. M. Arif, former vice chief of army staff, have gone on a goodwill tour of India. General Arif is also representing retired general Beg's organization called Friends. Will not such tours consign the Kashmir issue to limbo? Will not Pakistan's half-hearted policy increase the Kashmiri mujaheddin's problems? These are questions

which are not hard to answer. It was the duty of the government to make an effort to bring the Afghanistan issue to a logical conclusion and to have UN resolutions on Kashmir carried out.

Over this period of time, the new government has been specially hard pressed by the United States which has suspended aid using Pakistan's atomic program as an excuse. The United States has been exerting pressure in this matter on other countries as well. The new United States ambassador is in Islamabad and Pakistan's nominated ambassador to the United States, Abida Begum, will be leaving for Washington. A U.S. delegation will be coming to Pakistan for talks. We should maintain our position and conclude matters with the United States all over again.

The actions of the president of Pakistan have influenced and determined the part played by the new government. The president is an experienced bureaucrat but as a civilian president he should have played a different role. If he had tried, he could have saved the country and the nation from the state of uncertainty which exists today and which gets deeper with the published news and headlines. The unfortunate fact is that 25 out of the 42 [as published] years since the country's independence have been sacrificed to authoritarianism and military governments. The future is again turning dark and the democratic parliamentary system is facing a serious challenge. If the president had cooperated fully with the democratic government, the country and nation could have been protected from the dangers of martial law. Unfortunately, no such effort is being made. The president is asking for powers exceeding those of the eighth amendment and certain elements are drawing up a law giving the president the power to dismiss the cabinet. The politicians are willingly or unwillingly fully involved in the deterioration of the situation. Unfortunately, the people want to remain free; they want to progress under an Islamic democratic parliamentary welfare system but the actions of politicians do not indicate as to what extent they support freedom and democracy. What greater misfortune can befall a country and nation than that the roles played by politicians and national leaders should come under suspicion? Under such conditions, can the elected government seek a direction for itself? Can the uncertainty facing the country and the nation be ended during the tenure of the government? The first year of the government's term of office is ending with serious future challenges for the country. May it be possible for the prime minister to face these challenges manfully with courage and patience.

Policies Seen as Failures

92AS0287B Lahore MUSAWAT in Urdu 1 Nov 91 p 2

[Article by M. I. Haziq: "The Writing on the Wall"]

[Text] The country is facing the most serious political, economic, and social crises of its 44-year history. The large scale financial plunder carried out by the ruling class has brought Pakistan's economic system to the brink of total collapse so that each new day brings the nation closer to destruction. In his recent address to a seminar in Karachi,

the chairman of the central board of revenue cited statistics which allowed a mere glimpse into the economic deterioration brought about by the present authorities. The chairman told the seminar that 130 billion rupees of the annual budget is spent on defense and payment of interest on loans. Last year, 46 billion rupees were paid to foreign countries as interest on loans and this year the interest amounted to 63 billion rupees. The picture that the chairman of the central board of revenue presented of Pakistan's economic future was a frightening one. He said that if the present situation were to continue for another two or three years, the result would be total destruction. The fact is that we suffer great humiliation and set aside our national pride in order to borrow from foreign countries and the lending countries take full advantage of our national problems. The World Bank, IMF and other international organizations enmesh us in rules and regulations of their own making and eventually throw something in our beggar's bowl. Although our addiction to borrowing started soon after independence, nevertheless, thirteen or fourteen years ago the country did not face the kind of humiliation which is overwhelming us now. The situation has now deteriorated so far that nearly all western countries, including the United States, have stopped aid to Pakistan, and Japan also is refraining from any kind of economic help. As a result of our failed foreign policy, Arab countries have withdrawn their helping hand. To top it all, our friendship with the People's Republic of China has lost the warmth which was a notable feature of relations between the two countries. Chinese premier Li Pheng will be visiting India in the first week of December and it is probable that in the future good relations will be established between India and China. If that happens, India will have an even freer hand in its enmity towards Pakistan and Brahmin imperialism will be free to act against us in any way it pleases. In January of 1992, a high level U.S. military delegation led by chairman of the joint chief of staff committee [as published] and chief of army staff will visit New Delhi with the purpose of formulating future defense strategy. The politically wise Indian authorities have succeeded in enticing the U.S. genie into their bottle just as they had done with the Soviet Union. They have assured the U.S. of every kind of cooperation in the Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia in connection with the new world order. One got a glimpse of this cooperation in January of this year during the U.S. attack on Iraq; India provided all kinds of facilities at its naval and air bases to U.S. military planes flying from the Far East to the Middle East. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States needs allies of established geographical and political importance who, in the future, will help in the achievement of U.S. aims all over the world. In South and Southeast Asia, the United States has chosen India; by this choice, the United States will be able to reduce the diminishing international influence of China still further and, with the help of Israel, will be able to persuade India to act as a regional monitor for the entire Middle East Muslim block including Pakistan. In the U.S. plan for the future, there is no room for the Islamic world in general and Pakistan in particular. It is our misfortune that in the entire nation of Islam there is not a single leader who can

keep up with the lightening fast events of the times and whose political stature is so secure as to allow him to face the present challenges. It is a tragic fact that Pakistan's affairs are in the hands of individuals who do not have the political wisdom to lead a village, locality, or even a street much less be in charge of the affairs of a nation. Our present ruling authorities are completely devoid of the political insight and knowledge of world affairs which are the primary prerequisites for running a country and a nation. Their incapability is proved by the fact that these individuals who reached important positions under the patronage of martial law joined Zia and Junejo in plundering the national treasury and are now stealing whatever is left over. In other countries, it is an accepted principle of a dynamic nation that their politicians cannot even conceive of profiting financially from their political office. In these countries, it is considered the greatest act of treachery against the nation if the ruling authorities should borrow heavily on the basis of their office and then have these loans forgiven. Also, if a businessman or industrialist in these countries wants to participate in politics, he has, first of all, to divest himself of his business and then become a player in the game of politics. A few years ago, prime minister Tanaka of Japan was accused of using his political office to benefit an international aeroplane manufacturer (Lockheed). Soon after the charges were made, the Japanese prime minister was forced to resign. A political scandal (Watergate) forced former U.S. President Nixon to resign his office; in the sixties, British prime minister had to give up his office because one of his political aides was involved in a sex scandal. But for our authorities, lack of principle and economic plunder have become their guiding principles. Is it not true that the present prime minister used his political office illegally to borrow billions of rupees three times when the rule is that a borrower cannot obtain a second loan unless he has paid back the first one? Is it not a fact that Nawaz Sharif misused the office of premier and before that the office of chief minister of Punjab, and, in conjunction with the present minister of the interior, Shujaat Hussain, borrowed heavily from cooperatives and financial corporations and thus brought about the present crisis in the cooperatives? Is it not the plain truth that in addition to the prime minister and the minister of the interior, Doctor Bisharat Illahi, Zia's brother in law, who during Zia's term of office was an ordinary medical practitioner, has now become a billionaire industrialist? Is it not the bitter fact that the present president's two sons-in-law are enjoying privileges, one as a minister in the central government and the other as the interior advisor in Sindh, which they did not possess before they acquired their particular relationship to the president? These are inescapable facts but our ruling authorities continue to lay claim to rectitude. It is because of these politicians that our banking system is near collapse and matters are such now that the authorities have started selling banks and other government organizations to their favorite individuals. The government is selling for peanuts banks and financial institutions which took many years to build. How long will the government run its affairs by selling the home furnishings? The foundation of the present crisis, which permeates the entire

country and which is responsible for the fast escalating cost of living, was laid in Zia's term of office. Using the Afghanistan problem as a cover, the Zia government signed loan agreements with foreign countries borrowing twice as much as the total loans obtained in the preceding thirty years, from 1947 to 1977. A brief survey of the period from December 1979 to August 1988 shows that after the Russian occupation of Afghanistan, in exchange for granting us loans, foreign governments used us against Russia as much as they pleased. The question as to how these loans were used can be answered by looking at our present deplorable situation. The billions which were borrowed were distributed among a few families as though it was candy taken from a blind man. These families used the money to plan for further plundering the poor public. Cooperative institutions were spread over the whole of Punjab to be used as new traps for the public. Hundreds of thousands of orphans, widows and retired government employees lost their sole retirement income when 17 billion rupees of their money was looted. This situation has doubled the effects of economic destruction. The sighs and tears of hundreds of thousands of people will undoubtedly shake the pillars of state. Our present authorities have learned nothing from the Divine Law and history. There is still time for the authorities to stop being intoxicated with power and wake up and extend the hand of cooperation to the opposition and the people. Our country is already beset with many dangers and our enemies are waiting for just such an opportunity as the government is providing for them. The failed foreign and economic policies of the present government have brought the country to the brink of destruction. If the government fails to alter its course of action, the coming generations will suffer the results. Deplorable economic conditions eventually result in the collapse of a nation's domestic and social systems; the Soviet Union is the best example of this reality. It is the duty of the government to realize its responsibility and learn from history's merciless course.

Increased Persecution of PPP Seen Alarming

Mass Arrests Undemocratic

92AS0373A Karachi DAWN in English 29 Nov 91 p 11

[Editorial: "A Reminder of Times Past"]

[Text] Knocks at midnight followed by mass arrests, those too not on specific charges but under preventive detention laws, used to be features of martial law. The restoration of democracy saw these unholy rites coming to a deserved end. But not, alas, in Pakistan's most anguished region: the province of Sindh. For some time now the opposition there has been levelling charges of human rights abuses—of political workers being rounded up on flimsy charges and being made to suffer the pain of torture at the hands of the police. But even according to these rather frayed standards, the mass arrests of PPP [Pakistan People's Party] workers and district-level leaders throughout the province on Wednesday would seem to have set a new kind of post-martial law record. According to the first reports to come in, hundreds of PPP workers were rounded up by police without being told what they were being arrested

for. This crackdown comes after Jam Sadiq Ali's press conference in Karachi on Tuesday when he accused the two Bhutto ladies of being responsible for the activities of the Al-Zulfikar Organisation and vowed to check their "anti-state activities." The action that has come in its wake is as harsh as his tone on that occasion.

But several questions arise in this connection. Are the law-enforcement authorities acting on the basis of solid proof or is this latest action one more manifestation of the persecution to which, as the PPP alleges, it has been subjected since the last general elections? If there is solid proof behind this action, the police should have moved only against those people against whom it had something specific. The broad and blind nature of the arrests that began on Wednesday would, however, suggest just the opposite: that the Sindh government is being driven by an excessive zeal to bring the PPP to heel. Till such time that this swoop does not come to an end, and people against whom there is nothing specific, are not released, this impression will persist. It will also reinforce the feeling that a special dispensation, different from the one in the rest of the country, holds sway in Sindh.

Does it require vision of a special kind to see the deleterious consequences of such policies? Sindh is already an embittered province. The condition can scarcely improve by the use of highhanded tactics. The greater problem it faces is the divide between its urban and rural areas. The policies being pursued at present are calculated to widen this breach. There is also another dimension to this problem. As long as the PPP is victimised, it will be useless to talk to it of national reconciliation or to hope that sanity will come to prevail in the political arena. At present there is no meeting point between the government and the opposition. The government accuses the opposition of being irresponsible. This accusation may have been prompted by the opposition's militant tone and posture and its repeated threats to launch a nation-wide agitation to oust the government. The opposition, with a great deal of justification, says that it is being hounded needlessly by the government.

With passions thus high on both sides, the country's interests are suffering. There are some basic issues on which all Pakistanis, no matter what their political persuasions or beliefs, should agree. But with the government and the opposition ready to claw each other all the time, and each accusing the other of the worst crimes imaginable, Pakistan presents a picture of a house divided. If the government wants the opposition to play a constructive role and if it wants the political atmosphere in the country to improve, it will have to do some serious rethinking. And it will need to re-examine the wisdom of the mass arrests ordered in Sindh.

President Seen Responsible

92AS0373B Lahore THE NATION in English
2 Dec 91 p 16

[Article: "President Responsible for Vindictive Actions Against PPP: Sherpao"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Peshawar—Former NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] Chief Minister and Provincial PPP [Pakistan People's Party] President, Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao has held the President Ghulam Ishaq Khan responsible for revengeful action being taken by the present government against PPP and Bhutto family.

Addressing a Press conference here on Sunday, the PPP Provincial Chief expressing concern over the arrest of PPP activists by the Sindh Government and firing incident on the residence of Benazir Bhutto, alleged that by taking such actions, the government wanted to eliminate PPP. He said that similar acts were earlier committed by the previous Martial Law Government but Ziaul Haq had failed to remove the PPP from political scene.

Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao expressed hope that conspiracies against PPP and its leaders Benazir Bhutto and Began Nusrat Bhutto would not succeed. He said that Sindh Government's actions against PPP and Bhutto family were harmful for federation and the present democratic set-up. He was of the view that Benazir Bhutto was not only leading the Opposition but her party was also considered to be symbol of unity amongst all the provinces of the country, therefore, such actions against the PPP were against the interests of the federation.

In response to a question, Aftab Sherpao said that Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and Sindh Chief Minister Jam Sadiq were helpless persons and alleged that all acts against PPP and Bhutto family were being patronised by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. He added, in fact, Ghulam Ishaq Khan was the driving force and what was being done by his son-in-law against PPP was known to the people. He said that the crisis could not be resolved with the resignations of Prime Minister or Chief Ministers and the removal of Ghulam Ishaq Khan from Presidentship was the only way out. He accused the President of pushing the country towards disaster following the hostile policies against the Opposition.

The former NWFP Chief Minister said that in order to force the government to give up vindictive policies against the PPP, the party would stage demonstrations daily in different district headquarters. He said that in the beginning, the PPP wanted to build up pressure and would later expend the protest campaign.

Aftab Sherpao said that till Sunday, about 3,500 PPP activists had been arrested by the Sindh administration and by opening fire on the residence of Benazir Bhutto, such elements wanted to eliminate PPP. He apprehended that Jam Sadiq was making grounds for the arrest of Benazir Bhutto, therefore, the PPP wanted to prevent the government from taking such steps through peaceful protest demonstrations throughout the province. He was of the view that Jam Sadiq should not have used negative language against Benazir Bhutto and Begum Nusrat Bhutto.

Commenting on President's 'vindictive actions' against PPP, Sherpao said that President's role was not impartial because he was backing Jam Sadiq Ali through his son-in-law Irfanullah Khan Marwat while he remained silent

over the Cooperative scandal. He said that the President had not yet filed any reference against Nawaz Sharif or Chaudhry Brothers who were responsible for misappropriation of billions of rupees.

Directed at PPP 'Terrorists'

92AS0373C Lahore THE NATION in English 2 Dec 91
pp 1, 4

[Article: "I Don't Need Ishaq Permission for Operation in Sindh: Jam"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Lahore—"I don't need any acknowledgment or authentication from President Ghulam Ishaq Khan or the Federal Government to wipe out terrorism from Sindh".

This outburst was made by Chief Minister Sindh Jam Sadiq Ali while lashing out at a local journalist at his Press conference at the Lahore Airport's VIP Lounge on Sunday afternoon soon after his arrival here from Karachi.

He said though he had been appointed by the President, he as Chief Minister enjoyed complete autonomy to take action against the subversionists who were being trained by the enemy. He said the campaign launched against the Al-Zulfikar terrorists did not affect any PPP [Pakistan People's Party] worker.

Asked about the apprehension about the country going under military rule as a result of his action against the Opposition, Jam Sadiq said he had worked with COAS [Chief of Army Staff] Gen. Asif Nawaz while he was Corps Commander Karachi. "I know Gen Asif well, he doesn't have any intention to impose Martial Law".

The Jam refused to comment on former Punjab Governor Malik Ghulam Mustafa Khar calling him Qatal-i-Pakistan. "I don't want to waste my time on Khar, but I am not the one who had sent to Pakistan arms from India," was his subtle remark about Khar who left the VIP Lounge the moment Jam walked in.

The Sindh Chief Minister said the strike call given by the PPP had received poor response from rural as well as urban Sindh. "It was a total failure, a total flop", he added, urging journalists to confirm this from their own sources if they did not trust him.

The Jam who was pretending to be a decent and well-mannered politician was offended when he was reminded of his calling the APC [All Parties Conference] 'all prostitutes conference'. "When others transgress cross the limits of decency, I am justified to react in a similar manner," was his answer.

Replying to another question, Jam said the PPP was not justified in giving a strike call as the crackdown had been planned against the AZO [Al-Zulfikar Organization] terrorists and not the PPP workers.

According to him, of over 5,000 AZO terrorists, operating in Sindh 318 had been nabbed so far. He underscored that this campaign was aimed at eliminating saboteurs and any mass-killing would not ensue from it in Sindh as had happened in 1983.

The grim Jam also took serious notice of Benazir Bhutto asking the President to 'resign or behave properly'. He wondered that the Opposition leaders who were now criticising the President had adopted a submissive posture when they wanted to meet him sometime back. They were even requesting Shahbaz Sharif to arrange their meeting with the President, he added.

He asked the PPP leadership to tell the people who was responsible for the murder of Ch. Zahoor Elahi and who hijacked Singapore Airline Plane if they were so concerned over the arrests of the Al-Zulfikar terrorists. "These questions themselves have the answer whether Jam has become personal or he is doing the right thing.

Asked about recent attack on Benazir Bhutto's car in the interior Sindh for which the PPP had lodged an FIR [First Information Report] against his Home Adviser Irfanullah Khan Marwat, the CM denied it outright. "Don't believe in what they people say, they are international liars".

The Sindh Chief Minister drew blank when asked to comment on Pir Pagaro's recent statement that the country was heading for Martial Law and confined himself to saying "Pir Sahib is very kind to me. I hold him in high esteem."

He was equally thankful to the President, the Prime Minister and kid brother Shahbaz for having enquired about his health frequently while he was in England for his medical check-up. "My special thanks to Mian Nawaz Sharif who prayed for my health in Holy Ka'aba and sent Shahbaz Mian to England."

Earlier on his arrival Jam Sadiq was accorded red-carpet welcome. Punjab Chief Minister Ghulam Haider Wyne, his Cabinet members and senior bureaucrats welcomed the guest Chief Minister. However, former Punjab Governor Ghulam Mustafa Khar who travelled in the same flight was perturbed over the reception to Jam whom he dubbed qatal-i-Pakistan.

Restraint Increasingly Urgent

92AS0373D Lahore THE NATION in English
28 Nov 91 p 6

[Editorial: "Jam Sadiq on a Warpath"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] While the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] has decided to take on the President by mustering street power, the redoubtable Chief Minister of Sindh, fresh from his recuperative sojourn in London, has lost no time in bringing home the message that he will not let the Opposition get away with its high-profile agitational posture. In a bid to live up to his image of a go-getter, he has rather overdone his bit of tough talking, accusing the Bhutto ladies of being 'traitors' and arrogating himself the right to teach them a lesson. Ironically, while he warned the two ladies to desist from making accusations against the President and the Prime Minister, he, in the same breath, mounted a massive tirade against the Opposition leaders. In the backdrop of a continuing state of tension and a running battle of words between the Government and the

Opposition, Jam Sadiq Ali's 'belligerency' is not out of tune with the prevailing political climate. But, he has been a little more off-balance in trading charges, and rather frivolous in mocking the Opposition, than one would expect from the chief minister of a province. He may have reasons to allege that the Bhutto ladies were running the Al-Zulfikar outfit, and hopefully he would opt for a legal recourse, rather than cracking down on his political opponents, to prove his point. But there could be no tenable alibi for him to lose his sense of propriety and decency and make an outrageous remark like calling the APC [All Parties Conference] a 'conference of prostitutes'.

Jam Sadiq Ali has not stopped at charging the Leader of the Opposition with 'treason' but has gone to the extent of insinuating that she has, beginning with her father, a family history of anti-Pakistan activities, conveniently ignoring the fact that he himself was closely associated with the ZAB [Zulfigar Ali Bhutto] regime. It is not unusual for a politician to change colour or switch political loyalties, but one cannot be so oblivious of one's own past while passing value judgments on the bona fides of former political associates. Jam Sadiq has also tried to give the impression that he, as Chief Minister, was sufficiently 'autonomous' to take action against the Opposition leaders. Whether or not the Prime Minister shared the Sindh Chief Minister's perception of his own political authority, Jam Sadiq Ali has more or less been functioning as a 'warlord', quite often pursuing policies at variance with Islamabad's political line. And he has, hitherto, got away with his high-handed political tactics, notwithstanding the fact that his constant browbeating of political opponents has been a veritable source of discord and tension between the Government and the Opposition at the national level. While one does not hold any brief for the Opposition's ill-conceived plan of agitation, it may be in the fitness of things to advise the Jam to exercise restraint and not let the situation reach a point of no return.

Article Calls For End to Politics of Confrontation

Democracy Under Siege

92AS0374A Lahore THE NATION in English
3 Dec 91 p 6

[Article by Ikram Sehgal: "Bridging the Great Divide"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The political debate between the parties has degenerated into a personal slanging match that is increasingly an anathema to the continuation of democracy in Pakistan. While this is the norm of street politics at the ward level, the highest reaches of the land are not sacrosanct anymore from this ill-conceived out-pouring of vituperation. The polarisation between the Bhutto ladies and Jam Sadiq has gone down to such frustrating levels that there has to be an intercession by allied forces on either side to cool tempers down.

With Ghulam Ishaq Khan giving a clean bill of health to Nawaz Sharif, the Opposition's attempt to meet the President to request for the PM's [Prime Minister] ouster was

stillborn. This was hardly surprising. The PDA's [People's Democratic Alliance] main constituent party is the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and it is the PPP which is under siege in Sindh by Jam Sadiq Ali, himself a former PPP person. His pointman in harassing the PPP happens to be the President's son-in-law. The PPP cannot rid itself of the Al-Zulfiqar branding, a fair amount of their youthful extremists did join that terrorist organisation during the early days of the Zia regime. This became a natural entity for corporate takeover by the Research and Analytical Wing (RAW), an organisation created by our friendly neighbour, India, to keep the rest of the countries of South Asia in a state of permanent instability. Unfortunately for the idealists of Al-Zulfiqar, their ambitions to destabilize non-PPP Pakistani regimes coincided with RAW objectives only partly, RAW's own aim being the destabilizing (and eventual Balkanization) of Pakistan, whatever the regime.

Pakistan's Armed Forces have severely restricted India's bid for hegemony in the South Asia. Other than the Bhutto family, which had understandable reasons, the PPP hierarchy may have reluctantly blessed Al-Zulfiqar during the early days of their exile out in the political cold. No sane politician will countenance terrorism. While some PPP leaders may show signs of erratic behaviour from time to time, the PPP remains a national party with potent capability in its leadership. The lack of a clear statement in absolute disassociation and continuing terrorism has given Jam Sadiq the ammunition to keep blasting away at the foundations of the PPP. This situation was further aggravated during the Jam's medical absence in UK when "rumours about his demise were greatly exaggerated". Other than being in exceedingly bad taste, one could hardly expect Jam to be amused or remain indifferent to this display of venom.

Third World populace respond to a peculiar brand of democracy, they tend to desert in droves the departed, whether retired or demised, unless they are reminded at some length as to who carries the big stick. Given the excuse by a spate of terrorist incidents, the Jam has reacted predictably to rid himself of his favourite demons by wide-scale arrests of the PPP rank and file in Sindh. The PPP responded by being defiant in Sindh province, the strike called on Saturday last being a moderate failure in the interior and a total disaster in the major civilian centres, about par for the political course in Sindh!

The political strategy of the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] Government vis-a-vis Ms Benazir was very clear from the start, it was to keep her on the defensive by multi-pronged probes on a wide front, administrative and political offensives inter-acting on an "as required" basis. While the legal moves have hamstrung her to an extent, the artificial action of disqualification as an end result could boomerang on the present government by reviving her popularity among the masses. The natural means to cut political opponents down to size can only be political. On that premise the aim of the Nawaz Sharif Government has always been to involve her in a continuing brawl at the provincial level with Jam Sadiq Ali, thereby cutting into

her national image. Frankly speaking, the PPP hierarchy has fallen for this hook, line and sinker. Ms Benazir is now under siege in her own political stronghold, thus forcing her to scale down her national vision by barely concealed appeals to Sindhi ethnicity. The PPP is a national party and images of Sindhi nationalism at the expense of the Federation may cause defections among the rank and file at the national level, reducing Ms Benazir's nuisance value to provincial stature.

Most of Jam's supposed excesses are blamed by the PPP on Irfanullah Marwat, his Advisor for Home Affairs. This is a classic association of interdependence of mutual strength derivation from each other. The Jam governs technically at the behest of the PM, actually at the discretion of the President, Irfan Marwat is the insurance. The President can hardly be expected to take action and remove Jam Sadiq Ali under these circumstances. One telling point made has been that when the MQM [Muhajir Quami Movement], Jam Sadiq and Marwat were allied with the PPP, they were more than acceptable; disassociated from the PPP they are now the recipient of unprintable epithets. Politics makes for strange bedfellows and no alliances are sacred in that realm. It makes no sense to make any schism so deep so as to preclude the future possibility of meeting of the minds.

The Nawaz Sharif Government seems to have survived the coop Scam because of bad political lapses by the PDA leadership. In politics, one must maintain momentum. When the PDA was on a roll and on the way to Islamabad, the movement came apart as Ms Benazir left the hustings at Jehlum for time-out in Paris. The IJI Government had been visibly shaken, particularly because a vast majority of the affected nucleus were of a potent constituency, serving and ex-servicemen. With smoke emanating from the core of the IJI leadership, all sorts of scenarios were being contemplated, perennial PMs-in-waiting came out of mothballs and trial balloons were floated. It was not so much the capability of the Nawaz Sharif regime as the incapability of the Opposition to effectively exploit the Coop Scam issue that the government has survived. With the President certifying his credentials publicly, Nawaz Sharif came back strongly on the rebound.

The IJI's strongest card is economics, the continuing boom at the Stock Exchanges registers a confidence that is symbolic of the perception of continuance in government. The masses may not have complete faith in the present regime, they have even less in those who are attempting to bring it down and as such will not take to the streets easily. In the MQM controlled urban areas of Karachi and Hyderabad, strikes are hardly possible under any political circumstances that the Opposition may be able to devise.

Calling a spade a spade, one must now attempt for compromise before the spade becomes a graveyard shovel for democracy. Political observers are delighted that Ch Nisar Ali, the Minister for Petroleum, has been given a role in the PM's inner circle as a political trouble-shooter. Nisar has had a smear-free political career, coming across as one of the few remaining "Mr Cleans" in politics in Pakistan. Articulate, effective and down-to-earth, he should be able

to intercept political problems and talk it out with the Opposition instead of getting into confrontation with them on every issue under the sun. Like every government before them, the Nawaz Sharif cabinet also has some extremely honourable men of whom this country can be rightly proud, Nisar being one of them the work to bring sanity back to national politics is cut out for him under the circumstances. Moreover, he is an extremely useful link won the armed forces, his late father being an extremely well-respected officer. The Coop Scam has scarred the image of IJI in the rank and file of the Armed Forces and Ch. Nisar's enhanced political profile may provide an effective anti-dote to this. Among all of Nawaz Sharif's recent moves, Ch. Nisar's inclusion in the inner circle has been a brilliant one. It is only hoped that the "Lahore Mafia" realises Nisar's immense value to the PM and lets him be.

Democracy still remains very much on trial in Pakistan. To sustain democracy, it is necessary to bridge the great divide that separates the political parties from being coherent on a single forum that would contribute greatly to a strong unified Pakistan. Moves must be made to tone down the rhetoric, to address the issues from a logical point of view. If the ultimate aim of all political parties is the same, why the fuss in opening (and continuing) a dialogue?

Crime of any nature and at any level must be punished, where it is terrorism, fraud or police excess. Both the intelligentsia and the masses are becoming increasingly skeptical about the democratic process. Only in bipartisan accountability lies the future credibility of politicians. Continuing polarisation may lead to the ultimate divide which we must avoid!

IJI Leadership Lacks Maturity

92AS0374B Lahore *THE NATION* in English
18 Nov 91 p 7

[Article by Inayat Ullah: "IJI (Islamic Democratic Alliance) and PPP (Pakistan People's Party) in a Confrontation Scenario"]

[Text] Caught in the coils of political, economic, social religious and international concentric constraints the Nawaz Sharif government is struggling to keep its head above water.

Governing a resource-starved country in the Third World is a tall order. Operating a democracy in a land beset with myriad problems spawned by internal and external factors and forces is an uphill task.

The return of democracy in Pakistan has brought with it a scenario riddled with distortions and contradictions. Over the years Pakistan society has been in the throes of degeneration acquiring characteristics which make it difficult to administer, whatever be the form or shape of the political system. Its socio-economic structure in the rural areas where most of the people (and bulk of the voters) live, continues to be feudalistic and unprogressive. Its urban centres are crowded with low-income groups and educated and uneducated unemployed whose ranks are

swelling in a haphazard manner with incoming streams of migrants from the rural area. The resultant increase in the ghettos and slums continuously adds to the already unmanageable social and economic conditions.

Long years of arbitrary military rule, unhappy memories of the failure of democratic experimentation, the searing national tragedy of the break-up of the country, the constant threat of a powerful hostile neighbour forcing governments to divert a large chunk of their limited resources to defence, a prolonged dependence on American aid and support and its sudden discontinuation, (with attendant adverse implications), the galloping burden of debt—external and domestic, the unbridled growth of population—most of it illiterate steeped in ignorance and vulnerable to exploitation by tendentious religious groups and feudal lords, the emergence of the drug-mafia and the Kalashnikov culture, the ethnic and regional pulls and problems—all this together constitutes reality of Pakistan of today.

A good question to ask may well be:

Can democracy of the parliamentary vintage function successfully in a society which is illiterate, intolerant, corrupt and violent? The answer is write large is what is currently happening in the country. [sentence as published] The political scene is displayed every day on the front pages of our national Press.

While the public at large is beginning to be increasingly disenchanted with the whole idea of the political process, the situation is being constantly analysed by our over-articulate intellectuals. Seldom before, has so much been written in our newspapers and journals on what ails the country and how one may remedy the wrong. Some by them blame the political system and hold it inappropriate to our conditions and unsuitable to our genius. Others censure the social-structure which does not permit a true representation of the people in the elected assemblies. In their view, the landed gentry and moneyed classes will continue to monopolise power whatever be the nature of the political dispensation. The politicians generally hold their rivals in the field responsible for all the ills and evils that plague the society. The national Press prospers on their accusations and counter-accusations and relishes in highlighting smut, sleaze, slander and scandals. Speculation, rumour-mongering, malicious gossip are grist to their mill. Even disinformation is indulged in, to score a point.

In this unnerving environment, how has the Nawaz Sharif government fared? The government by itself claims considerable success in terms of managing a difficult economic situation, ushering in radical reforms aimed at freeing the economy, unshackling oppressive bureaucratic controls, working towards self-reliance after the US aid stoppage, instituting considerable legislation including the Shariat Bill, forging consensus on water-distribution and financial allocations, confronting India on the nuclear question with the imaginative proposal to involve the regional powers, as well as USA and USSR and not yielding to the American pressure on this issue, strengthening relations with China, Iran and Saudi Arabia, presenting a budget without imposing substantial additional

taxes, gearing up the tax-collection mechanism, maintaining a reasonable balance of payment position, keeping a curb on fresh recruitment for more than a year, keeping fairly good relations with the provinces, keeping the desperate elements in the IJI somehow together.

Their weaknesses and faults (other than the coop scandal which despite the appointment of a judicial commission has demonstrated how vulnerable they are) lie more in their style than substance. The haste for instance with which the 12th Amendment was rammed through a confounded Opposition in less than an hour, the preemptory and arbitrary manner of the dismissal of Chairman, WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority], the highlighting of Benazir's statements on the nuclear issue and playing the tape of her interview without careful preparation and calculation of its impact and implications are some of the instances characterising governments faulty and impolitic approach to parliamentary and administration matters. Again the manner in which major decisions are taken by a cabal or kitchen cabinet without involving the IJI alliance—parties, unnecessarily lends itself to avoidable misunderstanding and alienation. As for substance, there are two distinct areas where government has clearly fallen short of expectations—law and order and the general discontent of the ordinary citizen with the economic conditions. Although government claims that law and order has improved to some extent, by and large people continue to feel insecure and hardly a day goes by, without a bomb blast, a daring day-light decoity or indiscriminate killing. With the proliferation of arms and our police being increasingly accused of involvement in crime and with drug-mafia holding levers of influence along with foreign subversion one may concede how difficult and complex the situation has become. The recent attacks on members of the Press have only underscored the need for a more stringent and at the same time a more imagination approach to the problem. A school of thought is of the view (and rightly so) that strengthening of law and order enforcement apparatus, deterrent laws and even special courts are only partial measures which will not succeed unless accompanied by a serious endeavour to address the root causes—indiscipline in the educational institutions, general unemployment, easy availability of lethal arms continuing ingress of undesirable foreigners and the role of moneyed feudal and even political forces which provide protection to the law-breakers. Whatever be the complexities and constraints, government cannot be absolved of its primary duty of safeguarding the person and property of the people. The need for a dynamic forceful and comprehensive approach to this question assumes added urgency considering that success of all the efforts of the government to accelerate the private sector (including foreign investment) endeavour to set up industries and provide new avenues of production and employment to a large extent, depends on it.

The biggest misfortune of the present government is the character and conduct of the Opposition which is hell-bent on destabilising and destroying it altogether. Benazir's pique and petulance is understandable. Her arch-rival whom she did her best or worst to demolish in her days of

power has replaced her as the Chief Executive. She is the accused in a number of references filed against her by the interim government which she attributes to the President.

The privatisation policy is against the interests of the people. She will renationalised when back in power. Banks should be starved of deposits. Damn the national interest if her wild statements confused and keep the foreign investors away from the country. Credit at the same time must be conceded to PPP for projecting its cause in the Press with diligence and skill. Keep the heat on Nawaz Sharif and his cronies. Create his image as one who is crude, inept, incompetent and corrupt. Keep him off balance. Keep on rocking the boat. Does not matter if a little of disinformation is thrown in. Keep the rumour mills about the fall of government churning full-time, manufacture confusion. Keep him constantly worried and push him to panic and make him do the wrong thing and then take him to task for his follies. All kinds of political elements who are willing for their petty designs to work against government, are welcome to PPP embrace. Defeated, rejected, out-of-work politicians with hardly any following, disgruntled greedy wanderers in the wilderness of politics, discredited feudal lords, you name it. PPP has it in its caravan, adventurers, army-baiters what have you, for one great goal, dead set on one tempting target—pull the Prime Minister down. Exterminate him, the elected Houses are "bogus." Never mind the voluminous record of the Supreme Court-Judge-level-Chief Election Commissioner who has categorically stated that elections were not rigged (where one may ask, given the state of the society and the values people practice in Third World countries, a little of rigging does not take place!), the election were "stolen". The country has been "plundered". Never mind the loot in 20 months of PPP rule. First ask for a Judicial Commission headed by a Supreme Court Judge. When one is constituted, disown it, denigrate it, find new grounds for heaping infamy on the government.

After decades of military overlordship, this wretched land of ours has been blessed with 3 elections in 5 years. An elected government—good, bad or indifferent, is in saddle running the affairs of the country in accordance with the Constitution. Is it too much to ask for the sake of democracy and the political process to let it run its course. By all means criticise and condemn it when it does something wrong or is found lacking in the discharge of its duties. But don't, please do not seek for personal or partisan gain, to pull down the whole democratic edifice. Let personal interest not make you throw out the baby with the bath-water. Let the government function. If they fail and perform poorly go to the people in the next polls and trounce them. Follow the rules of the game. Yahya Bakh-tiar was right when he advised: don't do anything unconstitutional. Why not wait and work as a great Opposition in the Parliament. An Opposition is the government-in-the waiting. Persuade yourselves to wait till you turn comes to pick up the reins again.

The IJI government may claim to have done well in a short time but much of their achievement has been lost because of the manner decisions are taken and methods followed in

implementing them. Their image does not equate with a dynamic and mature leadership. Haste and rashness has proved much too costly. Arbitrary administrative acts can boomerang. Handle Civil Service with care. Don't involve the legislations unnecessarily with executive work. Political patronage must be kept within limits. Make the Parliament the place for frequent and extended debate and discussions on matters of policy and importance. Don't rush legislation don't lean on ordinances. Legislative committees are crucial for the success of Parliamentary democracy.

Interested Only in Images

92AS0374C Lahore *THE NATION* in English
1 Dec 91 p 5

[Article by Husain Naqi: "Expensive Image-Building Exercises"; quotation marks; italicized words as published]

[Text] The expensive image-building exercises of the Nawaz Sharif government notwithstanding, the issue of legitimacy continues to haunt it with each passing week. It continues to hold the reins of power at the federal level and so do the ruling alliances in the federating units but they lack the confidence which is the hallmark of stable administration. The manner in which the governments are being run at the Centre and in the provinces provide little evidence of the parliamentary 'majorities' they claim to represent. Their lack of confidence is evident from numerous facts relating to government policies and actions both in relation to internal and external affairs of the country. Internally, it was acting in the most high-handed and iniquitous manner and, despite its posturings to the contrary, it was compromising on issues of vital national interest without even taking into confidence either the Parliament or the people. The rebuke, in the form of Pakistan being identified as a country abetting terrorism, from the 'friendly' United States and the failure at the Harrare and the as yet uncontradicted information solicited by ousted AJK [Azad Jammu and Kashmir] Premier about the unannounced visit of an Indian official team to Azad Kashmir, speak volumes about inept handling and double facedness of the government headed by Mr Nawaz Sharif. The fallout of such acts of omission and commission is not too difficult to measure. Added to these are sordid delays and justifying the same in taking initiative and breaking new ground when the opportunity was available to befriend the now-independent republics of Central Asia with preponderant Muslim populace. No amount of glossing over facts will justify inordinate delays in visiting and extending invitations to the leaders of these governments. India did not let the opportunity go to expand its already friendly ties without waiting on ceremony to see things settle down in the Soviet republics. Pakistan failed to take initiative and could only follow and not precede India to move ahead.

At home, the Nawaz Sharif government was more keen to arrange what can be described as 'loot sale' of public sector undertakings than in taking the right measures for increasing domestic savings, production and exports and in creating conditions necessary to attract foreign and local

investment in sectors most vital to boosting national economy. The shutting down of powerloom industry of Faisalabad, stalling of on-going projects at Gadoon-Amazai, closure of many undertakings due to the law and order situation in Sindh province, dissatisfaction of cotton growers over cotton prices, drop in wheat and other cereals production, fall in rice exports, etc., are some of the glaring instances of government failure to economic front which was claimed to be the domain of 'enterprising' Sharif Brothers. As against the great expectations drummed into the ears of toiling and suffering masses of the rural and urban areas, what came out was the notorious cooperatives scam, the grabbings of well-known *qabza* gangs, apportioning of prized forest lands and shady deals made possible through manipulation of duties to earn windfall profits. Add to it the failure in combating the narcotics, arms and other smuggled goods' sales and the thriving parallel economy and the attendant corruption of the abettors and you will be able to identify the culprits responsible for the further impoverishment of the poor and the middle classes.

How can all this be permitted in the name of private free enterprise. These are acts neither free nor enterprising. They only give bad name to genuine entrepreneurial activity in trade and industry and provide a handle to the feudals for continuing with their populist rhetoric in support of the poor and the deprived classes. Free enterprise stands for competitive private possession and not the privatisation of public enterprises by arranging their loot sale to all those who possess dirty money earned through activities as 'pious' as tax evasion and swindling duties in complicity with corrupt officialdom and patently criminal trading in narcotics and other contraband items. No person having the basic knowledge of competitive economic system can allow the on-going system of robbing the people of their lives savings and plundering the financial institutions run with public money or foreign loans besides appropriating prized state lands being termed and publicised as private enterprise. That can only further delay the process of development and true industrialisation in the country where Pakistan lags far behind many a developing countries. In fact, the present ruling clique was busy in amassing wealth in connivance with the institutionalised corrupt bureaucratic system and jeopardising the growth of genuine democratic set-up based on free choice of the people through unhindered exercise of adult franchise.

There is more evidence available in our print media that the Nawaz Sharif-led alliance at the Centre and its so-called autonomous extensions in the provinces are increasingly relying on the assistance of the corrupt bureaucratic elite. That can only lead the country into yet another political disaster. The 'hurried' Press conference addressed by Jam Sadiq Ali who is running the Sindh province as the fief of a warlord through the worst feudal methods is an evidence of how the government wishes to tackle the political polarisation ignited by the exposure of the malpractices committed at the last October polls. As the same was followed with crazy one-sided and blatantly discriminatory 'accountability' process, the confrontationist stance could be the only answer from the side of the Opposition.

In the obtaining situation the role of the President has become all the more questionable, particularly since his public rebuke in answer to Nawabzada Nasrullah's efforts to resolve the political tangle through dialogue. As he threw back the ball in the Opposition's court, the Peshawar rally addressed by the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] leaders including Ms Benazir Bhutto and Asghar Khan came as an answer. The response was formalised by the PDA central leadership and synchronised with the Nawabzada's invitation for another All Parties Conference. Jam Sadiq's threat of involving both the top PPP [Pakistan People's Party] ladies in treason charges provides the scenario developing in the coming weeks. The funny yet informative Pir Pagara once again repeated his 'family planning' prescription to put awe into the hearts of Opposition leadership. This confirms Salman Taseer's apt observation that while the whole world was going through a process of change, the pygmies around continue with their archaic and outdated modes. They seem to insist that they will not change and let the crisis bring collapse.

The most funny part of the government's exercises is the continued insistence on presiding over the Local Bodies polls. Cast in accord with their mentor, (Late) General Zia's mould, these 'polls' are to be held on non-party basis while, at the same time, one reads the lists of those with the seal of Muslim *qiadat* which is another name given to the candidates being fielded by the ruling Muslim League. This blatant stupidly has already consumed millions besides vandalising the walls of private houses and public buildings by the candidates and supporters of one or the other *qiadat*. Still there is a faint ray of hope that the so-called Muslim *qiadat* will desist from arranging this costly *tamasha*. As the polls schedule is yet to be announced, the government can call these off and instead reopen avenues for dialogue with the accredited political Opposition which in no way can exclude the PPP leading ladies. That would be good for continuing the democratic process which has been necessitated further by the changes taking place all around. Pushing the Opposition back to the wall and with no option except to retaliate with full fury, will be a political absurdity indulged in by the ruling alliance.

Ruling Party Running Roughshod

92AS0374D Lahore THE NATION in English 14 Nov 91
p 7

[Article by Sultan Ahmed: "Political Schism Deepens"]

[Text] The issue now is not whether the country needs a national government or the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government should be allowed to rule the roost for the next four years. Over the decades in our embattled political history, there has been demands for a national government from time to time; but we hardly ever had one, and for pretty valid reasons.

To begin with, there should be a compelling need for a national government. It is futile to have a national government that does not have some clear objectives and cannot work in unison in that direction. In fact, the one that carries the disputes between its major parties from the

streets and parliament into the cabinet will be far worse than a simple majority cabinet. The political divide in the country is today too deep for a national government to come easily or function smoothly.

The PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] led by Ms Benazir Bhutto wants a national government to hold fresh elections after the dissolution of the assemblies, which she had dubbed as bogus. The IJI does not want early elections and seeks to complete its term as it feels assured of its majority in the National Assembly. As such, it does not feel the need for a national government. And that has been endorsed by President Ghulam Ishaq again and again to the chagrin of the Opposition.

But if Mr Nawaz Sharif wants to complete his term he cannot place his bets on the rather ramshackle IJI alone and should not pay a very heavy price for its support, like the 50-member council of ministers. If he wants to solve the law and order problem and heal the worsening political rift in an atmosphere marked by tensions, he would need something like a national government for success of his varied reforms.

He is the one who wants to move fast, very fast in all directions. If he wants industrial development in a big way, foreign investment to flow in on a large scale, full literacy by the year 2000, he would need far more than the backing of the IJI with its factions and fractious groups.

It is the prime minister [PM] who is promising revolutions in all directions; an Islamic revolution, an industrial revolution, a social revolution and many more revolutions. Revolutions are not brought about in Third World states, and particularly in a pluralistic society like ours, through majority parties in the assemblies. They need truly broad-based government, total national support and a less combative PM than ours.

Mr Nawaz Sharif says he wants an ideal state and a most distinguished society, an end to oppressions of all kinds and justice for all. Such sweeping changes cannot be brought about by combative or partisan leadership that deepens the political divide and makes the opposition become more hostile. If instead, his goals are modest and he wants to continue in office for four more years quietly or in a non-controversial manner, he may not need anything like a national government. He has a choice to make and he cannot shut his eyes to it.

As a shrewd businessman he ought to know more than anyone else that when a government seeks massive investment, the local and foreign investors ask some very basic questions: (1) how long will the government last, (2) how popular and strong it is, and how well is the bureaucracy—in case of Pakistan the armed forces as well—is backing it and giving teeth to its policies quick? (3) will the next government follow the same policies as the present or initiate contrary policies?

These questions are relevant in a country which had three general elections within five years—after such elections were too rare in the past. The last two governments were

knocked down when they seemed to be going strong, not by the people or the armed forces, but through palace coups.

In the economic sector, the differences between Mr Nawaz Sharif and the opposition are increasing, particularly in respect of his roller-coaster privatisation. Mr Bhutto has promised to re-nationalise many of the public sector units he is privatising now. Even the IJI members of the NA [National Assembly] and Senate are not in agreement with the speed he wants to disinvest these units. In fact, he has not obtained parliamentary sanction for the kind of speedy privatisation he is undertaking. That certainly is not how massive privatisation is done successfully and smoothly.

Not only over 100 public sector units are being privatised at one go but also the banks and development finance institutions are being given away, to foreigners as well. Simultaneously, the country is facing a flood of Modaraba and leasing companies, private sector investment banks and commercial banks, creating serious doubts about the viability of many of them.

If he wants to move so fast, and in so many areas, he needs the support of as many elements as possible, and not of his business community alone which is profiting by the new developments. After the awesome co-operatives scam in the Punjab which has undermined his regime critically, he cannot say that everything is hunky dory and move ahead fast in the manner he loves.

In United States, the Republicans and Democrats seek bi-partisan policies in areas like foreign policy and for reducing the large fiscal deficit and increasing the taxes. That is what Mr Nawaz Sharif needs if he wants his economic reforms to be a success.

He had earlier spoken of a working arrangement with the opposition but that has not come through. They ought to have bi-partisan policies in respect of law and order, Afghanistan, Kashmir and Pakistan's nuclear policy. There should be a consensus on privatisation as well. Otherwise convulsions, and ultimately physical explosions are inevitable.

All of that has to begin with the government giving up what the opposition sees as its extreme victimisation, and more acutely in Sindh. Cooperation and victimisation cannot go together. If anyone could be picked up, including journalists, and their detention is not acknowledged by the government for weeks or days together that is not how bi-partisan policies are born or the rift between the rulers and the embittered opposition reduced.

Normally President Ghulam Ishaq, who has been a part of the administration at the top level for over two decades now, should know of the high cost of the confrontation to the country. He ought to play the role of the healer and peace-maker. Instead he is seen by the opposition as a clear partisan. He need not have been so openly supportive of the government after the explosive coops scam which has damaged the government a great deal at its primary base—the Punjab. It has undermined the chances of his meeting with the opposition leaders.

The fact is that the more Ms Bhutto attacks him, the more partisan he apparently becomes. But as president of a difficult country at a critical moment he has to overcome the annoyance or anger caused by her criticism or even the demand for his exit, and instead play the role of a statesman. He should not let personal feelings over-ride national interest.

In India, Prime Minister Narasimha Rao is seeking the co-operation of the opposition or trying to reach consensus on major issues. He is doing that not only because his is a minority government but also because the issues India faces are explosive. He holds frequent consultations with opposition leaders on issues as varied as Babri Mosque, economic reforms and the Punjab.

Pakistan needs such bi-partisan policies or consensus. It needs a working arrangement based on Justice and fairplay for all. The ruling party's approach to the opposition is far from that. Democracy does not mean the dominance of the majority party with its insolence and provocations. In a federal state with different races, languages, tribes etc. you cannot run a successful federation only on the basis of majority rule. In a pluralistic society with a plethora of external and internal problems, and where the basic problems remain unsolved even after 40 years, simple majority governments can never ensure good or smooth governance if they go their way willfully. Conciliation, accommodation and compromises are imperative.

One of the dangerous assumptions of our leaders and their supporters is that if the previous rulers did something wrong, their successors are entitled to repeat that or do worse. The fact is the people are always more concerned with what an existing government does than with what its predecessor did. Secondly if the previous leaders have been forced out by the President or the voters, or have been politically punished for their follies by the voters, why should their successors repeat the same and get booted out?

In this manner Mr Ghulam Ishaq's mention of the role of the PPP government to justify the wrongs or failures of the present government is unwarranted. It is the duty of all of us to keep the present government on the right track instead of defending its follies saying the previous rulers did the same.

Contrary to what all governments in Pakistan have assured, the government does not have a monopoly of patriotism, wisdom and popular support. The opposition may have few seats in the assemblies but the total number of votes they got was not far below the ruling groups. And the millions who voted for them cannot be disenfranchised or disregarded.

Cutting Each Other to Pieces

92AS0374E Karachi DAWN in English 15 Nov 91 p 11

[Editorial: "Restoring Sanity to the Political Arena"]

[Text] The noise, the heat, the confusion and the plain nonsense swirling about in what passes for our political arena would be interesting, even amusing, if it were not so

tiresomely repetitive. Even the best music if played incessantly, palls after some time. And what we have to put up with, day in and day out, whether from government luminaries or opposition stars is not quite the hottest sound in music. Consider some items in this regard. The Prime Minister said publicly some time ago that when he heard the name of a particular political party (the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] in this case) he felt like cutting it into small pieces. At other times he has accused it of unpatriotic behaviour and for being responsible for the break-up of the country. If the Prime Minister has been intemperate in his language, the opposition parties have done no better. It has been the consistent stand of the People's Democratic Alliance [PDA] that the present government has ridden to power on the strength of a rigged election.

And lately, of course, the PDA has been training its guns on some of the leading figures in the government for being involved in the cooperatives scandal. The President has not been spared in this crossfire either. The PPP had always accused him of partial behaviour ever since the dismissal of its government and the filing of references against its leaders. But after the President's latest statement in defence of the Nawaz Sharif government, the rest of the opposition, which had been keeping its powder dry in his case, has also made him the target of its criticism. When controversy come to surround the President in this manner, it detracts from what is supposed to be his neutral status.

At any rate, some heat and dust is normal in democracies. Indeed, without them there would be little to distinguish them from the quieter forms of government. But what we are witnessing in this country is scarcely normal. The government and the opposition are not agreed on any ground rules between them. They have less regard for each other than professional boxers about to step into the ring, nor is there any respect for basic political decencies. The antagonism between the two sides is so total and blind that the Prime Minister some time ago said that the opposition had no role in the present context—a wholly illogical suggestion. For its part, the opposition has returned the compliment by questioning the legitimacy of the government on grounds of what it calls massive electoral fraud. Lately, it has notched up its hostility by threatening to start a mass agitation against the government, aiming obviously to destabilise it. All this would be a bad state of affairs anywhere but especially so in a country where the institutions of democracy still rest on weak foundations and where a disruption in the political process remains a real possibility. From which it follows that if we are to make something of this experiment (for, at the moment it is no more than one), then some sanity must return to the political arena.

But for this to happen some basic pre-requisites will have to be met. The on-going process of the enforcement of accountability (which is exclusively targeted on the PPP) must be re-examined. Nothing has come so far of the references filed against Ms. Bhutto. But even if something does, it will not stop people from asking whether the

leaders of the PPP are the only wrongdoers in the land. Accountability would have made sense if its sweep and scope were all-embracing. Confining it only to the PPP and leaving the leadership of the IJI untouched, especially after the surfacing of the co-ops scandal in Punjab, raises questions about the motives at play behind it. Admittedly, wrapping up this process would pose some problems for its initiators (for what then becomes of all their charges against the PPP?). Still, in the larger interests of the country and democracy the time has come to do precisely this.

If the world is coming to rethink some of its oldest attitudes, there is no reason why accountability Pakistani-style should be treated as a holy cow. Next come the opposition's complaints about how it is being treated in Sindh. If its members are harassed, terrorised and involved in cooked-up cases, it is a bit too much to expect that its behaviour on the whole will be "responsible". A strong case can be made out for the proposition that the PPP was quite prepared to arrive at some *modus vivendi* with the government after the last elections but was forced to change its tune, and adopt a tougher posture, when there was no letup in the persecution against it. This aspect of the matter too needs to be re-examined.

Lastly, if normality is to return to Pakistan's overheated political environment, the cooperatives scandal must be tackled head-on. Nothing has contributed so much to make the common citizen of this country cynical about the political process as this scam in which leading figures of the present government, *prima facie*, have been involved. Unless there is a thorough investigation of this matter, unless a credible mechanism is evolved for returning the huge sums of money lost by defrauded depositors and unless the guilty are brought to book, regardless of the political positions they occupy, the canker eating into Pakistan's political soul will not be removed. Is Pakistan capable of summoning up the resources of leadership and selflessness that are necessary for the fulfilment of these conditions? If it is, there is little to worry about. But if it is not, the outlook for the future can scarcely be called very promising.

Analyst Questions Commitment to Nuclear Program

92AS0378G Karachi DAWN in English 23 Nov 91 p 13

[Article by M.B. Naqvi: "Defining Basic Interests"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Pakistan is likely to remain engaged in three major sets of negotiations for some time. The first is with the Americans; American Under-Secretary of State Reginald Bartholomew came on November 19 to discuss security affairs of the region as well as bilateral ties between America and Pakistan. As was expected, success eluded the dialogue; doubtless it would continue.

Secondly, the quest for a peaceful settlement of the Afghan war is supposedly on; efforts to find unity among the Afghan Mujahideen groups remain inconclusive while military pressure on Kabul continues to be exerted. It is

fashionable to think that realism demands putting unbearable pressure on the adversary as a part of the talks' strategy. This West-suggested strategy is being employed since 1983. It has not so far succeeded. The Pakistani hardliners cannot conceive of any other approach. Hence their more-of-the-same policy.

An abortive SAARC [South Asian Association Regional Conference] summit is behind us; rescheduled date, Dec 22, is to be awaited with both some hope and some trepidation. There was twofold significance of the Nov 7 SAARC fiasco. The primary one, of course, concerned damage to the regional cooperation idea, to promote which SAARC exists. The second and adventitious importance of the Colombo moot was that it would provide an occasion for Indian and Pakistani PMs [Prime Ministers] to discuss bilateral relations at their level, uncircumscribed by rigid briefs with which official terms come equipped. Or, at any rate, the PMs can always depart from official briefs if they so desire.

It is pointless to go into details of why the Colombo summit could not take place on the due date (Nov 7). That concerns Indian PM's motive vis-a-vis the none-too-friendly Indo-Sri Lankan relations. Insofar as hard political interest in Pakistan is concerned, it was focused on the possibilities inherent in an Indo-Pakistan summit, even if it is an accidental one, as was the case at Harare. While one school believes that dialogue with India is injurious, another thinks that a peaceful resolution of all Indo-Pakistan issues is unavoidable and that requires negotiations.

That takes us to the heart of the problem: what line should we adopt in the three major series of talks we are engaged in? As it happens, Pakistan is impaled on the horns of a dilemma. There are some, mainly represented by 'FRIENDS' [Foundation for Research on National Defence and Security], who suggest a hard-nosed approach: don't be tempted into a dialogue with India, especially on Kashmir; it is an Indian snare. Let us stand by our Kashmiri brethren and let the world know that we are ready for war with India, if necessary. The 'realistic' assumption is, as Gen (ret'd) Aslam Beg said recently that India is not in a position militarily to prevail over Pakistan; Indians cannot win a war with any degree of decisiveness because of their major troop deployments in several regions of the country.

Our hardliners are also not overly impressed with the numerical superiority of Indian naval or air forces. Not being a strategist or well-versed in military matters, this writer cannot adjudge the soundness or otherwise of this professional assessment of, among others, Gen Beg. But the warlike approach can be questioned. The underlying non-political methodology is undesirable both per se and for reasons to be seen presently.

Hardliners' ideas on Afghanistan can be guessed. Despite minor differences among them, there are variations on the general theme of putting intolerable pressures on the Watan Party regime and not talking to President Najibullah or other prominent members of the party.

Insofar as this line holds sway, political settlement is only so many words, the reality behind which is a quest for military victory. Going by the track record of both hardliners and their proteges, the Mujahideen, we can continue to look forward to a long vista of war and civil war in Afghanistan and in border areas of Pakistan itself.

Few foreign experts think that a Mujahideen (military) victory over the Najibullah government is imminent or on the cards in any foreseeable future. This whole approach is puerile, indeed self-defeating, if not nihilistic. Its bankruptcy includes frustrating the romantic notions of Pakistan playing a guiding, in effect a leadership, role in new Central Asian Republics. Such ideas were, in any case, less than realistic.

At any rate, the prospect of unending warfare in Afghanistan is decidedly bad for Pakistan—a priori. No country can countenance continuous fighting at its doorsteps and among people with whom it has ties of the kind that subsist between the Canadians and Americans.

The position regarding the dialogue with America is rather complex. Several interwoven strands need to be separated. Many posed the problems involved in overly simplistic manner: The Yankies, exemplifying double standards, are pressuring Pakistanis to give up their nuclear programme and accept American-dominated New World Order (NWO), including Indian hegemony over the region, while the United States not only goes on refining its own nuclear arsenals, it is tacitly encouraging a nuclear build-up of powers like Israel and India. Therefore, if we have any national pride, we should reject American overlordship. Insofar as Pakistan's security is involved, we can extend Gen Beg's idea of Strategic Consensus among Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan to include China.

Debate on the various related issues has first to be rescued from emotionally-loaded words; it should be conducted in a rational manner, treating each issue strictly on its own merits. Thus, NWO needs to be discussed in its wider as well as local aspects—certainly without sacrificing Pakistan's well-defined interests and without compromising our national honour.

Similarly, the nuclear question has to be seen in all its aspects with a cold eye, again keeping Pakistan's own interests uppermost in mind. Whether Americans' larger, world-wide purposes are good or bad is essentially irrelevant; there is no call on us to follow them, right or wrong.

Let us cut through hypocrisy and face facts. The Americans have not asked Pakistan to give up nuclear power generation or acquisition of nuclear knowhow as such. What they are asking is not to make military use of the nuclear knowledge and technology. It is for Pakistanis to determine in the specific circumstances whether building a so-called nuclear deterrent would actually help Pakistan's security or would imperil it further. It is a question in which American wishes are less important than how Indians would react to different Pakistani actions.

One is making two implied assertions here. First and which ought to suffice is: all MDWs (mass destruction

weapons), especially nuclear ones, are evil and, therefore, they should be abjured or banished. Moreover, Pakistan has long said that nuclear proliferation is morally wrong and in pursuance of that has produced an excellent proposal for a nuclear weapons-free zone (NWFZ) in South Asia.

One cannot and should not eat all these fine words and proceed cynically to make the bomb (in supposed secrecy). The other assumption concerns the efficacy of the projected nuclear deterrent. By way of ample caution, one makes the unnecessary argument: it is unlikely to deter the dominant adversary, India.

As for the dialogue with India, the whole field bristles with sensitivities. To begin with, Kashmir alone is enough to put a damper on the hopes of any enthusiast of a peaceful settlement. It has become too complex an issue with more dimensions than hardliners here allow for when they invoke unexceptionable general principles. Not that these principles—democratic values and norms—should not be applied.

But the accumulated mistrust between India and Pakistan resulting from 43 years' cold war and three hot wars presents huge difficulties, requiring deeper thought about how to approach the problem. A good part of the trouble issues from an ignoble argument India's shame faced hardliners deploy: the price of self-determination for

Kashmiris will be unimaginable insecurity for India's Muslim minority because Indian secularism cannot survive such a 'loss'.

No doubt, Americans, like so many others, do offer good offices for working out a detente. Which is all friends can do. In view of the concrete pressure on Islamabad not to talk and be ready for war over Kashmir, it is necessary to emphasise the other approach. Wars over territory have a way of interminably repeating themselves. Arab-Israeli disputes are a case in point; look at Balkans' old territorial feuds coming alive. Territorial disputes have never been resolved by force. When and if they are, the old disputes are put in a new and more beneficial (to both sides) framework, conceptual as well as politico-economic.

Strictly speaking, solutions are found only when the disputes become politically non-explosive with the induction of new factors and perceptions, especially the changed interests of the concerned people. Positive results should be expected when principles of democracy and popular consent concerning disputed areas are actually given precedence—in a new milieu created by protagonists themselves exemplifying not merely the preference for peaceful methods internationally but also human freedoms, democracy and primacy of popular welfare over nationalist paranoia and shibboleths domestically.

Ability of Citizens To Save Seen Atrocious

92AS0379F Lahore THE NATION in English 4 Dec 91
p 11

[Article by Khurram Jawaid: "Pakistan's Problem of Savings"]

[Text] Dreaming about a great future, swaggering about sincerity, building castles in the air and above all, talking through their hats, have always been the favourite pastimes of Pakistani politicians and the present P.M. [Prime Minister] is no different. He loves to chat about building world class super highways, quick industrialisation and rapid progress, examples of Japanese initiative and Korean progress are frequently mentioned too. How all this is to be accomplished, is somehow always missed. Financing capital, given the growing scarcity of international capital and the ire of most donors towards a corrupt Pakistani bureaucracy, seems rather impossible. The truth is, that even for maintaining the growth rates of the eighties, much would depend on bolstering savings and the present economic environment is anything but conducive for that.

Pakistan's domestic savings have always been paltry and many countries of the Third World have done better. From 1973-80, Pakistani savings, on the average, remained around 11.7 percent of the GDP [gross domestic product]. The figures for Korea, Japan and India were much higher at 25.9 percent, 38 percent and 25 percent of the GDP. The eighties brought an improvement in ours, but then other countries improved for more. The Peoples Republic of Congo, for instance, improved its gross national savings from a very low 10.4 percent of the GDP in the mid-seventies to a remarkable 38.2 percent of the GDP in the eighties. Similarly Sri Lanka almost doubled her savings rate from 13.4 percent of the GDP in the mid-seventies to 25.8 percent of the GDP in the eighties. 1990-91 was an especially bad year for Pakistan and the marginal gains of the eighties were frittered away, while private savings were a modest 16 percent of the GDP, the government savings rate was in the negative at .3 percent of the GDP. The future outlook thanks to recently-imposed 10 percent tax on savings and the cooperative scandal involving many IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] important ruling luminaries, appears even worse.

This grim state of affairs has led many to clamour for deregulating and thus pushing up interest rates. Their argument is strong. Things did improve in Korea after the interest rate reforms of 1965, the ratio of the financial assets to the GNP [gross national product] doubled there within 30 months and then went on to triple in another three years. Similarly pushing up interest rates helped in Ghana in the late of seventies and a dramatic rise in Jamaican savings occurred after a regime of positive real interest rates was initiated in the early eighties. The Asian Development has also favoured positive real interest rates and an economic study by it has revealed that for a 10 percent increase in deposit rate, the corresponding increase in the ratio of deposits to GNP would be 5 percentage points. The proponents of positive real interest rates further point out that negative real interest rates

always encourage, investment in non productive avenues, shady cooperatives and capital flight.

Pakistan's case, however, is a bit complex and simply ending financial repression will not help. With the inflation raging at 20 percent and the highly leveraged state of most public and private sector enterprises, simply deregulating interest rates will prove disastrous. "Macroeconomic stability and more specifically, price stability are especially crucial for successful financial liberalisation, especially when the countries have shallow financial markets. The experience of Latin American countries has shown that interest rate deregulation in a highly inflationary environment may result in extremely high rate interest rates, which in turn may lead to widespread insolvency of the firms and financial institutions," says Deena Khatkhate and Yoon-Je Choon of the World Bank. Dampening of inflation would thus have to precede any successful interest rate deregulation.

Inflation, of course, is a result of ruinous fiscal policies of the Zia Years and harnessing it would require doing what every Pakistan government hates most; reform, fiscal prudence and an end to bad habits. The government non-development expenditures are swelling and the element of waste in administrative expenses, according to some, is higher than 20 percent, this along with a bloated defence expenditure must lessen. If India can be pragmatic about it so must we. Something should also be done about the skewed taxation policies. Taxation here is callously regressive and only mobilise a shameful 13 percent of the GDP. Direct taxes, owing to perhaps the most corrupt and rickety income tax department in the world, constitute only 11 percent of the total taxation revenue. An agricultural tax with the elements of progressivity and elasticity of an income tax is needed too. With the agricultural income of feudals exceeding Rs[rupees]100 billion a year, such a tax can hopefully reduce the needs of recurring mini budgets.

But the government, despite its much wanted brute majority, seems content with rhetoric and is in fact going in the exactly opposite direction. While taxation reforms have not even been whispered about, the size of the Cabinet has been increased by 150 percent, fears of its growing larger, given the rumours of behind the scenes horse-trading, are of course there. The government is also hoping of using the privatisation proceeds for bridging the budget deficit. This will surely worsen inflation. The only serious response so far has been the establishment of a queue commission, headed by a retired brigadier with a penchant for lavishness.

The Banking sector is also in a muddle. Years of bad prudential management, excessive arrears, countless frauds and write offs have left it in an utterly famished state. Between January 1985 and December 1988, no less than 257 MNAs [members of National Assembly], MPAs [members of Provincial Assembly] and Senators were given loans by the public sector financial institutions. The fact that in most cases the costs given were inflated and invoices fake, did not bother the lenders and rules about collateral requirements were conveniently flouted in many

cases. Consequently, of the Rs 176 billion loans portfolio in 1989-90, almost 40 percent was non-performing. The recovery ratios of all nationalised Commercial Banks, for that year, was a pathetic 41 percent, for UBL [United Bank Limited] and ABL [Allied Bank Limited], it was 20 percent and 32 percent respectively. Only in 1990 the number of default cases pending before Banking Tribunals was about 38,000. According to a report in the institute of Bankers Journal, while the foreign Bank's profits increased by 137 percent from 1985 to 1987 during 1985-87, the figure for local banks was a mere 10 percent. That all Pakistani Banks for years have rolled over unpaid loans and have shown unpaid interest as profits was obviously not mentioned.

Time has now come for a complete restructuring of the entire Banking system. Selective credit programmes and credit ceilings must go. Too long large industrialists and land-owners have thrived over it. Subsidised credit not only encourages hoarding but also thwarts the evolution of securities market and further, it distorts efficient resource allocation. Export reference scheme though can continue but the emphasis should be on availability rather than price. Moreover, the rate of return on the reserve requirements of Banks should be made to reflect the market rate. Currently its very low. The independence of the state of Bank is little and intervention by the Ministry of Finance great, this is hardly the arrangement in civilised countries and the status of the State Bank and a hand maiden of Ministry of Finance must end, so must the Pakistan Banking Council it has become totally redundant. Moreover, the litigation process is extremely cumbersome, if there can be speedy trials for political workers, why exempt the plunderer of the Banks. In fact, the whole commercial law needs to be given a new shape, much of it is vague, illogical and an anachronism, the recent cooperative scandal is a proof of that. Bank Nationalisation Second Amendment Bill 1991 is too little too late, the crux of the matter lies in removing the absurd Banking secrecy clauses. Private Banking is a step in the right direction but giving licenses to those who had been disqualified by the State Bank hardly augers well for the future of Banking, especially after the cooperatives scam, similarly in another mistake the broader principle of separation of the industrial and financial groups has not been adhered to.

To put it straight, the future, at least for the moment appears bleak. With begging around no larger a viable option. All would depend on raising savings, and if they don't rise, then a vicious circle of poverty will remain our fate for ever.

Privatization Efforts Seen at Expense of Poor

92AS0379G Lahore THE NATION in English 28 Nov 91
p 12

[Article by Parvez Ali: "The Revolving Roulette of Denationalization"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Without appreciating the difference between privatisation and denationalisation, disinvestment and deregulation, and without caring to look at the wreckage and catacomb of private sector sick enterprises, a group of

equally ignorant decision-makers are bent upon wholesale auction of assets worth billions of rupees paid for by the taxpayers and built with granite determination, many with foreign assistance.

While the "Privatisation Commission" has no statutory sanction and the luckless limb called the National Assembly is also ignorant of how the state corporations are being auctioned like goats and cattle, no exercise has been done to select the enterprises to be privatised or towards the evaluation of their assets, marketing of shares and financing techniques. No exercise was carried out either to draw out the prospectus, compile audited accounts, material investments, alternative valuation, legal disputes, or the mode of financing through the capital market. One really wonders as to what yardstick is used to come up with the magical price of fixing the value of the shares in a country where share markets are unusually manipulated by those holding shares. The wholesale auction thus seems to be directed as an open sesame for wheeler-dealers, carpet baggers who are not required to declare the source of their wealth in this Islamic Republic of Shariat Laws. With scant interest shown by traditional merchant-industrialists who have mostly abstained from bidding as evident in decisions being made on single bids, or just a few bids which could even be counted, many of those who have come forward to gain respectability are those who are otherwise known for shady operations, drug trafficking, frauds and misuse of power for private advantage. Rumour has it that a coterie actively involved in the plunder of Pakistan and who have been filling their coffers for over a decade has its eyes on 30 to 40 enterprises known as gold digger's paradise which will be taken the MCB [Muslim Commercial Bank] style, while the rest of no particular interest to the coterie would be skated on various modes being shouted from the rooftops ranging from handing them over to the previous owners, the present workers, the Stock Exchange, the highest bidders and what have you. As Pakistan stands on the brink of an economic catastrophe with select individuals looking for ready-made industries to be sold as junk, we are witnessing exactly what happened during the decade of deprivation of Ayub Khan concentrating wealth with the robber barons. In that era of vicious capitalism, the nation had awfully witnessed some highly profitable industrial units built by PIDC [Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation] such as the paper mill in East Pakistan and woollen textile mills in West Pakistan being given to the private sector once they had started giving dividends. The same private sector which refrained from investing in these risky, highly-invested projects gloated over these projects once they became "minting machines" and got away with the loot at throwaway prices.

While the public sector industries which are needed to produce industries and which have social factor priorities and cater to the public good are being denationalised on the accusation of their being inefficient and wasteful, the industrial landscape littered with sick private sector enterprises does not seem to raise any eyebrows. Built with scandalous incentives, all conceivable subsidies, monopolies, cartels, tax holidays, the private sector scene with

massive exploitation haunts the nation with its wreckage. Over "800 industrial units of private sector" are dead. Of the "350 Textile Mills in the private sector majority are not working". Of the 6 million spindles only, 1.2 million spindles are operating. Out of the nearly 500 companies on the Karachi Stock Exchange hardly a hundred pay dividends and most of them are either multinationals or public sector companies. Another report cites only 237 companies out of 411 registered on the Karachi Stock Exchange having declared dividends in the year 1988-89 which according to the State Bank was only 9 percent, even lower than the rate of inflation or the profits on deposit certificates. While the public sector in 1989 paid taxes of Rs[rupees]800 crores, the private sector got 80 crore rupees written off. While the nation is still gasping for breath from the holocaust of the private sector investment companies on which a commentary is reserved, the IDBP [Industrial Development Bank of Pakistan] only last week was reported to be pleased to write off loans worth Rs 1.75 billion for the year 1989-90. To which one can add the equally hyperbolic figures for other DFIs [Development Finance Institutions] and banks. Surprisingly, a built-in mechanism has once again been made just last week to write off loans while there are perhaps no laws for defaulting of loans, or for writing them off or for rescheduling them, of which the principal beneficiaries are the big and small private sector enterprises. For most of these private sector industries which are built through over-invoicing and by purchase of obsolete machinery, the capitalist industrialists, who are certainly not entrepreneurs, are allowed to obtain loans "to the extent of 70 to 80 percent of the total investment, but through cost manipulation and use of their political and bureaucratic clout they raise the loan ratio to over 100 percent (a State Bank Governor once said in some cases it was as high as 114 percent) thus making a profit even before the project gets off the ground'. Much of this taxpayers' money is borrowed at 3 percent or 7 percent interest while the prime rate is often 18 percent (Some thought for those who put their money in the banks to earn profit). The interest of the private sector is thus more in getting the project sanctioned, getting the loans, taking out the money with blithe unconcern for the health of the project which often languishes and loans are written off. If a list of private sector units which were approved and financed by DFIs and banks and which are languishing and on which loans were written off is ever released, probably there would be a people's revolution in the country. That is not the case for the public sector which cannot have its loans written off so easily nor can it indulge in tax evasions. (APTMA, the entire textile industry of Pakistan, pays less income tax than the Citibank). One wonders how many of the new "lucky" buyers of the public sector enterprises being auctioned will really pay back the loans outstanding against these enterprises. Through manipulation, clout, palm greasing, the loans will shortly be written off to further the advantages to these "patriotic" buyers.

While the case of the private sector is being aped by the developing countries following "Reagonomics" of the 1980's which spoke of "magic of the market" and Mrs.

Thatcher's economic return to Adam Smith, one forgets that between Adam Smith and Mrs. Thatcher the world has also known Karl Marx and Keynes. First Mrs. Thatcher was able to proceed with denationalisation and privatisation only because of the social security system in vogue in Great Britain which could cushion against unemployment. To the contrary, the political consequences of privatisation could be devastating to her party. Her programme even then was carefully planned and carefully phased. It was spread over more than a decade and through three terms of office and that too in a developed country and advanced infrastructure, and managerial talent, where in 1989 almost 62 percent of the population owned houses. Thus between 1979 and 1989, only 12 major companies were privatised together with many small ones, but in no calendar year did she privatise "more than five companies". While such important activities as water and electricity have not yet been privatised, all the major state-owned companies were sold through share flotations to the public and not just handed over to a person with known dubious credentials. In most of these sales, ownership was only partially transferred, essentially keeping the control with the government. The British government also established a three-tier system with regulatory agencies (OFTEL & C [expansion not given]) dealing with most business, monopolies, mergers, fair trading, price control in a country where anti-monopoly and anti-cartel laws are already stringent. Compare this with Pakistan, a lawless country, where there are no effective laws of even copyright. What if all the cement factories or chemical companies go to just one bidder. Such cartels such oligarchy as happened in the days of Ayub Khan could create severe depression and price spiral which could strangle the whole nation, and even make and break the governments.

In blindly following the formula of the rich because the government is a tool of the rich, we forget that "Keynesian theories might no longer be applicable to countries which have crossed the limits of growth but not to those the countries which are in their economic infancy". In advanced developed countries "it is more essential to reduce inflation even at the cost of greater unemployment as the larger section of the population is affected by inflation" because in developed countries "the hardships of unemployment are cushioned by social security schemes". But in developing countries where there are no social security schemes, it is more important "to provide employment even at the cost of inflation because a large section of the population is affected more by unemployment than by inflation". With inflation on the increase in Pakistan, the denationalisation spree where no new private enterprises are being created and black money or otherwise is being doled out for purchase of the existing enterprises only, unemployment is certainly going to increase. First, when bank money would be borrowed for these purchases, there would be no monies left for other new project and all other development will also be halted. Secondly, to run these heavily-staffed public sector units efficiently there will be more firing than hiring. This is axiomatic and it is hogwash to be lulled into the belief that the government has sought such undertakings from buyers that they won't

dismiss workers for one year. One year will pass with the wink of an eye, and ways can always be found by the employer to ease out workers.

It is equally hogwash to believe that with some companies being sold to the workers, there would be all milk and honey for worker owners. It is easy to be lured into bidding as high as Rs 107 for a share of Rs 10 as in the case of Millat Tractors, but is Millat Tractor or for that matter any company capable of paying back a dividend as high as ten times the value of the share? Even if Millat were to declare a one hundred percent profit on a share of Rs 10, the profit would be Rs 10 only but this Rs 10 received on a share purchased for Rs 107 would be less than even 10 percent. There is reason enough why even in England "most of the people sold their shares in the newly-privatised firms just days after the offer". Within "a year after privatisation the number of shareholders in Cable and Wireless fell down from 150,000 to fewer than 26,000, for British Aerospace the number shrank by 83 percent (from 44,000 to 3,300)".

True that privatisation is the wave of the future, and that state Enterprises are these days called white elephants, but in developing countries, the role of the state "to achieve socio-economic objectives such as providing facilities and services aimed at satisfying basic social and economic needs, ensuring national control of natural resources and other key areas of economic activity, filling the gaps in the economy, ensuring adequate supplies of essential consumer goods, preventing excessive concentration of wealth and income in a few hands, facilitating balanced regional development and generating adequate employment opportunities" can hardly be denied. In Europe, in the case of other tigers, and in the United States layoffs and unemployment are offset by free education, unemployment benefits, social security and health insurance. Even advanced welfare states such as Sweden which announced privatisation the other day have spoken of the need of high quality management and a highly-education workforce as the pre-requisite for success of private enterprises. Pakistan has a dearth of both with a predatory capitalist structure which is opposed to the equality and brotherhood enjoined upon Muslims by Islam. While unemployment benefits or health insurance are unheard vocabulary, there are no human rights or freedom of speech for the worker, and the private sector desists from providing even those basic facilities which were experimented and implemented by the West as far back as the Hawthorne experiments of 1920.

The nationalisation of the 70s had helped in providing job security, career benefits and improved quality of industrial relations. Banking facilities went into remote villages benefiting the poor farmer, education spread into far-flung areas of the country. Would the private sector continue to operate a branch in a remote area which gives perpetual loss? Would the private sector subsidise fares and operate a flight on a sector with perpetual loss?

Instead of raising a handful of capitalist barons unabashedly plundering national wealth with no anti-cartel or anti-monopolistic laws to prevent the abuse of privilege, what Pakistan needs is a new generator of industrial

advances. It would have been far more prudent to encourage privatisation by calling for black money, drug money or other monies to be channelised in new enterprises and industries as against converting public sector into private monopolies. It would have been far more prudent to draw a thoughtful plan for phased denationalisation through share flotation as against creation of monopolies of assets and products. One wonders what the government wishes to do with the monies raised through the sales, as indeed what happened to the monies raised through the sales of MCB and ABL [Allied Bank Limited]. Will these monies be deposited in the banks or would these be used up in the budgetary deficits and eaten away. The revolving roulette of present-day denationalisation has the grave potential of turning the country into a bigger pauper.

Population Rise Seen Hindering Economic Progress

92AS0379C Lahore THE NATION in English
2 Dec 91 p 15

[Article: "High Population Growth Rate Hindering Pak Economic Progress: IBRD (World Bank)"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Lahore—"Pakistan's high population growth rate and poor record in social development seriously undermine the pace of development contribute negatively to improving income distribution. [sentence as published] Other structural weaknesses inhibiting Pakistan's prospects for sustained growth include policy imposed price/cost distortions in industry and low savings and investment rates, about 12 percent and 16 percent of GNP [gross national product] respectively. Moreover, performance under the Structural Adjustment Facility Programme was affected by increasing political constraints that surfaced during 1990, and which led to the appointment in August 1990 of a caretaker government and new elections in the fall of 1990". These observations were made by the World Bank in its yearly publication "Trends in Development Economies 1991". The text of a country brief, taken from the publication which is a 'by-product' of the World Bank's internal database and economic performance and trends in Pakistan is given:

Pakistan had a 1990 population of about 112 million, with a per capita income of \$370, inhabiting an 800,000 square kilometre area about the size of Spain and Italy. Population density (141 per square kilometre) is almost double the 1988 average for low-income economies (78 per square kilometre), and about 29 percent of the population lives in urban areas. Population growth is estimated at 3.1 percent a year. Social development indicators are very poor, reflecting longstanding problems in providing adequate basic health and education services. Participation rates in primary education have increased only slowly in the past two decades (53 percent of the age group in 1985) and remain well below the average for low-income countries.

Pakistan's production and export base are undiversified; agriculture contributes about 25 percent of GDP [gross domestic product], employs half the labour force and provides 60 percent of exports, mainly cotton and rice.

Cotton processing, textiles, petroleum refining and food processing are the most important industries. The narrow industrial base and inefficiencies in industrial production are indicative of distortions in the industrial incentive and protection system, compounded by a financial sector that is still over-regulated and inefficient. Despite these difficulties, Pakistan has achieved economic growth averaging over 5 percent a year and has seen its per capita income more than double (in constant rupee terms) between 1950 and 1985. However, this growth performance has been uneven, with periods of rapid growth followed by years of economic stagnation.

Pakistan's overall economic performance in the 1980s remained strong, with real GDP growth averaging 6.3 percent through 1988. Nevertheless, macroeconomic imbalances increased significantly during the second half of the 1980s, with the consolidated Federal and Provincial budget deficits growing from 5.3 percent of GDP in the early 1980s to 8.6 percent in fiscal 1988. Its deteriorating fiscal performance was due to the lack of a comprehensive revenue generating effort, continued rapid growth in recurrent expenditures and a sharp increase in debt service, as higher domestic and external borrowing were used to compensate for deteriorating public savings. At the same time, the fiscal imbalances increased pressure on the balance of payments and led to a widening of the current account deficit and a marked drawdown of already low foreign exchange reserves.

Principal Development Issues

Pakistan's high population growth rate and poor record in social development seriously undermine the pace of development and contribute negatively to improving income distribution. The past decade has seen an increase in average incomes and some success in allocating more resources to the social sectors. Nevertheless, Pakistan's literacy rate of 26 percent ranks among the lowest in the world and few countries record a poorer literacy rate for rural females than Pakistan's 6 percent. Educational facilities are unevenly distributed and generally favour urban areas. Infant mortality and life expectancy indicators are similarly poor. Health coverage is limited and heavily focused on urban areas and hospital-based curative care.

Other structural weaknesses inhibiting Pakistan's prospects for sustained growth include policy-imposed price-cost distortions in industry and low savings and investment rates, about 12 percent and 16 percent of GNP, respectively. In addition, direct and indirect price controls, subsidy programmes and regulatory policies continue to affect resource allocation. Until recently, private investment was subject to formal and informal sanctioning and restrictions on firm location and closure. Despite some progress toward trade liberalisation, the trade regime continued to have a significant anti-export bias. Declining worker remittances, the concentration of exports in rice and cotton, where price prospects are uncertain and in cotton textiles, which are subject to protectionist pressures from industrialised countries, leave Pakistan's balance of payments fragile and vulnerable to external shocks.

Physical infrastructure bottlenecks also constitute important obstacles to economic growth. Public investment has been low at 6 to 7 percent of GDP, reflecting inadequate revenue generation and the need for strengthening overall macroeconomic balances. Continued high levels of spending on defence—which in recent years has exceeded development expenditures—have further constrained efforts to expand public sector development spending.

A further difficulty has stemmed from public sector management constraints and poor project implementation capacity. This has led to bottlenecks in increasing agricultural production, energy shortages and a deteriorating transport infrastructure. Large public investments in electric power upgrading, highways, and railway modernisation are needed. Moreover, an aging irrigation system requires investments in water-logging and salinity control, as well as replacement and repair of irrigation networks.

Pakistan is likely to face serious labour market difficulties if the foundation for sustained economic growth and employment opportunities is not strengthened. Growth in the economically active population (aged 10-65) has consistently exceeded domestic employment growth over the decade of the 1980s, with average annual growth rates of 3.0 percent and 2.4 percent, respectively. With Pakistan's high past population growth rate, labour force growth is expected to continue to exceed 3 percent a year for at least 20 more years, even if fertility rates fall rapidly. Moreover, the Middle East is unlikely to continue to absorb the number of Pakistani workers that it did through the early 1980s.

Macroeconomic Adjustment and Structural Reform

The government adopted a three-year adjustment programme in July 1988 that included fiscal, trade and industrial and financial sector reforms, with subsequent fertilizer and public utility price adjustments. The programme was supported by a Fund standby and Structural adjustment Facility, together with higher Bank lending, including sectoral adjustment loans for the agriculture, energy and the financial sectors.

Pakistan's medium-term adjustment programme aimed at restoring resource balances to sustainable levels by fiscal 1991 and improving the efficiency of the economy. Key elements included reforms in public finance, trade, the financial sector, agriculture and energy. The budget deficit was to be reduced to 4.8 percent of GDP and the external current account deficit to 2.5 percent of GNP, while raising reserves to the equivalent of seven weeks of imports, keeping GDP growth at over 5 percent a year and reducing the inflation rate to 6 percent.

Macroeconomic performance during the first two years of the adjustment programme was slow and uneven. Although GDP growth was about 5 percent a year, inflation proved difficult to control, accelerating fiscal 1989, falling to 6 percent the next year and rising again in fiscal 1991. Efforts to strengthen the budget were disappointing. Although the budget deficit was reduced to 6.6 percent of GDP in fiscal 1990 (compared with a high of 8.6 percent two years earlier), it still exceeded the target. Moreover, a

large part of this reduction was achieved—contrary to programme objectives—by reducing already low development expenditures, with defence expenditure remaining high at 6.6 percent of GDP; and revenues stagnating at 18.3 percent of GDP. In the external sector, the current account deficit deteriorated to 4.6 percent of GNP in fiscal 1989, reflecting a worsening of Pakistan's terms of trade; it remained at this level, well above the target of 3.9 percent of GNP, the next year.

Exports, particularly cotton manufactures performed well, while imports were restrained. Taking into account the impact of the worsening terms of trade, the external and fiscal targets of the programme were extended by one year to fiscal 1992, while the timetable for structural reforms remained unchanged.

The performance of Pakistan's economy in fiscal 1991 has been affected by the Gulf crisis, changes in government that led to delays in policy decisions and the liquidity overhang from the previous year. The Gulf crisis further weakened the country's resource position, mainly owing to higher oil prices and a decline in workers remittances. As a consequence, Pakistan's fiscal 1991 current account deficit increased by an estimated \$600 to \$700 million, which was financed by a drawdown of already low reserves and short-term external borrowing. Despite the Gulf crisis, export earnings grew by an estimated 15 percent in fiscal 1991 as cotton manufactures continued to do well. Overall growth performance also strengthened over fiscal 1990s 4.6 percent, with GDP growth estimated to reach 5.6 percent.

This growth has been accompanied by sharply higher inflation, which accelerated from 6 percent in fiscal 1990 to about 12 percent in fiscal 1991, reflecting the monetary expansion that financed the fiscal deficit of fiscal 1990 and the added impact of higher energy prices.

Performance in fiscal 1991 was weak in the fiscal area, given difficulties in implementing tax reform and other revenue measures. At the same time, the budget as originally programmed already reflected higher spending levels than targeted under the adjustment programme. Fiscal performance was further weakened by delays in passing through the international oil price increases to domestic consumers (petroleum product prices were not adjusted until November 1990) and raising prices for other utilities (price increases for natural gas, power and railways were only put into effect in April 1991). As a consequence, the fiscal deficit is expected to be above the 5.5 percent target for the period.

Performance under the adjustment programme was further affected by increasing political constraints that surfaced during 1990 and which led to the appointment in August 1990 of a caretaker government and new elections in the fall of 1990.

Although implementation of reforms has been uneven, progress is being made towards achieving key objectives. While financial sector reform was slower than expected through late 1990, the government has recently taken a number of steps to accelerate its implementation,

including privatising one of the national commercial banks and initiating auctions of government securities. Progress has been made in reducing non-tariff barriers and the maximum tariff was reduced from 125 to 95 percent in February 1991, although Pakistan's trade regime remains heavily protective. The government has also recently moved to eliminate most controls over foreign and domestic investment and foreign exchange and has initiated an accelerated process to privatise public enterprises.

The government has reduced its control over the distribution of agricultural inputs and decreased input subsidies, in particular for fertilizer and credit. However, little progress has been made in areas that would help increase low agricultural productivity: extension services remain weak, longstanding land tenure problems are unresolved and a comprehensive water management effort has yet to be organised. Progress is also being made in revamping the energy sector's institutional and operational framework, although pricing adjustments have lagged. New investment in the sector has been slower than expected, reflecting difficulties in rapidly expanding private sector involvement, as well as difficulties in increasing public financing for the sector and delays in resolving water rights issues.

Recent Government Initiatives

Since taking office in November 1990, the new government has moved to reactivate the adjustment effort, with a particular emphasis on accelerating industrial deregulation and privatisation. Important progress has also been made in resolving two longstanding issues. Provincial disputes over allocation of the Indus waters have been resolved with the recent agreement of the four riparian provinces to a water apportionment scheme. This agreement provides a basis for improving management and use of Pakistan's water resources, while also opening the way for new investments in hydropower. In addition, the National Finance Commission has recently announced new revenue sharing arrangements between the Federal Government and the provinces. This revised revenue sharing framework provides the provinces with additional federal revenues and incentives to increase their own resource mobilisation efforts.

External Capital Requirements

Pakistan is still facing balance of payments difficulties. The country's original financing plan for fiscal 1991 assumed no further deterioration in the external environment, full implementation of the economic reform programme and continued disbursement of external balance of payments assistance. Since implementation of the reform programme has lagged, disbursements of balance of payments assistance has also been delayed, which created a gap in the financing plan. The Gulf crisis enlarged this gap. Recourse to short-term financing allowed Pakistan to finance the balance of payments during fiscal 1991, but the need to amortise the short-term financing and build up foreign exchange reserves will increase its fiscal 1992 external financing requirements.

PAKISTAN												
Mid-1989 Population (mils.)	110											
1989 Per Capita GNP in US\$	365											
	Share of Gross Domestic Product (from current price data)						Growth Rate (% per year) (from constant price data)					
National Accounts	1965	1973	1980	1988	1989	1990	1965-73	1973-80	1980-90	1989	1990	
Gross Domestic Product (mp)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	5.5	5.4	6.5	5.0	5.3	
Net Indirect Taxes	7.4	9.1	10.2	11.0	11.2	11.2	—	—	—	—	—	
Agriculture	37.2	32.8	26.5	23.2	24.0	23.5	4.7	2.8	4.3	7.1	2.7	
Industry	18.6	19.9	22.4	21.7	21.4	22.3	6.6	7.0	7.3	4.7	6.9	
(of which Manufacturing)	13.4	14.5	14.3	14.9	14.7	15.3	6.2	6.3	8.1	4.0	5.7	
Services	36.8	38.2	40.9	44.1	43.4	43.0	5.1	6.4	7.4	3.7	4.6	
Resource Balance	-8.3	-2.8	-11.6	-5.6	-6.3	-6.9	—	—	—	—	—	
Exports (G+NFS)*	8.5	13.4	12.5	13.9	13.9	14.7	4.5	4.2	8.7	12.1	3.0	
Imports (G+NFS)	16.8	16.2	24.1	19.4	20.2	21.6	-1.3	9.1	2.2	3.9	-2.2	
Total Expenditures	108.3	102.8	111.6	105.6	106.3	106.9	3.7	6.3	5.4	3.9	4.2	
Total Consumption	86.9	89.9	93.1	87.6	88.7	88.9	4.5	6.4	5.2	3.1	4.8	
Private Consumption	76.1	78.3	83.1	72.0	72.0	74.0	4.2	6.8	4.4	0.1	6.7	
General Government	10.8	11.6	10.0	15.5	16.7	14.9	6.2	4.0	10.6	20.4	-5.7	
Gross Domestic Investment	21.5	12.9	18.5	18.0	17.6	18.0	0.4	5.8	6.4	7.7	1.2	
Fixed Investment	21.3	11.4	17.6	16.5	16.0	0.0	-1.6	6.7	6.1	6.9	1.3	
Changes in Stocks	0.1	1.5	0.9	1.5	1.6	0.0	—	—	—	—	—	
Gross Domestic Saving	13.1	10.1	6.9	12.4	11.3	11.1	—	-11.6	17.1	10.0	9.5	
Net Factor Income	-0.4	-1.3	-1.2	-2.2	-2.2	-2.4	—	—	—	—	—	
Net Current Transfers	0.0	2.2	8.0	6.0	5.6	5.3	—	—	—	—	—	
Gross National Saving	12.7	10.9	13.7	16.3	14.7	14.1	—	3.6	10.3	4.8	6.8	
	In billions of LCUs* (at constant 1987 prices)											
	1965	1973	1980	1988	1989	1990						
Gross Domestic Product	166	253	368	618	649	683	5.5	5.4	6.5	5.0	5.3	
Capacity to Import	38	48	56	75	79	0	1.5	2.7	6.2	5.3	—	
Terms of Trade Adjustment	17	18	16	0	-6	-5	—	—	—	—	—	
Gross Domestic Income	183	270	384	618	643	678	4.8	5.1	6.2	4.0	5.5	
Gross National Product	165	249	363	604	631	662	5.5	5.4	6.3	4.4	5.0	
Gross National Income	182	267	379	604	625	657	4.8	5.1	6.0	3.4	5.2	
	(1987 = 100)						Inflation Rate(% per year)					
Price Indexes	1980	1985	1986	1988	1989	1990	1965-73	1973-80	1980-90	1989	1990	
Consumer Prices (IFS 64*)	65.4	92.3	95.5	108.8	117.4	128.0	5.5	11.5	6.9	7.9	9.0	
Wholesale Prices (IFS 63)	63.0	88.0	92.4	109.7	119.0	129.2	5.8	11.7	7.4	8.5	8.6	
Implicit GDP Deflator	63.7	92.6	95.6	109.3	119.2	127.2	4.9	12.5	7.2	9.1	6.7	
Implicit Expenditures Deflator	60.1	93.3	96.5	110.1	121.2	129.6	6.4	12.5	8.0	10.1	6.9	

PAKISTAN (table continued)

	Volume Index						Value at Current Prices (US\$ millions)					
	1980	1985	1987	1988	1989	1990	1980	1985	1987	1988	1989	1990
Merchandise Exports												
Cotton	—	—	127.5	100.0	167.4	586.6	335	279	446	610	929	443
Rice (Basmati)	—	—	85.1	100.0	103.2	94.1	226	110	134	160	156	142
Rice (other)	—	—	106.4	100.0	63.3	53.3	196	112	161	203	148	98
Cotton Manufactures	—	—	—	100.0	113.4	138.5	450	920	1,585	1,858	1,956	2,488
Other Traditional Exp.	—	—	—	100.0	88.4	101.7	350	411	706	860	700	814
Other Exports	—	—	—	100.0	106.6	129.1	808	659	649	763	772	869
Total Exports (f.o.b.)**	—	—	92.9	100.0	112.4	116.8	2,365	2,460	3,492	4,374	4,634	4,826
Merchandise Imports												
Fertilizers	—	—	104.4	100.0	85.0	117.6	274	134	192	180	188	181
Petroleum	—	—	92.3	100.0	106.9	115.3	1,080	1,379	813	982	950	1,186
Proj. & Defense Imports	—	—	90.4	100.0	99.9	101.9	—	1,477	1,608	1,835	1,894	2,026
Other Public Sector Int. Imp.	—	—	93.0	100.0	85.5	85.9	—	527	574	692	605	628
Private Sector	—	—	91.9	100.0	96.5	88.9	—	2,479	2,882	3,422	3,375	3,319
Total Merch. Imports (c.i.f.)***				100.0	101.7	103.4	5,391	6,531	6,293	7,521	7,838	8,054
	Share of GDP						Growth Rate (% per year)					
Government Finance	1980	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990		1980-86	1987	1988	1989	1990
Total Current Receipts	17.0	18.0	18.5	18.5	18.9	18.6		15.1	13.9	17.5	17.7	10.9
Total Current Expenditures	14.0	19.0	18.9	19.8	20.0	19.0		19.9	10.8	22.4	16.1	6.4
Current Budget Balance	3.0	-0.9	-0.5	-1.3	-1.1	-0.4			-46.6	222.1	-7.5	69.0
Capital Expenditures	9.3	7.1	7.7	7.3	6.3	6.4		9.1	20.2	11.6	-1.6	14.5
Overall Balance Financed by:	-6.3	-8.1	-8.2	-8.6	-7.7	-6.8		19.0	12.3	23.3	-2.5	-2.2
Official Capital Grants												
External Borrowing (net)	3.0	1.7	1.5	2.2	2.4	2.7		3.6	-1.9	74.5	24.5	29.7
Domestic non-bank borrowing	0.6	5.2	4.8	4.4	4.9	3.6		63.5	1.8	6.7	19.2	-18.7
Domestic borrowing from banks	2.7	1.2	1.9	2.0	0.4	0.4		-0.6	79.0	25.5	-76.6	9.4
	Net Disbursements (US\$ millions)c						Debt Outstanding & Disbursed (US\$ millions)					
External Capital Flows, Debt and Debt Burden Ratios ¹	1980	1985	1987	1988	1989	1990 ²	1980	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990 ²
Public & Publicly Guar. LT	705	280	507	768	975	1,214	8,512	11,818	13,451	13,920	14,669	15,420
Official Creditors	540	443	396	958	1,028	1,288	7,970	10,931	12,413	13,088	13,897	14,723
Multilateral	118	315	468	674	900	1,042	1,530	3,359	4,084	4,649	5,516	6,163
of which IBRD	-10	29	150	276	344	361	330	605	908	1,108	1,428	1,605

PAKISTAN (table continued)

of which IDA****	Net Disbursements (US\$ millions)						Debt Outstanding & Disbursed (US\$ millions)					
	70	104	133	99	89	96	821	1,560	1,779	1,842	1,915	1,969
Bilateral	422	127	-72	284	128	246	6,440	7,572	8,329	8,439	8,381	8,560
Private Creditors	165	-163	111	-191	-53	-74	541	887	1,037	831	772	697
Suppliers	7	15	-24	-23	-16	-60	201	232	217	191	170	260
Financial Markets	91	-152	174	-156	-1	-14	115	462	635	479	478	437
Private Non-guaranteed	2	-1	26	38	44	21	18	30	56	93	138	138
Total LT	708	279	533	806	1,019	1,235	8,530	11,847	13,506	14,013	14,807	15,558
IMF Credit	169	-185	-438	-311	379	0	674	1,194	922	554	933	844
Net Short-Term Capital	-248	-166	182	264	-135	0	737	1,863	2,280	2,429	2,770	2,943
Total incl. IMF & Net ST	628	-72	277	759	1,263	0	9,941	14,904	16,708	16,996	18,509	19,345

* [expansions not given]

** [free on board]

*** [cost, insurance, and freight]

**** [International Development Association]

1. [text missing]

2. [text missing]

[figures as published]

'Subservience' Said To Come From Defense Cuts

92AS0379D Lahore THE NATION in English 27 Nov 91
p 7

[Article by Brig Bashir: "Defense Spending: Can We Reduce It?"]

[Text] Important issues confronting the country demand exhaustive and critical analysis. Intellectually, this is an inescapable approach and perhaps the best course to develop and build consensus. We, however, in our urge to express views have shown a growing tendency to overtill a subject and sometimes unwittingly draw conclusions which are far from realistic. Pakistan's nuclear programme is a classic example where many of us have done every conceivable bit, emanating contradictory signals which are not in conformity with the declared policy of the government. Such sensitive issues can be debated but we are honour-bound to accept policy guidelines. Currently "Defence Budget" is in acquired focus and a favourite subject for analysts according to whom it is the cause of all our maladies.

World Bank and IMF, the two major mult national aid agencies to the Third World have redefined their policies, laying conditions which they argue are relevant after the Gulf War and the economic collapse in the Soviet Union. As western-dominated organisations their main concern today is reconstruction of East European countries without preconditions. These donor agencies further insist that Third World countries afflicted by socio-economic problems must drastically cut down expenditure on defence and propose an average of 4.5 to 5 per cent of GDP [gross domestic production] allocation to defence. Deviating from the past era of Cold War and confrontation, they urge and optimistically hope that regional or bilateral disputes should be resolved through diplomatic dialogue—certainly a prudent advice.

If we strictly apply the conditions mentioned above, Pakistan can be pinned down as violator by one count and will face hurdles in obtaining World Bank/IMF loans to pursue her on-going and future projects. There is, however, consolation as according to our Finance Minister, Mr Sartaj Aziz, the Managing Director of IMF, Mr Michel Camdessus has assured that Pakistan's spending on defence is not a serious concern and only advised us to look for possible cuts.

One of our able writers who contributes to these columns has elaborated the above theme, suggesting measures which, if adopted, will enable Pakistan to reduce allocation to defence by 50 percent. We feel that this is far more serious a subject and any invalid deductions can pervert the minds of opinion makers. Therefore the proposed measures merit re-evaluation.

There is no debate that as a developing country and with a major shift to self-reliance, we need to devote progressively more resources to education, health, birth control and other utility services with the aim of improving impoverished conditions of masses. The question is: are we justified in setting aside 25 percent of our budget for defence to ensure a minimum level of security. A cursory or broad

suggestion by THE ECONOMIST that Third World countries should not spend more than 4.5 to 5 percent of GDP on defence cannot be applied indiscriminatory to all. It is not a question of interfering in the sovereignty of a country but has to be measured in relation to its geo political conditions. No two countries have identical conditions. Threat perception and resources of any two countries also cannot be the same. Confining our discussion to Indo-Pak context, we all know that both have been engaged in an arms race and living in a constant state of tension. Granted that none of the two countries can surrender their principal stand on Kashmir and the nuclear issue. Still there are less intriguing disputes such as Siachen, Wullar Barrage which, given the good will, can be surmounted. After all who created these new causes of tension. What is the economic, political and strategic significance of Siachen where both are spending Rs[rupees]10 million a day. A fruitless war where casualties are more due to avalanches, extreme weather condition than active engagement. During the years 89/90, a most reasonable and workable solution, based on Pakistani proposals, was agreed to but never implemented by India. A reference to Siachen is relevant to depict the adamancy and perception of India, not arguing whether they are right a wrong.

Relate these causes of tension to the defence budget of Pakistan and rationalise it by comparing it with India. For the year 1991-92, Pakistan's total defence outlay is Rs 70 billion out of the annual budget of Rs 280 billion, which is approximately 25 percent and in monetary terms estimated at 7 percent of the GDP. Approximate distribution of Rs 70 billion to Army, Air Force, Navy and Defence Industries is 49 percent, 23 percent, 8 percent and 20 percent respectively. For the sake of analysis let us examine the breakdown of allocated funds to army and Air Force. Army, as manpower-intensive organisation, consumes 50 percent on maintenance of manpower, 30 percent on material and 20 percent on modernisation and civil works. PAF, an equipment-intensive outfit, devotes 15 percent to manpower, 60 percent to material, 13 percent to updating and 12 percent to civil works. Compared with Pakistan, Indian defence budget for the year 1991-92 is Rs 157.4 billion and does not include funds set aside for her defence industries and research and development organisation (DRDO). These figures convey a fair picture but not the whole. We may therefore compare the assets of the two air forces. India has 47 and a half squadrons of attack aircraft and operates from 32 forward bases strung along Indo-Pak borders. Pakistan has a total of 18 squadrons. In terms of versatility and firepower, India has approximately 90 MiG-29 and Mirage 2000, equipped with beyond vision range (BVR) missiles. By war-gaming the two forces, any novice will discover that India can have independent and dedicated air effort for air defence, air superiority and ground support. Unless Pakistan augments its air force by 6-7 squadrons of modern attack aircraft it may well lose the battle and concede all the operational advantage to Indian air and ground forces. The reality today is that with the present force ratio Pakistan air force may not be able to survive. And in modern war, as the Gulf war amply demonstrated, without

air power the ground forces become hostage and exposed to piecemeal destruction. If the country wants to survive it has to create funds to the tune of US \$2 billion to ensure staying power of the air force. Same is the relative strength status of Army and more adverse in case of Navy.

Those who advocate reduction in defence must realise the inherent dangers to the very existence and security of the country. Historically India has never demonstrated any restraint whenever Pakistan was of guard. The initiative to reduce force therefore rests with India. It is in India where 300-400 million people are living in object poverty. She can claim to be the 5th or the 7th Defence Industrial power but it bears no relation to her socio-economic conditions which are certainly more appalling and distressing than those of Pakistan.

It has been suggested that Pakistan by producing high-value equipment, making the armed force accountable, stopping free facilities to officers and allotment of plots, 50 percent savings in defence can be effected. Production of higher value defence equipment by defence industry of Pakistan is a complex subject. The world environment has grown complex with the end of the Cold War. Industrialised West has become the custodian of modern technology. European Economic Community is engaged in working out a policy for export, with special control on transfer of technology. During the period 82-89 perhaps it was far easier to gain access to sophisticated technology and at relatively 'cheap' cost. But in the contemporary environment, it has become more or less impossible to induct new systems along with technology. To illustrate, Pakistan had to pay US \$100 million for indigenous manufacture of M113A2 Armoured Personnel Carrier, Korean War-vintage vehicle. In case we wish to change over to lower calibre of small arms only technical data package and machinery will cost US \$200 million. The cost of replacing 6 lac weapons will be extra. And irony is that even if we create funds no one would sell the technology. In 1986 Pakistan and China initiated a joint venture for the manufacture of a multi-role aircraft code-named "Sabre-2". The feasibility study was assigned to M/s Grumman of USA. Its initial impact was that it brought down the unit price of F-16 aircraft by about 20 percent. We have no sources to verify but it is understood that the project was dropped because it was proved that indigenous production would not be cost-effective. Our present project of Al-Khalid tank can run into serious difficulties as its sensitive assemblies like engine, transmission and night vision devices will not be easy to acquire nor to make indigenously. It would however be correct that we in this country have wasted a lot of time, missed many opportunities and instead of developing own industrial base, relied on foreign suppliers. We may curse those responsible for it, but it will not improve the situation.

For the present the answer is to acquire intermediate technology that is available and from a source that is reliable. For it is better to have our own weapon systems, even if they are inferior, as long as supply is assured. Politically we must continue our efforts to defuse tension, hoping that some day our neighbour and the world at large

will realise the pitfalls and see the light of day. Our defence procurement system has been rated about the best in the country, but it is not foolproof and there are always loopholes for corruption. Armed forces should be accountable to the National Assembly and in fact they are. However, it must be understood that in all large-scale transactions there is a possibility of a shadow play and much that we may desire to avoid it filters through in almost all countries. We however have no knowledge of any specific case though there is no end to gossip regarding many a deal.

Armed Forces officers are not provided free housing, electricity, gas, etc. They all pay except three-star generals who I believe deserve some extra facilities after going through gruesome process of promotion. As regards allotment of plots or houses it is again part of a disinformation campaign. When land was in abundance and the Armed Forces were small a general officer would get 2,000 square yards and other 1,000 yards. By in the late 70s the policy was revised and allotment was restricted to 800 and 600 yards. At present due to shortage of land in cantonments a housing scheme launched in the mid 70s is operative. Its membership is mandatory for all officers. Under this scheme multistoreyed flats are constructed for the three Services and handed over to officers on payment at the time of retirement.

Reverting to the main subject, we may conclude that Pakistan has maintained defence forces on the concept of "defensive sufficiency". Any move to unilaterally reduce forces will seriously affect the existing equation, which is likely to invite aggression. Political influence and defence are correlated. Diplomatic skill can augment and not substitute military strength. Defence spending is a damaging drain on the economy but the choice is between moral and ideological independence versus subservient status. We believe the option is too obvious.

Editorial Urges Indigenous Arms Production

92AS0403C Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 10 Dec 91 p 11

[Editorial: "Refuse Importing F-16 Planes"]

[Text] According to a news report, the United States has stopped the supply of 13 F-16 airplanes under the Pressler Amendment. These planes should have been given to Pakistan at the end of this month, according to plan. Pakistan has already paid for these planes. All we can say about the law under which the United States canceled this deal is that it is being imposed exclusively on Pakistan. There are many other nations that have their own nuclear weapons programs but are not being treated in this manner. We have been discriminated against like this in the past also. The latest step is in violation of international law and from a moral perspective. They are not supplying us the airplanes, even after receiving the money. It has been said that the United States will also charge us parking fees for these airplanes. All of this shows that the American leaders are using the Pressler Amendment to protect their own interests. As long as Pakistan was a front-line nation because of the specific situation in Afghanistan, the United

States had no problem in certifying Pakistan's peaceful nuclear program. The situation has changed now, and it appears that international laws can be bent by the powerful. No agreement law permits for a one-sided breach; however, the great nation of the United States had treated Iran this way, and it is treating us similarly now. In such a situation, it is time for our government to think about how long we will be at the mercy of the United States, as well as other countries that are under its influence, to meet our defense needs. The self-sufficiency program that our government has started should not be limited to the economy only. It should be expanded to arms production. Technology that is not available in our country should be obtained from other nations which do not have any records of breaking agreements. If we try to straighten out this situation, it will take a long time and will affect our defense. Therefore, we must find an alternative soon. Our foreign ministry should raise this issue with the U.S. leaders. No nation, regardless of how big it is, should impose its conditions and take advantage of our helplessness.

Analyst Supports Cuts in Defense Expenditure

92AS03791 Lahore *THE NATION* in English 16 Nov 91
p 4

[Article by Anjum Ibrahim: "Defense Expenditure"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Spend on guns or butter are two simplistic economic choices open to governments in theory. In practice, however, both these expenditures form part of a governments, allocation strategy. The question is how much importance in terms of government spending is given to defence and how much to feeding the population through investment by the state in its social sector programme.

Multilateral aid agencies like the World Bank and the IMF hold the view that a Third World government, unable to provide basic social services to its growing population, ought to invest less on its defence and more on development projects. Advanced countries of the world, giving bilateral aid packages to the poor countries, also hold the same view. The argument, specially these days, is that tension in regions can and must be dissipated through dialogue. The new international world order has thus become a treatise on reducing friction which should automatically reduce the need for large allocations on defence leaving a government free to invest in social sector development programmes. Economic emancipation of the poor in Third World countries thus ought to take precedence over investment in defence which represents a non-development expenditure.

The Third World governments look at this issue totally differently. And aid conditionality which even hints at lowering military expenditures is taken up as gross interference in the internal affairs of the state. And recourse to the argument that sovereignty takes precedence over social development is constantly made. It is also worth mentioning that military dictatorships in some Third World countries would automatically necessitate higher expenditure on defence; and the fact that several Third World

governments are more or less propped up by the military also results in higher and higher allocations on defence.

But the situation is now changing as per *The Economist*: 'Until recently, excessive military spending by Third World dictators with a penchant for waging nasty little wars, often against their own people, was accepted as an unfortunate fact of life by many aid donors. Cold-war rivalry made it easier for poor governments to raise cheap loans to buy guns than to finance development.' And the change has occurred not only because of the economic crisis in the Soviet Union and the ending of the cold war but also due to the money required for reconstruction after the Gulf war and the reforms contemplated by Eastern Europe and the USSR, estimated to cost around 100 billion dollars. The question facing the financial community of the world is where will this money come from. Michel Camdessus, the Managing Director of the IMF, the gentleman who on his visit to Pakistan had supposedly assured the Finance Minister Mr Sartaj Aziz that our defence spending was not the Funds concern after, so the public was informed, Mr Aziz had told him that our security depended on it, has stated: 'the problem of global saving is not so much of scarcity as one of misuse.' And his suggestion as per *The Economist* was that 'if all countries set their military spendings at today's (far from modest) Third World average of 4.5 percent of GDP [gross domestic product], then 140 billion dollars would be released for other purposes.'

Does Pakistan qualify the Third World average? In 1989-90 the budget envisaged 25.1 percent allocation on defence as part of total government expenditure. In total monetary terms this came to 51578.9 million rupees. The GDP for the year was calculated at 422,650 million rupees. Hence the percentage allocation on defence for the year came to over 12 percent of the GDP for the year. This, it ought to be remembered, was the financial commitment to defence made not by Ziaul Haq, our military dictator, but by Ms Bhutto. Thenceforth military expenditures have increased and the present government also raised it substantially so that its GDP percentage allocation on defence has risen. Thus we spend more than three times the average of Third World countries on defence.

It must be remembered that our government is also taking up a cry of debt relief and other associated issues that beset the developing world. In the words of *The Economist*: 'Many of the world's poorest countries spend a fortune on defence. Then they ask the world's richest countries for more development aid.' Pakistan does fit the bill exactly. And this is despite the rhetoric on self-reliance. Robert McNamara, a World Bank and Pentagon senior most official has stated: 'Common sense—and some evidence—suggests that general purpose balance-of-payments or budgetary financing from abroad enables a government to spend more on the military than would otherwise be possible.' And there is stress on multilateral aid agencies to lend money to those countries that spend less than 2 percent of their GDP on their military. So far of course as proved by Mr Aziz the Fund has not taken our large

expenditure on defence into consideration while allocating aid but there is a distinct possibility that rules may change in the future.

A discussion on this issue must also incorporate another element and that is the expenditure on defence by Asia's economic giants. Taiwan, Singapore and South Korea have spent more on defence than the world average and yet their economic growth has been one of the fastest in the world. The reason is that they have developed their own defence industries and learnt to generate substantial income from selling arms and ammunition to Third World governments incapable of producing their own arsenal. But *The Economist* adds: 'The lesson for would-be imitators of East Asia's success is that the dragons seem to have grown despite, rather than because of, their military spending. For instance they consistently spent more on education than defence. Also, they have financed their spending out of government revenue, rather than by running up large budget deficits that would have destabilised their economies.' What, it seems they did not do, Pakistan is doing.

But *The Economist* does opine that 'India is the regional power and has not hesitated to bully its neighbours.' This then is the major rationale for investing heavily in defence of the governments of Pakistan, both past and present. With India's hegemonistic designs it does seem that defence expenditures cannot be cut. The Kashmir issue has increased tensions further. And yet one feels that the government can and must do something to curtail its expenditure on defence. This can be done through making the army accountable for its spending to the National Assembly. There is heavy corruption in the civil bureaucracy. Surely there must be some in the defence purchases as well. And the government must make the Defence Ministry accountable for its expenditures. Secondly a local defence industry can be encouraged—not in the manufacture of low value adding defence products but the higher value adding products. Thirdly, top military officers who are retiring must not be given grants of houses, etc. and if they have a constitutional provision then the Constitution must be changed. The military, like their civilian counterparts, must not be given access to free utilities but be made to pay for their electricity, gas, petrol, etc. individually. These changes would probably reduce the allocations on defence by more than half and we might then attain the Third World average on defence spending of 4.5 percent of the GDP per annum.

Surface-To-Air Missile Successfully Manufactured

92AS0333B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
13 Nov 91 p 8

[Editorial: "New Achievement of Qadeer Khan Laboratories"]

[Text] According to a news report, the Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan Laboratories have successfully prepared a prototype of a surface to air missile known as Gizah 2. It was told that these missiles target airplanes and never miss. They will be supplied to the military by next March. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and other officials who participated in the meeting of the Standing Committee for Science and

Technology have seen the exhibition. Keeping in view the defense needs of this region, as well as Pakistan's requirements, manufacturers of these missiles believe that this was a very praiseworthy achievement after making the Gizah. It was especially important, because India has a well-established program for making missiles. India has already made Agni, Trishul, and other missiles. According to one estimate, these missiles have the capability of carrying nuclear weapons. India has the goal to establish supremacy in this region. Therefore, it is a must for Pakistan to attain the capability to make missiles. It is a welcome development that the parts for Giza 2 were manufactured in Pakistan. Because of the presence of a very powerful and "devilish" neighbor in this region, we must make defense preparation our top priority. However, the Western nations, which always discriminate against us in other areas, also make our defense production a target of their vested interests and politics. In such a situation, the only option we have is to utilize our capabilities. The A. Q. Khan Laboratories have prepared other defense equipment in the past. There is no doubt about the great talents of our scientists. What we need is for the agencies that are working in various defense departments to give a free hand to the scientists. These scientists will help us to manufacture defense equipment here in Pakistan, and avoid the restrictions imposed by the West. Our resources are limited; still, the necessary equipment can be manufactured in our own country. Just like India, we should accept foreign military implements on our own terms and demand that the technology also be transferred to us. This way, our defense production and other problems can be solved. The work done in the A. Q. Khan Laboratories should be further expanded.

Performance of Intelligence Agencies Examined

92AS0335C Karachi JANG in Urdu 20 Nov 91 p 3

[Article by Dr. Farooq Husan, Bar-at-Law: "Pakistan and Intelligence Agencies"]

[Text] Pakistan is one of the few countries where activities of intelligence agencies from different countries are often mentioned in newspapers. Unfortunately, comments by prominent political leaders in this context not only lack much understanding, but also encourage the spread of rumors. We cannot excuse either the government or the opposition for it. When governments fail to investigate some public catastrophe, then they try to hide facts and blame external intelligence agencies for those problems. At the same time, the opposition blames either the country's intelligence agency or repeats the government's claims that foreign intelligence agencies are behind all administrative and social failures. From the time that Pakistan was established, the people have never learned the truth about any of the incidents and catastrophes that have happened here. The writer desires to provide some basic information about these in today's analysis. The two intelligence agencies that are often discussed in newspapers and are known to the people are IB (Intelligence Bureau) and ISI (Inter-Services Intelligence). The IB was established during British rule and basically has a civilian structure. It also recruits some police officers. During the Ayub era, its head

used to be a police officer with the title of I.G. During General Zia's government, a few attempts were made to have a military officer head this agency. During Benazir's time, its management was given to a retired official who was working in the United Arab Emirates. The present civilian government has selected a military officer to head this agency. From the perspective of administration and responsibility, this is considered to be the most powerful civilian intelligence agency. Each state also has a similar police agency known as the special branch. As for the ISI, it is a military agency, and is related to national security and strategic issues. This agency became internationally known during General Zia's regime because a cell of this agency was involved in the Afghanistan war.

This agency also became famous in other countries, and gradually, it became to be considered as one of the most important intelligence agencies in the world. After this brief introduction, it is important to answer some ideological questions; questions that are often raised about intelligence agencies in the newspapers. The most important question is one that has been raised by our leaders for the last 10-15 years: Should the ISI be involved in internal affairs, especially in politics? This question is based on confusion from an ideological viewpoint. If the ideological base of this question is whether a military intelligence agency should be involved in internal politics, then this is totally wrong. The two most famous British intelligence agencies are MI-5 and MI-6. The MI stands for Military Intelligence. One is involved in military politics, and the other in foreign affairs. Similarly, the largest military intelligence agency in the United States is known as the DIA (Defense Intelligence Agency). Dozens of cells of this huge agency are responsible for internal politics. All of this indicates that it is wrong to assume that a military intelligence agency should not be involved in internal politics. A cell of the German military intelligence agency is known as the political military cell. Therefore, the involvement of ISI in internal politics is not only appropriate but important, because our security can be threatened because of the many political forces in the country.

Against the background of these questions, a specific question looms large. This question is: Should a military agency like this one be involved in political affairs? This is not a criticism of ISI; rather, this is in connection with the government of any specific period. How do the rulers use this professional agency? Therefore, this criticism should be aimed at the government, and not at this military agency. Similarly, the IB is also criticized—not because it is involved in internal politics, but because the government uses such a sensitive agency to protect its political interests. In any case, it is important to mention in this context that its civilian status should be maintained, because if it is headed by a military or ISI official, its efficiency would be minimized. Both the government and the armed forces would benefit if the head of these agencies are not put under military administration. This way, they will remain independent and will help serve the country. If this agency remains independent from an ideological point of view, then the government of the period can use this agency for independent and objective

investigations. It is possible that two different agencies can make different recommendations on a specific issue. The government would then be able to get different perspectives on an issue, and would be in a better position to make decisions.

Among the foreign intelligence agencies active in Pakistan are the U.S. CIA, DIA, and other military intelligence agencies. Since the United States has been a friend and military supporter of Pakistan, the government of Pakistan is informed about the presence of these agencies. Often the heads of the agencies hold consultations with the heads of our intelligence agencies. In addition, the other foreign intelligence agencies that appear to work in Pakistan are India's RA, Afghanistan's KHAD, and the Soviet Union's KGB. There is a strong possibility that Israel's MOSAD is also present here. I would like to mention here that intelligence is not just for the purpose of working against the enemy. It is a proven fact that intelligence agencies work in friendly nations also. For example, the Israeli and U.S. intelligence agencies are very close to each other, and work together at an international level. In spite of these close relations, Israel asked an American Jew to steal secret American documents related to a very important issue. The MOSAD had asked Jonathan Pollard of the CIA to steal specific information from CIA files. These files were related to Soviet interests. Israel later forwarded this information to the Soviet Union. In exchange, the Soviet Union allowed the Jews to leave the country each year. This system continued for several years, until Pollard was arrested and sentenced. However, relations between Israel and the United States were not affected, because according to the traditions of intelligence agencies, such activities between friendly nations are considered to be of a routine nature.

Recently, some intelligence analysis was published in the United States of America. According to it, the military coup against Soviet President Gorbachev on 18 August was carried out by Gorbachev, Yeltsin, and Western intelligence agencies. The purpose of this decision was to provide Gorbachev with the opportunity to totally destroy the right arm of the Soviet Union's Communist party-controlled army and the KGB. As a result of this coup, which lasted only three days, the stronghold of the military and communism in the Soviet Union was broken.

Against this background, it is not impossible that the countries we consider to be our friends have their intelligence agencies working here. The major problem is not that these agencies collect information about us in addition to about our enemies. The most surprising thing would be if our intelligence agencies knew about their activities. The problem is that we have an epidemic of corruption spreading in our nation. It is the duty of our intelligence agencies to be alert and informed about the activities and practices of the foreign intelligence agencies. Furthermore, since most important national duties are handled by the bureaucracy, we must ensure that the high officials of those agencies related to these affairs are of extremely high character.

After this brief review, it is important to inform the reader that no country can be successful in these times without effective intelligence agencies. Our national security depends on various internal and international affairs. Therefore, it is necessary for us to organize these national agencies effectively. My research has concluded that both the IB and the ISI are of high professional caliber. It is important that we keep in view the changing times and the need to incorporate high technology into their operations. We must provide them with the tools of their trade at any cost. In the United States, France, Israel, and Germany, the policy and research cells of these agencies are staffed by Ph.D.-level personnel. It does not matter if the administrator belongs to the police or the army. He must be well-versed in ultra-modern theories and the state of affairs. Without these qualifications, they cannot achieve the level which we expect. My research findings indicate that both the IB and the ISI have not paid any attention to this very important aspect of having policy strategists and

unbiased analysts. If my fear is correct, then this problem must be rectified as soon as possible to remove this vacuum. I would also like to mention here that Britain's MI-5, the U.S. DIA, and the Pentagon, have policy and planning cells. The members of these cells are highly qualified and educated people. According to my personal information, the personnel in these cells have Ph.D.-level educations, even though they hold military ranks. They have their doctorates from well-known and respected universities such as Oxford, Cambridge, the Sorbonne, Harvard, and Cecil.

Finally, it is important to mention that no government should use these agencies to protect their minor or major political interests. The military security organizations depend on the actions of these agencies. I hope that my sincere and responsible recommendations and requests will be considered seriously.

CNN Said 'Poisoning Pakistani Culture'

92AS0404C Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 21 Nov 91 p 3

[Article by Mehmood-ul Haq Nizami: "U.S. in Every Home"]

[Text] The 24-hour broadcast of U.S. television channel CNN is forcing Pakistan into a very dangerous cultural revolution. This channel is annihilating our spiritual values without our knowledge, the way drugs slowly destroy the body. These broadcasts, which, until recently, were limited to Islamabad, have recently started in Karachi. They will soon start in all other major cities. They are slowly destroying our religion and culture.

CNN is actually a very effective tool for spreading American values in Third World countries. Its purpose is to change the thinking and living habits of the people according to American values, so that they view the present world from an American perspective. They want us to consider the American way of life the goal of our lives. This channel is broadcast directly, and the people have the opportunity to see kidnappings, crimes; immodesty, and nudity are openly shown; and we are exposed to U.S. fashions. The flashy life and customs of Western life are presented in a way that the viewers cannot help but be impressed. The channel is usually so interesting that the number of people viewing Pakistani television [PTV] is decreasing rapidly.

This open propaganda of Western culture is like intoxication; it enters the blood slowly and makes one its slave. If intoxication can destroy a person's thinking process, then CNN will be able to make the whole nation mentally paralyzed in a few years. The remaining heritage of culture and Islamic philosophy will disappear like dust. Modesty, chastity, family pride, respect for elders, respect between men and women, respect for Islamic traditions, and desire for preserving our values will all become part of past history. The scenes of crime, rape, males and females dressed to the point of shamelessness, see-through dresses worn by young women, American clothing fashion, open kissing in streets, and other scenes, would give a well-balanced person an idea of how our future will be affected. CNN has only been here for a few months; however, we can see its results in Islamabad's supermarkets. It is a scary fact that if this notorious propaganda is not stopped, then it will not be long before we see scenes of shamelessness and nudity in Pakistan's parks, markets, and streets. It will all resemble the propaganda we see on CNN.

Those who have seen the Chinese way of life before and after CNN are amazed at how China, which is so proud of its history of civilization and culture, is changing so fast. Women in miniskirts who look almost naked are seen in Beijing markets, and young men demonstrated in Tienanman Square. These are all proof of the success of CNN. The repeated propaganda about the U.S. way of life has showed us all what happened in the Middle East recently. Even TIME, the U.S. news magazine, wrote that CNN portrayed the attack on Iraq in such a way that Arab leaders were scared and were asking for military aid at U.S. conditions in a daze.

It is our national misfortune that there has been no religious reaction to this ugly conspiracy. No leader has raised a voice against this scourge. Some people support CNN and are thankful that they have finally found something worth watching. It is true that CNN is very captivating when compared to PTV. Their news reports are of high caliber; however, poison is poison, even when it is in honey. CNN is not the answer to PTV's weakness; instead, we must pressure PTV to improve its standards, or a new TV channel should be started to show good programs from all over the world. Otherwise, our destiny will be in danger. For God's sake, the cancer of CNN must be controlled immediately. Otherwise, it will become incurable, and history will never forgive us. This is our Islamic and moral duty.

Buying, Selling of Bangladeshi Women Detailed

*92AS0380B Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
(Supplement) in English 15 Nov 91 p 8*

[Report by Beena Sarwar: "Victimizing the Victims"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] They are kidnapped, threatened, "married" off to agents, or enticed by the prospect of a better life...and so these Bengali women illegally enter Pakistan, with their kidnappers, agents or dalals. Most come from desperately poor rural backgrounds which they are initially happy to escape from. But once in Pakistan, the language barrier, coupled with the abuse they often encounter, sets off a longing to be home. Unfortunately, this longing is almost never satisfied: they have no papers, no passports, no money. The Pakistani government treats them as criminals, the Bangladeshi refuses to recognise them.

Often they are recovered during police raids on houses where they're kept, then booked under the Hudood Ordinance or Passport Act, and carted off to prison where they spend years waiting for a trial. The usual sentence of four months is often exceeded by as much as five years in prison—they have nowhere to go. Their only hope is for human rights organisations like Lawyers for Human Rights and Legal Aid (LHRLA, formed in 1989) to help them out and fight their case in court; bail is too expensive. Women who are released are usually given shelter at philanthropist Abdus Sattar Edhi's Apna Ghar.

The issue of Bangladeshi women being brought illegally into Pakistan and sold into slavery or prostitution is not new. But the problem has reached alarming proportions as their numbers continue to increase, the trickle becoming a minor flood. Zia Awan of LHRLA in Karachi estimates that today, there are as many as 200,000 such women in Pakistan, of which perhaps 1,500 are in various jails all over the country. A National Council for Social Welfare (Islamabad based government body) survey estimates that about 100-150 Bengali women are brought into Pakistan every month and sold in different parts of the country (APP report, DAWN, Nov 2 1991).

The problem has been highlighted in a recently made BBC documentary film called 'The Flesh Trade', first broadcast in Britain and other EEC countries on June 28 this year.

The twenty minute film has been shown by LHRLA at Karachi Press Club and Alliance Francaise. It is a fine piece of investigative journalism which includes interviews of senior government officials (like Irfanullah Marwat), and Bangladesh's Deputy High Commissioner, as well as Zia Awan, Abdus Sattar Edhi, affected women, an informer and alleged pimp.

The slave trade in Pakistan was first given international exposure in 1989, when Daniel Zwerdling-Rothschild of National Public Radio, (NPR, USA) aired an interview with a Bengali girl called Fatima, on January 31, 1990. He had met the 11 or 12 year old Fatima at a visit to Karachi Central Jail in November 1989; an edited transcript of the interview was subsequently reproduced by THE FRONTIER POST ('Desperately seeking justice', July 4, 1990).

Following the NPR broadcast, a New York lawyer, Debra Weeks, took on the case of Fatima free of cost. She sent information to the United Nations Center for Human Rights, New York, as well as to other UN officials, and the Canadian prime minister who was to co-chair the UNICEF World Summit for children in September 1990. US diplomats posted in Pakistan and Bangladesh were also contacted.

Ms Weeks also wrote to various political figures (including members of the caretaker government after the change of government in August 1990, and president Ghulam Ishaq Khan and COAS [Chief of Army Staff] Mirza Aslam Beg), lawyers and journalists in Pakistan about the issue. Since then, however, there has been silence on that end.

Talking about the magnitude of the problem, lawyer and activist Nausheen Ahmed, who became involved in the problem when she accompanied the NPR correspondent to Karachi Central Jail, says that at that time, there were 60 Bengali women and 20 children in the jail; some of these children were born in prison, while others have been there for years, in violation of Jail Manual rules which specify that children over three should not be kept in jail with their mothers. But then, where are these children to go?

Zia Awan says that in October 1991, there were 80 Bengali women in Karachi Central Jail. Recently, however, about 30 of them have been released to their agents. "We have no way of keeping them there after the expiry of their sentences, if someone comes to take them," says Awan.

Talking about Fatima, Nausheen Ahmed says that she was mentally retarded. She cried as she told the interviewer that she had been kidnapped, and that she didn't know where her parents were. Apparently she had walked out of her village house in Bangladesh after a fight with her mother; she met a man who said he would help her. She was then made to walk for quite a while, beaten, and then brought to Karachi, where she was used as forced labour and beaten repeatedly.

A raid at the house where she was kept resulted in her arrest, along with the agents who had imprisoned her. While the agents were let out on bail almost the next day, says Nausheen Ahmed, Fatima remained in prison. Following public pressure in the USA, Fatima disappeared.

Jimmy Carter, former US president, who is involved with a charitable institution called the Rainbow Center, telephoned Benazir Bhutto, then prime minister of Pakistan. The Home Department contacted Karachi Central Jail, and demanded that Fatima be produced. But the child was no longer there; prison officials said that there was no record of her detention.

Instead of pursuing the case of the unfortunate girl, says Ms Ahmed, the Home Department launched an inquiry into how NPR's radio programme had been allowed to be made in the first place. It was also reported that Fatima had been released to Nuru Majhi, the agent who had kidnapped her; she was said to be housed in Gulshane-Iqbal. However, she has never been traced and her fate remains unknown.

Conditions in jail, says Nausheen Ahmed, are quite appalling. She refers to a 1979 study by the Women's Division, according to which there were 80 women in prison all over Pakistan in that year. Ten years later, there were over 6,000 women in prison under the Hudood Ordinance alone, as reported by Zohra Yusuf in NEWS-LINE, (July 1989). "Our jails just don't cater to these numbers," says Ms Ahmed.

Fatima, she says, had no bed, no bedding, or clothes other than those she was wearing. The cells were so overcrowded that the women slept in shifts. Furthermore, young girls and children were kept in the same space as older women, in violation of the Jails Manual rule which states that juveniles and seasoned criminals are not to be kept together. "Yet there were eight and nine year olds in Karachi jail, with women booked under trafficking charges and other convicted persons."

Slavery, points out Ms Ahmed, is prohibited by the Constitution. "We are signatories to international laws which state that minors have the right to stay with their parents. Yet Pakistan imprisons children like Fatima. There were children there who didn't know under what charge they were held. They had no lawyer to represent them and were unaware whether their cases were being processed in court or not."

Nausheen Ahmed also points out that our government imprisons women who are here illegally, whether they came here willingly or were brought by force. "Then we forget about these women. Some of them had been there way past their sentences. There were women who had been sentenced to four months in prison, but had been in jail for as much as two or three years. Some were still awaiting their sentences, but had spent much longer than the four months they would be awarded, waiting for their trials."

She recommends that women who have served their sentences should be repatriated, and that the Bangladesh and Pakistani governments should share the costs. However, one of the major problems in repatriating Bengali women is that the Bangladeshi government "doesn't want to get involved." The women have no passports, and until they are legally categorised as Bangladeshi citizens, the Bangladeshi government refuses to accept them as such.

A Bangladeshi diplomat, talking to THE STAR in 1988 had confessed that it was a "delicate matter." "After all," he had said, "we have no proof that the women are Bangladeshi. There is also a West Bengal." He had a point; his statement still stands. However, it is unlikely that a West Bengali woman would say that she came from Bangladesh. The Edhi Trust has offered several times to pay for any air tickets needed to send the Bengali women back. This, however, is not possible until all the legal and travel documents are complete, and this is where the Bangladesh government's apathy comes in. Lack of political will in tackling the problem seems to be the biggest hurdle.

'The Flesh Trade' includes an interview with Riaz ul Hasan, Deputy Commissioner of the Bangladeshi High Commission in Karachi. According to Mr Hussain, no Bangladeshi women had been reported to his Commission, except for one on March 27, 1991. By April 8, he said, her papers and ticket were ready, and she was sent back to her country.

This belies a news report in the English language, Dhaka-based BANGLADESH TIMES on January 23, 1991, according to which Bangladesh "so far had repatriated about 300 of its illegal immigrants, mostly women, from Pakistan at government cost." The source of the news item was stated to be the Bangladesh High Commission in Islamabad, and it does not specify the time period within which so many women were repatriated. It also seems highly unlikely that the Karachi office of the Bangladesh government would be ignorant about such a figure.

However, Zia Awan, talking to THE FRONTIER POST, terms Riaz ul Hasan's claim as untrue in any case. To his knowledge, no Bangladeshi women have been repatriated from Pakistan so far. He makes a similar statement in the documentary as well.

In 'The Flesh Trade,' Bangladesh's Deputy High Commissioner is taken to Sattar Edhi's Apna Ghar, by the BBC team. There, several Bangladeshi women surround their government's designated representative, many unable to contain their tears. Their demands, sub-titled in English on the screen, are unanimous: to be allowed to go back home. Confronted with so much desperation and misery, the Deputy High Commissioner promises that he will arrange it.

The film was aired in June this year. However, talking to THE FRONTIER POST recently, Zia Awan categorically states that all the women are still at the Edhi centre—as many as 80 of them—while about 46 are housed in Edhi's Lahore centre.

Some of their interviews are telecast in an earlier part of the film. Among those interviewed is a ten-year-old girl who was raped after being brought to Pakistan; another ten year old, Fatima, says she was kidnapped when she was about four, and that her mother and sisters have also been sold. She does not know her family's whereabouts.

Then there's Hamida, 24, who was kidnapped from a fair ground about three years ago. She says that the price

initially asked for her when she was brought to Pakistan, was Rs.[rupees]50,000. Eventually, however, she was sold for Rs. 40,000, "married" to a man who beat her. "Pakistanis do funny things for money," she says. "They treat us as if we are dogs or goats. We have no one to turn to, to talk to." Hamida finally escaped and was brought to Apna Ghar.

The BBC team also interviews a man called Shafi who used to be in the flesh trade himself, but has turned informer. Shafi takes the BBC team around Rajput Colony (Block 3, Gulshan-e-Iqbal, Karachi), where he says the biggest pimp of the area is Liaqat, alias. According to Shafi, there are between 150 to 200 girls in every den in the area. He estimates that of the 20 percent Bengalis in Rajput Colony, about 40 percent are agents.

Another interview features Bacchu himself, "the biggest dalal in the area," who denies that he is anything of the kind. However, he says that he has between 8 to 9 'tenants' at any given time.

At the moment, says Zia Awan, Shafi is in the police lockup in Gulshan-e-Iqbal, where he was hauled just three days after talking to BBC, charged under the Hudood Ordinance. LHRLA received a letter from him three months after his arrest in May (the film was made in April-May). To get him out on bail requires a Rs. 25,000 cash deposit, which LHRLA say they can't afford.

Shafi has been attacked earlier for giving out information to the press: he was stabbed soon after an intensive report in an Urdu daily, which quoted him. Despite this, he agreed willingly to the BBC interview, perhaps in an attempt to get his own back at his attackers who deal with the flesh trade mafia.

The documentary informs us an "up market woman" can fetch as much as Rs. 100,000. This is a significant increase since 1988, when this writer and a colleague investigated the issue for THE STAR, Karachi, and visited Rajput Colony. At that time, the going rate was between Rs. 30,000 to Rs. 50,000, while a few years before that, the price had ranged from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000. It was also learnt in that investigation that a bona fide qazi charged Rs. 500 to perform a nikah between a Bengali woman and her buyer. While the qazi was real, the nikah-nama was not. The average age of the "brides" being sold was fifteen.

Many of the women interviewed at Apna Ghar were badly abused, sexually and physically. They had cuts and burn marks over their bodies to prove it. Members of the Rajput Colony Falahi Society had informed us that when some of the women had been taken to Civil Hospital by the police (around 1985), they had been found to be suffering from various venereal diseases.

Furthermore, it was revealed that police in the area were fully aware of what was going on, and were in fact, paid between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 6,500 per girl sold, while the police chief of the area received Rs. 7,000 for every girl sold, agents had disclosed in an attempt to convince us that it was safe to buy a girl from him (THE STAR, June 23, 1988).

Irfanullah Marwat, advisor to the chief minister on political affairs, says in the film that raids are conducted regularly, and that 16 women had been recovered in the last such operation. "But then what are we supposed to do with them?" he asks.

Talking to THE FRONTIER POST Zia Awan stresses that there is no proper law to deal with such women, who are usually booked under the Hudood Ordinance or the Passport Act. They are safe only if legally married to a Pakistani citizen. Many of the women are kidnapped or brought over in search of employment, he says. "The root cause," as he points out, "is poverty."

The makers of 'The Flesh Trade', and those who had helped them, he says, received threatening phone calls from agents and pimps, as well as policemen. "It's a whole mafia." Awan adds that the trade of selling women is not restricted to Pakistan alone: Nepali women are sold in India, Bengali and Sri Lankan women in Pakistan and Japan, and Pakistani women in the Middle East.

According to Nausheen Ahmed, many of the women say they are better off in prison than with their families, which often don't accept them after their release. However, there are some NGOs [Nongovernmental Organizations] in Bangladesh who are attempting to rehabilitate such women, she says. "Obviously, they will only be willing to go back if there is a support system to receive them. The governments have to get involved."

As she says, there are illegal immigrants working at various domestic jobs in Pakistan too; the government turns a blind eye to them, while women who are bought and sold are arrested and jailed. "The stakes are very high, and there is massive corruption at work."

"Women's issues were not given priority by any government, including Benazir's," she adds. According to her, there were three women in Karachi Central Jail at that time (October), who had been there for over five years each.

Zia Awan says that following a press conference held by human rights organisations of the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] countries at Dhaka in September, the government there had promised to bring the matter before the cabinet. The delegation of human rights activists got a fair amount of coverage in the Bangladeshi press, which LHRLA has photocopied and

distributed to some journalists here. Among the clippings is an editorial in THE DAILY STAR, an English language newspaper in Dhaka, September 1, 1991, which demonstrates how some Bangladeshis feel about the human trade and their own government's role:

"...This abominable trade in human lives has been going on for 10-15 years now. Unfortunately, successive Bangladesh governments have turned a blind eye to the plight of a section of its own people. Dhaka has done little to pressure Islamabad into bringing the smugglers and their associates in Pakistani officialdom to book. The women, instead of being treated as victims of a crime, are being treated as criminals by the Pakistani police and our government seems to be oblivious to the facts.

"At the same time, our own border guards, the Bangladesh Rifles, have not, we regret to note, lived up to our expectations in checking this illegal human trade...the attitude, on all sides, appears to be one of bottomless indifference."

The editorial goes on to commend LHRLA for its work and asks: "But is it not the Bangladesh government and people who should be doing the campaigning? Should our collective, national conscience not be filled with feelings of guilt as well as anger at the degradation suffered by our women? How has it been possible for our government to remain silent over this issue for such a long period of time?"

As Nausheen Ahmed points out, there are other countries with immigration problems, too. The solution usually is to grant amnesty as well as nationality to a certain number of the immigrants. "At least this would stop harassment by the police."

At the moment, as Zia Awan said at a press conference in Karachi this April, the prosecution of arrested Bengali women looks like a part of the trafficking racket, besides turning witnesses into accused. He emphasises the need for a special law to prevent trafficking—India enacted the Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act as far back as 1956.

Presently, "the whole spectrum reflects the low status of women in our part of the world." At the moment, what the Pakistani government is doing is something that seems to have become a permanent feature of its administration: victimising the victims instead of dealing with the causes of the problem.

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